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PART III.

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

A F F A I R S O F E G Y P T.

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April to June 1882.

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AFFAIRS OF EGYPT.

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CONFIDENTIAL.

Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Egypt.

PART III.

No. 1.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Thornton.

E
(No. 106.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, April 1, 1882.

THE Russian Ambassador informed me yesterday that he had received a telegram from M. de Giers authorizing him to inform me that the Russian Government had no objection to the modification of the 34th Article of the Egyptian Organic Law in the sense suggested by the Governments of England and France.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 2.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 107.)
My Lord,

St. Petersburg, March 25, 1882.

I HAD the honour to receive your Lordship's despatch No. 83 of the 17th instant, suggesting that Article 34 of the Organic Law of Egypt might be remodelled and developed in the terms mentioned in that despatch. I ascertained that the French Chargé d'Affaires had received a similar despatch, with instructions to concert with me for its joint communication to M. de Giers.

We accordingly called upon his Excellency on the 22nd instant, read to him the despatch, and, at his request, left with him both a French and an English copy of it. M. de Giers stated that he took note of it; that he was not very familiar with the subject, as it was one which was not of special interest to Russia; but that the matter would be carefully examined by the Imperial Government, and that the other Governments to whom the same communication had been made would be consulted upon the subject. At first sight, however, he did not see that any objection could be made to the wording of Article 34 as remodelled and developed in the above-mentioned despatch.

As M. de Giers informed me that he had not a copy of the note of the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs of the 8th ultimo to the English and French Agents, nor of the Organic Law itself, I at once transmitted to him a copy of the former, and pointed out to him a newspaper (the "Mémorial Diplomatique") in which the Organic Law was published.

As M. Ternaux Compans was concerting with me on the 21st instant to communicate the despatch to M. de Giers on the next day—for on the 21st his Excellency was at Gatchina—my Italian colleague called at the Embassy, and told us that he had received a telegram from Rome informing him that a similar communication had been made to his Government, and instructing him to inquire of the Russian Government what answer they intended to give to it. Upon our informing him that we should

make the communication on the following day, his Excellency said that he would defer his visit to M. de Giers until after we should have seen him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

No. 3.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 145. Confidential. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, March 26, 1882.

MR. COOKSON, in his despatch No. 141 of the 21st instant, said that he had learnt from a trustworthy informant that M. Sienkiewicz had received from M. Freycinet a telegram on the political situation here which pointed out that the authority of the present Khedive was irreparably destroyed, and that the only chance of re-establishing lawful authority was the restoration of Ismail Pasha.

I took the earliest opportunity on my return to speak to M. Sienkiewicz on the subject of the rumours which were afloat concerning the return of the ex-Khedive, and I said that the only incident which, as far as I could learn, gave real weight to them was a reported telegram from M. de Freycinet to him, of which I stated the alleged substance.

M. Sienkiewicz unhesitatingly assured me that there was no foundation for the report, and that it was impossible to suppose that his Government could for a moment harbour the intention of favouring Ismail Pasha's return; that such a course would stultify the past policy of France and render the Government ridiculous.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 4.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 147.)

My Lord,

Cairo, March 27, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship translations of two articles from the Arabic journal "Et-Taieff," together with précis of the same.

The first of these purports to be an answer to articles which have appeared in the European press disparaging the capacity of Egyptian Administrators, and it points out many alleged abuses in the Departments under European direction, to which it invites the attention of those who write articles in favour of foreign supervision for Egyptian administration.

The second sketches out the history of the Control, and avers that, far from conferring benefits on the country, its action has been mischievous from the first.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure 1 in No. 4.

Précis of an Article from the Arabic Journal "Et-Taieff" of March 17, 1882.

WHY does the European press persist in running down our native employés and glorifying the acts of those Europeans who are in our Administrations? What proof can they bring in support of this statement that there is in the Chamber a party in favour of the ex-Khedive Ismail? How can they uphold the assertion that foreigners only are capable of administering Egypt? What do they say to the Customs Administration, where disorder reigns, and where we find ignorant men receiving higher salaries than the greatest functionaries of their own country? What of the Domains, which has never done any good? What of the Railways, where, again, there is a disorder which needs no proof?

There are some foreigners who are conscientious in their service, but they cannot make us forget the injuries their fellow-countrymen have inflicted on us. Do not the

European papers know that in many cases natives have been replaced by foreigners knowing no Arabic? That this causes an inordinate increase in the expenses for interpreters and clerks; that in the Bureau of Statistics, where all the documents come in in Arabic, the expenses have been raised from £ T. 12,000 to £ T. 43,000? That this Department and the Postal Department buy all their material in Europe through their European employés? That another Administration buys cotton in England, forgetting that we are in Egypt, where cotton grows?

It seems, moreover, that these papers do not know that posts of trust, as Inspectorships, are filled by Europeans who do not know Arabic, or can merely read figures, where a thorough knowledge is quite indispensable. Do they ignore the fact that the Land Survey has only registered 18,000 feddans, and these often faultily? Perhaps the reason is that the Heads of the Department do not know enough Arabic to write the names of the villages correctly. Another excuse they may make for the excesses which foreigners commit in the country is, perhaps, that they are civilized, and may do what they like with us barbarians. Have these papers ever seen in the accounts of the Provincial Governors the same disorder we see in the European Administrations? With what face can they criticize the acts of a nation which has been governing itself on principles of its own for thousands of years; and what motives can they have for writing such articles at a time when their Governments are striving to reorganize the country and contribute to the well-being of its inhabitants?

Inclosure 2 in No. 4.

Précis of an Article from the Arabic Journal "Et-Taieff" of March 22, 1882.

THE DISORDER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE EUROPEAN ADMINISTRATION.—The article begins by a brief sketch of the origin of the Control in Egypt and of the conditions on which it was established in 1877. It affirms that useless expenses were at once incurred in the nomination of various foreign clerks and Secretaries and in the furnishing of the new Department. Rigorous examinations were made into the accounts of the Ministry of Finance in order to try and discover mistakes or peculation, but in vain. The Egyptians have, at least, learnt one thing from the Control, viz., that Europeans are incapable to verify their accounts or to follow their steps, or even the dust from their feet. The Controllers were then obliged to name native officials to teach them. By this means the Ministry of Finance was luckily saved from falling entirely into the hands of foreigners, and thus escaped the fate of the Railways, Customs, &c.

The Commission of Inquiry in 1878 did some good, but an equal amount of harm by the heavy expenses it entailed on Egypt. Later on Mr. Rivers Wilson was appointed, and he began by suppressing the Control, which gave great satisfaction. In 1879 a number of lower employés were dismissed, and again this step was approved; but, alas! many Inspectors and Controllers were then appointed whose salaries were twenty times as large as those of the dismissed employés, so that the hoped-for economy was not realized. Mr. Wilson then left the Ministry of Finance without reorganizing it, or even drawing up a Budget for comparison with previous years. He made it much like an English Finance Ministry; but there is a great difference between England and Egypt, and a system which is admirable for the one does not suit the other. Consequently all the money spent on the large salaries of foreigners, interpreters, clerks, &c., is thrown away on Egypt. No change has been made in the Ministry of Finance itself, but hindrances are thrown in the way of its working. In 1880 the number of strangers had increased still more. Amongst them are many who do not restrict themselves to their proper duties, but interfere in the work which should be done by Arabs. This produces much confusion and extra expense for translators. To avoid all this disorder, it would be better that the whole work of the Ministry of Finance should be done in Arabic. If we must find work to do for the foreigners, let us find them some separate kind of work. Their number is large enough for them to do much more than they do at present.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 150.)

Cairo, March 28, 1882.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a copy of a Report of the sitting of the Chamber of Notables of the 5th instant, together with a précis of the same.

The sitting opened with a reading of a draft Decree confirming the old immunities accorded to the Bedouins, and the rest of the time was occupied by the reading of various Memoranda, chiefly on the subject of irrigation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 5.

Précis of Report of the Sitting of the Chamber of Delegates, March 5, 1882.

THE sitting, under the Presidency of his Excellency Sultan Pasha, was opened by reading the Report of the last sitting, and then the Report of the Commission concerning the privileges enjoyed by the Bedouins, in the form of a draft Decree of four Articles.

The 1st Article exempts the Bedouins from conscription and allegiance oaths; but they shall pay prestation money.

Article 2 provides that all the Bedouins in Egyptian territory must submit to the census.

Article 3. That the Chiefs of each tribe are responsible for the carrying out of the preceding Article.

Article 4. The different Ministers whom it concerns are charged with the execution of this Decree.

This draft was put to the vote. The 1st Article was voted unanimously, and, after a little discussion, so also were the remaining three.

A Report was then submitted by Ahmed Bey Ali on the irrigation of Upper Egypt, and the measures by which he proposes to counteract the effects of a too high or too low Nile. His project is to open a canal to the west in the valley of El Silsilah in the place of the canal El Ramadi. At a distance of 100 kilom. from the mouth, to the west of this canal, pipes are to be laid on from the Nile into the Maali Canal. By these means he hoped to irrigate regularly the Provinces of Esneh, Kenh, Girgeh, Siout, and Minieh, and proposed to call the Minister of Public Works with two experts to discuss the question with the Chamber.

The proposition was adopted unanimously.

Memorandum from Ahmed Effendi Abdul Gaffar.—Proposes a fundamental law of Government, by which he means a law which fixes the rights of the Khedive, of his Representatives, and of the Executive.

Adopted unanimously.

Memorandum from Ali Effendi Cassab.—Asserts that the Daïreh and Domains Administrations are endeavouring to make the "chiflik" lands dependent on them. That this is prejudicial to the interests of the cultivators, and proposes that these lands should remain under the direction of the Provincial Government.

Agreed that the project be submitted to a Commission.

Memorandum of Ahmed Bey Ali and Abdel Shehid Butros.—Proposes railways, local Tribunals, and schools for the Provinces of Esneh, Kenh, and Girgeh.

The question is deferred till next year, since it is one which would heavily tax the Budget, and requires discussion with the various Ministries of Public Works, Instruction, &c.

Memorandum of Soliman Effendi Mansour.—States that a M. Boulad has erected a steam-pump at the mouth of the Charkawieh Canal, and that the Provinces of Charkieh and Galioubieh, watered by this canal, suffer in consequence.

Agreed that the question be referred to the Minister of Public Works.

Memorandum of Abdel Salam Effendi Haffaghi.—States that the Ministry of Justice is preparing a new law of at least 5,000 Articles concerning the working of the Tribunals. Proposes that as it is not probable that the Chamber can find time to discuss such a law, a Commission of twenty of its members be named after the close

of the Session to examine what has been done up to this time, so that at the next Session the Chamber may be able to adopt the Penal Code.

A member observed that the legislation belonged to the Government and not to the Chamber, and begged the Chamber to let the question drop.

Adopted by a majority.

Ahmed Bey el Cherif proposes the discussion of the Moukabalah tax. It is put off to the next sitting.

The sitting rose after one hour's work (half-past 8 to half-past 9).

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 152.)

My Lord,

Cairo, March 28, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Session of the Chamber of Delegates closed on the 26th instant. There was no ceremony.

I have the honour to inclose an extract from the "Moniteur Égyptien" of the 26-27th instant, stating that the President and the Delegates went on the occasion to the Khedive to take leave, and retired with the most favourable impression of the gracious manner in which they had been received.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 150. Extender.)

My Lord,

Vienna, March 29, 1882.

COUNT KALNOKY told me this afternoon that either to-day or to-morrow he would send to the Austro-Hungarian Ambassadors in London and Paris the answer by which he conveys his concurrence in the views expressed in the despatches on the affairs of Egypt which were communicated to him on the 20th instant by the French Ambassador and myself.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received April 3.)

(No. 157. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Vienna, March 31, 1882.

AS it appears not to be altogether impossible that affairs in Egypt may take a turn which may lead to a suggestion for a change of the Ruler of that country, it may perhaps not be without interest to your Lordship if I mention a conversation which I had at Cairo with Nubar Pasha at a time when he was Prime Minister to Ismail Pasha, the late Khedive.

The relations between the Sultan and Viceroy were at the moment extremely strained, and some of His Majesty's Ministers were supposed to be ready to recommend their Sovereign to pronounce the deposition of Ismail Pasha, and the nomination of Halim Pasha as Khedive.

I mentioned this to Nubar, and added that an impression prevailed at Constantinople that if an Aide-de-camp of the Sultan appeared at Cairo and read His Majesty's Firman of deprivation at the Great Mosque, the Egyptians would, as one man, recognize the successor that was named.

I did not myself believe the Sultan to possess the authority that was pretended over the minds of the Egyptians, and I was startled and surprised when Nubar Pasha answered, "What is said at Constantinople is perfectly correct, but it will be our

business to see that no bearer of such a Firman shall reach the Mosque or publish it to the people."

I have ventured to repeat this conversation to your Lordship, as it showed that the Sultan could exercise in Egypt an influence much greater than is generally supposed, or than I had myself believed; for Ismail Pasha was then at the height of his power, and occupied a much stronger position than that of the present Khedive.

Halim Pasha had always a considerable party in Egypt favourable to his claims to the succession. The fact of his being the son of the great Mehemet Ali, who had raised Egypt to a position of administrative independence, operated in his favour, and he was the legitimate Heir Apparent to the Viceroyalty till his rights were set aside when the Sultan settled the succession upon the sons of Ismail Pasha in return for the payment of a large sum of money.

By most Mahomedans, excepting those who claimed for the Sultan the right of disposing of the Pashalik as he thought fit, this arrangement was considered to be as illegal as it was corrupt.

With regard to Halim Pasha's personal qualifications, it would be rash to speak with confidence, but he is undoubtedly a man of intelligence, with a very considerable amount of European culture. He speaks French with perfect ease, and he lives with his one wife more in the European manner than any Pasha with whom I was acquainted.

His personal inclinations were decidedly French, but I should imagine him to have sufficient resolution of character to prevent him from becoming the tool of any particular party or faction.

Some allusions to the weakness of the character of the present Khedive, and to the different candidates who might appear for his succession, which have lately been made by Count Kalnoky, showed me that his Excellency contemplates as a possibility that a proposal may be made to set him aside, and believing that, in case of such an eventuality arising, your Lordship would wish to be in possession of all available information respecting the persons who might be called upon to assume the government of Egypt, I have not hesitated to make the above remarks about Halim Pasha.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 9.

E Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received April 4.)

(No. 117.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, April 1, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have just received from M. de Giers the note of which I inclose a copy, and in which his Excellency informs me, with reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 83 of the 17th ultimo, that His Imperial Majesty has authorized him to give the adhesion of the Russian Government to the proposal contained in that despatch relative to the 34th Article of the Organic Law of Egypt.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

Inclosure in No. 9.

M. de Giers to Sir E. Thornton.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

St. Pétersbourg, le 1^{er} Mars, 1882.

JE m'empresse de vous informer que l'Empereur m'a autorisé à donner notre adhésion à la proposition de votre Gouvernement, et de celui de France, relativement à l'Article 34 de la Loi Organique promulguée en Egypte. J'en ai déjà informé, par télégraphe, le Prince Lobanow.

Veillez, &c.
(Signé) GIERS.

No. 10.

E
(No. 282.)
My Lord,

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 4.)

Paris, April 3, 1882.

YESTERDAY, in obedience to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 350 of the 29th ultimo, I asked M. de Freycinet what he thought of the suggestion which you had made to M. Tissot that the English and French Governments should each send out to Egypt a technical adviser who should be able to assist its Agent and Consul-General in settling the details of the arrangements respecting financial matters contemplated in the identic communication to the Powers of the 17th of last month.

M. de Freycinet answered that, from his communications with M. Tissot, who had come back to Paris, he had supposed that your Lordship's suggestion had a wider scope. He had understood that the officials to be sent to Egypt would not be simple experts, whose functions would be confined to financial matters, but would be Commissioners who would be empowered to examine the whole situation, and make a report upon it. A mission of this kind would, M. de Freycinet thought, be open to grave objections. It would, he conceived, give umbrage to the Powers, who would consider it as an attempt on the part of England and France to effect a separate settlement of Egyptian affairs, and who would probably insist upon being themselves represented by Commissioners of their own. It would also, he was afraid, open the door to undue interference on the part of the Porte.

I said to M. de Freycinet that it appeared both from the account your Lordship had sent me of your conversation with M. Tissot, and from the instruction which you had given me to ascertain the opinion of the French Government, that your idea was simply that persons of financial knowledge and experience should be sent to act as advisers to the Agents and Consuls-General in drawing up the details of the arrangement contemplated by the recent communication to the Powers.

M. de Freycinet replied that even so he was afraid the mission would be misunderstood by the other Powers, and would be likely to lead to difficulties with them and with the Porte. There appeared, moreover, to him to be another objection to it. He thought that it would tend to lower the Agents and Consuls-General in their own eyes and in the eyes of the Egyptians. Their feelings might not unnaturally be hurt, and they might urge that if they were not held to be able to act and report for themselves, they would not be regarded as possessing the entire confidence of their Governments. For his own part, M. de Freycinet had derived full information respecting Egyptian affairs both from the despatches of the French Agent at Cairo, and from personal communications which he had had with men well acquainted with the country who had recently come from Egypt, such as M. de Blignières and M. de Lesseps. He did not feel that there was any need for him to send a special person to Egypt to furnish him with further reports.

I pointed out to M. de Freycinet that in your Lordship's proposal there was no mention of the experts (if they might be so called) reporting independently of the Agents and Consuls-General, or even of their reporting at all; and I reminded his Excellency again that your Lordship's proposal was simply to send out to Egypt technical advisers to assist the Agents in settling the details of the contemplated arrangement respecting financial matters.

After some further conversation M. de Freycinet begged that he might not be understood as absolutely declining to adopt your Lordship's suggestions. On the contrary, he was, he said, very desirous of agreeing to any suggestion which your Lordship might make. He was still, however, of opinion that the objections he had stated had considerable weight, and he must beg me to ask your Lordship to take them into consideration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 11.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 4.)

E
(No. 283.)
My Lord,

Paris, April 3, 1882.

IN execution of the instruction contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 341 of the 28th ultimo I reminded M. de Freycinet yesterday of the communication which I had made to him on the 7th February, to the effect (1) that should a case for intervention in Egyptian affairs arise, the wish of Her Majesty's Government would be that the intervention should represent the united action of Europe; and (2) that the opinion of Her Majesty's Government was that then the Sultan ought to be a party to any proceedings or discussions.

I went on to say that as the answers received from the Powers appeared to be favourable to the proposals put forward in the joint communication of the 17th ultimo, your Lordship had directed me to ask his Excellency's opinion as to the course which should now be pursued with a view to inviting the Sultan to take part in the discussion of the Egyptian question.

M. de Freycinet replied that he hardly thought that it was necessary to admit the participation of the Sultan in treating the matters dealt with by the communication of the 17th instant.

He had, he said, always considered that the intervention of the Porte should be confined to the political part of Egyptian affairs. If the Powers decided upon changes in the Government of Egypt, or if they felt bound to have recourse to active military proceedings, the Sultan, as Sovereign of the country, would have a right to be consulted. But the questions treated of in the joint communication were mainly administrative and financial. In such matters the Firmans had made Egypt autonomous, and it would, in M. de Freycinet's opinion, be imprudent to allow the Porte to interfere in them. Among other inconveniences, the admission of the Porte into the discussion might, he thought, lead to attempts to upset the Anglo-French Control.

I answered that, if his Excellency would look back to the paper which I had put into his hand on the 7th February, he would find that the terms of it were exactly those which I had recited at the beginning of the conversation, and that they did not specially limit the participation of the Porte in the discussion to strictly political questions. I proceeded to observe that if the party in power in Egypt should reject the proposals to be founded on the joint communication of the 7th February, they would probably do so in reliance upon the support of the Sultan. Now, the Sultan would in all probability be inclined to give them that support, if the proposals were made without his having been consulted beforehand.

On the other hand, it was, I said, hardly to be supposed that any party in Egypt would venture to hold out against proposals made by France and England, not only with the support of the other Powers, but also with the approval of the Sultan.

M. de Freycinet replied that, however this might be, he could not but think that the present case was not one in which it would be prudent to invite the participation of the Porte. He did not wish me to state to your Lordship that he was irrevocably opposed to any course which Her Majesty's Government might suggest; but he should, he said, be obliged if I would bring the observations he had made to your Lordship's notice.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 12.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 4.)

E
(No. 284. Very Confidential.)
My Lord,

Paris, April 3, 1882.

IN my two immediately preceding despatches Nos. 282 and 283 of to-day I have had the honour to report to your Lordship the observations made to me yesterday by M. de Freycinet on the subjects of sending special technical advisers to Egypt, and of now inviting the Sultan to take part in the discussion of Egyptian affairs by the Powers.

His Excellency went on to say that, having answered the questions I had put to

him on these two special points, he should be glad to express to me, with perfect frankness, his own ideas on the state of things in Egypt generally.

On taking office two months ago he had, he said, found that M. Gambetta's Cabinet had considered that the time was come for England and France to resort to intervention by actual force in Egypt. He himself had taken a wholly different view, and his great object had been to avoid every sort of armed intervention.

He did not even now consider that there was an imminent danger of such disorders in Egypt as would render military interference immediately imperative. The present state of affairs might very probably continue without any very decided change for two or three months more, but he could not conceal from himself that if things were let alone, the time could not be very far distant at which some very strong measures would be unavoidable.

All his reflections, all the information he had obtained since he had spoken to me last on the subject, had confirmed him in the opinion that he had then expressed to me privately and confidentially, namely, that there was only one effectual remedy: a change of Khedive.

The main cause of the evil had been the incapacity ("insuffisance") of Tewfik Pasha. The appointment of a new and efficient Khedive would at once put things straight, and obviate the necessity of armed intervention.

Upon M. de Freycinet saying this, I asked him whether he knew where such a Khedive was to be found.

He answered that three candidates had been mentioned to him: (1) Ismael Pasha, but his restoration was not to be thought of for a moment; (2) Hassan Pasha, a brother of Tewfik, who lived, he believed, in Italy, but who was too young; (3) Halim Pasha, of whom M. Tissot had expressed a good opinion, as a man with good qualities and good abilities, and too much imbued with Western ideas to be fanatical or unreasonably submissive ("inféodé") to the Sultan. He was too, it seemed, 47 years old, which was a very good age.

M. de Freycinet proceeded to tell me that he did not know much about the candidates, as he had been afraid to make inquiries lest the idea should get abroad that a change of Khedive was in contemplation. He could never, he said, allow such an idea to transpire unless England and France had come to a complete understanding on the subject. He had not spoken about it to any one but M. Tissot, whom he had cautioned not to mention it even to your Lordship unless you should advert to the private and confidential communication which I should have made to you at his request.

M. de Freycinet added that he understood from M. Tissot that your Lordship had stated some difficulties, but had not altogether rejected the idea, although you had not appeared to be disposed to discuss it at the time.

I thought it desirable to repeat to M. de Freycinet what your Lordship had actually said to M. Tissot, as recorded in your despatch to me, No. 313A of the 22nd ultimo; and I said that your Lordship had understood M. Tissot to agree with you in thinking that the idea was not one for immediate discussion, and that, indeed, it could only be entertained as the possible concomitant of or substitute for an occupation of the country, if such should become necessary.

M. de Freycinet observed that there seemed nevertheless to him to be strong reasons for taking the matter into consideration without delay.

The Egyptian question was, he said, like a bill of exchange. The exact day at which the bill would be presented for payment was not known, but it was quite certain that the presentation would not be long delayed, and it would be only prudent to provide the means of meeting the liability before the constable was upon us.

M. de Freycinet concluded by begging me to represent to your Lordship from him very confidentially that, in his opinion, the only effectual way of preserving the Anglo-French Control, and guarding against the necessity of armed intervention, or some other violent measure, would be to substitute an efficient Khedive for Tewfik Pasha; and that advantage should be taken by England and France of the two or three months during which the present comparative calm might last, in order to effect the substitution in a quiet and orderly manner, in concert with the Powers and the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

General Menabrea to Earl Granville.—(Received April 4.)

E
M. le Comte, Londres, le 3 Avril, 1882.
JE viens de recevoir du Ministère Royal des Affaires Étrangères une dépêche, en date du 28 Mars dernier, en réponse à la communication identique du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine et du Gouvernement de la République Française, concernant l'Article 34 de la nouvelle Loi Organique en Égypte.
D'après les instructions que j'ai reçues de mon Gouvernement, j'ai l'honneur de transmettre ci-joint à votre Excellence une copie de la susdite dépêche, et je saisis cette occasion pour vous renouveler, &c.

(Signé) L. F. MENABREA.

Inclosure in No. 13.

M. Mancini to Italian Representatives in Paris and London.

Monsieur Rome, le 28 Mars, 1882.
L'AMBASSADEUR d'Angleterre et le Chargé d'Affaires de France m'ont donné lecture et laissé copie, le 21 de ce mois, d'une dépêche identique qu'ils avaient reçue de leurs Gouvernements au sujet de la nouvelle Loi Organique relative aux pouvoirs de la Chambre des Notables en Égypte.

Les Cabinets de Londres et de Paris, après examen de cette Loi, ainsi que d'une note explicative que le Ministre Égyptien des Affaires Étrangères avait remise, à ce sujet, le 8 du mois dernier, aux Agents d'Angleterre et de France au Caire, expriment, en s'adressant aux Cabinets de Rome, de Berlin, de Vienne, et de St. Pétersbourg, l'avis que, pour la sauvegarde des intérêts des créanciers, on devrait obtenir la modification de l'Article 34 selon une nouvelle formule que la note identique reproduit intégralement, et dont j'insère ici, à toute bonne fin, le texte :

"Article 34. Dans aucun cas la Chambre n'a le droit de discuter n'importe quelle obligation de l'État résultant de la Loi de Liquidation, ou encore des Conventions conclues entre les Puissances étrangères et le Gouvernement Égyptien, ou de l'Emprunt Domanial.

"Sont notamment comprises, parmi les obligations internationales visées par les dispositions qui précèdent, celles afférentes au service du tribut dû à la Sublime Porte ; au service des intérêts des actions du Canal de Suez dûs au Gouvernement Anglais ; au service de la Dette Publique, réglé par les Décrets, Conventions et actes internationaux y relatifs ; ainsi que toutes charges résultant de la Loi de Liquidation, de Conventions Internationales, et de Conventions concernant l'Emprunt Domanial, de même que tout ce qui concerne l'Administration et les Budgets de la Daïra Sanieh et les domaines de l'État.

"La partie du Budget Égyptien afférente aux dites obligations et charges et comprenant, pour certains chapitres, des dépenses et des recettes, continuera à être préparée et arrêtée dans des formes et des conditions identiques à celles qui ont été adoptées pour les précédents Budgets suivants les accords et engagements internationaux préexistants. Par application de ce principe, seront ainsi fixées notamment les dépenses administratives des Provinces de Garbich, Ménoufieh, Béhéra, et Siout, ainsi que celles des Douanes, des chemins de fer, des télégraphes, et du port d'Alexandrie, dont les revenus sont affectés à la Dette Publique."

La démarche des deux Cabinets impliquant la confirmation du principe de la compétence du concert Européen en tout ce qui concerne le régime politique du Viceroyaume, ne saurait ne pas être prise par nous en bienveillante considération. Ayant, d'ailleurs, porté notre attention sur l'amendement que les deux Cabinets proposent, nous n'hésitons pas à reconnaître qu'il présente, pour les créanciers de l'Égypte, dont les Puissances ont à plusieurs reprises, par des engagements internationaux, assuré les droits et la situation juridique, l'avantage d'une garantie plus efficace. Aussi, nous référant aux stipulations auxquelles l'Italie a pris part, n'avons-nous aucune difficulté à donner à l'Agent du Roi au Caire l'instruction de s'associer, avec ses collègues d'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, et de Russie, à toute démarche qu'il paraîtrait opportun de faire, soit individuellement, soit collectivement, pour recommander au

Gouvernement Viceroyal l'adoption, par les voies légales, de l'amendement que les Gouvernements d'Angleterre et de France suggèrent.
Vous êtes autorisé à donner lecture de cette dépêche à M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères et à lui en laisser une copie s'il le désire.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) MANCINI.

No. 14.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received April 4, 2 P.M.)

(No. 22.) Rome, April 4, 1882, 10.55 A.M.
(Telegraphic.)
FRENCH Chargé d'Affaires has been informed that ex-Khedive, Ismail Pasha, has caused his second wife, accompanied by thirty women, a eunuch, and Lany Bey, to be embarked clandestinely on a Rubattino steamer for Alexandria, where they will arrive this evening.

French Chargé d'Affaires has informed his Government, in order that Tewfik Pasha may be warned and prevent their landing.

No. 15.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 94.) Foreign Office, April 5, 1882.
Sir,
I HAVE to thank your Excellency for the interesting remarks upon the extent of the power of the Sultan in Egypt, and upon the character of Halim Pasha, contained in your despatch No. 157 of the 31st ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 16.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 6, 2 P.M.)

(No. 74.) Cairo, April 6, 1882, 10.50 A.M.
(Telegraphic.)
SIR A. PAGET'S telegram No. 22 of the 4th April repeated in your Lordship's No. 76 of the 5th instant to me.
The Princess arrived on the 4th. The Khedive sent doctors to see her, and gave orders that she should be allowed to land if seriously ill. She refused to see the doctors, and consequently remains on board.

I have been much pressed to interfere with the Khedive in her behalf, but have declined to do so, and have given no advice in the matter one way or another.

No. 17.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 7, 11.30 A.M.)

(No. 75.) Cairo, April 7, 1882, 9.30 A.M.
(Telegraphic.)

MY telegram No. 74 of yesterday.

The Khedive informs me that the Princess, having refused to be seen by the doctors, will not be allowed to land, and will return in the same ship to Naples, leaving to-morrow.

His Highness has received no communication of any kind from his father with regard to the journey.

The Princess is accompanied by twenty-eight persons, of whom one is Private Secretary of the ex-Khedive. Only seven persons of the suite left at Naples.

The Khedive believes the whole affair to be an intrigue.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 78.)
(Telegraphic.)

YOUR telegram No. 74 of the 6th.
Her Majesty's Government entirely approve your not having advised admission of Egyptian Princess.

Foreign Office, April 8, 1882, 4.25 P.M.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received April 9.)

(No. 249: Confidential.)

My Lord,

AT my audience yesterday His Majesty touched upon the subject of Egypt. He again reverted, as he has often done before, to the fact that he quite recognized that England and Turkey had joint interests in that country, and that those interests were identical, but he thought that they should not be interfered with by any other foreign Power.

I did not reply in any direct manner to this observation, but I casually remarked that I understood that His Majesty had considered that the recent change of Government in France was likely to lead to the establishment of more friendly relations between himself and the Cabinet of Paris.

His Majesty said, in reply, that he had certainly hoped so, but that, from a communication he had received from his Ambassador at Paris, he did not think that this was now likely to prove the case, as the Porte had received an intimation of the intention of the French Government to place a large body of troops along the Tripolitan frontier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 154.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith an extract from the "Moniteur Égyptien" of the 29th instant containing a notice of the antecedents of M. G. Le Chevalier, the newly-appointed French Commissioner of the Treasury of the Public Debt, and of M. Bredif, the French Controller-General *ad interim*.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 20.

Extract from the "Moniteur Égyptien" of March 29, 1882.

M. G. LE CHEVALIER, nommé récemment Commissaire-Directeur de la Caisse de la Dette Publique, est arrivé Mardi, à 4 heures, au Caire, venant de Constantinople. M. d'Assier était allé à la gare pour recevoir, au nom du Consul-Général de France, le nouveau fonctionnaire. M. Bellaigue de Bughas s'était, lui aussi, courtoisement rendu au devant de son successeur.

Avant d'être appelé aux fonctions qu'il vient remplir au Caire, M. le Chevalier a occupé successivement les situations les plus diverses, où il s'est toujours fait remarquer par un esprit conciliant sans faiblesse, par une intelligence prompte, et par une rare facilité d'assimilation.

Dans les dernières années du règne de Napoléon III, M. Le Chevalier, avocat du barreau de Paris, et journaliste en même temps, appartenait au groupe militant du parti Libéral.

Le Gouvernement du 4 Septembre l'envoya Préfet dans le Département de la Sarthe, où il se consacra entièrement à l'organisation des mobilisés, et où il resta jusqu'à ce que la bataille du Mans, qui se livra dans sa préfecture même, l'eût forcé à suivre dans leur retraite les troupes du Général Chanzy.

Quand le Gouvernement de la Défense Nationale eut remis ses pouvoirs à l'Assemblée de Bordeaux, le Préfet de la Sarthe donna sa démission, malgré les instances de M. Thiers, qui était un vieil ami de son père, et qui insista vivement pour conserver dans l'Administration le jeune Préfet auquel il portait une vive affection.

Obéissant aux scrupules les plus honorables, inspirés par ses convictions politiques, M. Le Chevalier refusa de servir un Gouvernement auquel la majorité Monarchiste de l'Assemblée ne permettait pas d'appliquer un programme sincèrement Républicain, et partit pour Constantinople où il reprit la robe d'avocat.

Pendant les dix années de son séjour en Turquie, M. le Chevalier, tout en s'occupant principalement de questions d'affaires, a pu acquérir des hommes et des choses de l'Orient une expérience qui lui sera précieuse dans sa situation nouvelle.

Une autre circonstance heureuse, c'est que le nouveau Commissaire-Directeur de la Caisse de la Dette a été camarade de collège de M. Sienkiewicz, avec lequel il a continué d'entretenir les meilleures relations.

Par une coïncidence singulière, M. Brédif, Contrôleur-Général par intérim, qui a débarqué Mardi à Alexandrie, se trouve lui aussi être l'ancien condisciple de M. Sienkiewicz.

La cordialité des rapports existant entre ces trois personnes est d'un heureux augure pour l'accomplissement de leurs missions respectives, et le Gouvernement Égyptien ne peut que se féliciter de voir régner cette bonne harmonie entre le représentant officiel de la République Française, et les représentants financiers qu'elle a délégués auprès du Gouvernement de son Altesse le Khédive.

M. Brédif appartient, comme son prédécesseur, à l'Inspection des Finances. Après s'être acquitté des diverses missions ordinairement confiées, en France, aux débutants de cette carrière administrative, il fut mis à la tête d'une des plus importantes institutions de crédit qu'il y ait à Paris, la Société Générale. Rentré dans le service Gouvernemental, il fut nommé, sous le Premier Ministre Freycinet, Directeur de la Comptabilité au Ministère des Affaires Étrangères. Il remplissait ces fonctions depuis environ deux ans, quand il a été désigné pour venir au Caire occuper par intérim le poste de Contrôleur-Général.

Par ses connaissances spéciales dans les questions financières, par la pratique des affaires qu'il a acquise quand il dirigeait la Société Générale, et par ses relations avec le haut personnel du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, M. Brédif se trouvait naturellement indiqué pour succéder à M. de Blignières dans les circonstances actuelles. Le choix de sa personne est donc heureux à plus d'un titre.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 155.)

My Lord.

Cairo, March 30, 1882.

MR. COOKSON informed your Lordship in his despatch No. 123 of the 13th instant, that it was contemplated to appoint a Commission to inquire into certain complaints relative to the administration of the Custom-house.

On my return to Cairo on the 25th instant I learned that the Commission was in fact named, and I took the earliest opportunity of speaking to Mahmoud Pasha Samy, President of the Council, on the subject. His Excellency said that the Commission was appointed in no hostility to M. Caillard, the Director General of Customs, and that it was his hope and belief that the result of the inquiry would be favourable to that gentleman. I said that if he wished the aim of the Commission to be above suspicion, he should be very careful as to its composition, and I pointed out to him that there was no Englishman upon it. His Excellency agreed that an Englishman ought to be upon the Commission, and promised to appoint one.

The Commission, as finally established, consists of the following members:—

Omar Pasha Loutfy, Governor of Alexandria, President; Rogers Bey (British subject), late Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Cairo; M. Mazuc, Director-General of Octrois; M. Seligman, attached to the Ministry of Finance; Yacoub Artin Bey, Youssouf Bey Pertin, Omar Bey Hamdy, Ajad Effendy.

I understand that the two last named were functionaries in the Customs Administration under Mr. Scrivenor, by whom they were dismissed, but otherwise the Commission is well composed and need not *a priori* be considered as unfavourable to an impartial inquiry.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 22.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 164.)

My Lord,

Cairo, April 4, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Khedive received information three days ago through M. Max Lavison, Agent of the ex-Khedive, that the second Princess, wife of the ex-Khedive, being seriously ill at Naples, his Highness had decided to send her back to Egypt, and that she had actually left in the Rubattino steamer due at Alexandria to-day.

The Khedive has desired two medical men to visit the Princess on her arrival, and she is only to be allowed to land if she is found to be seriously ill. The second Princess is the favourite wife of the ex-Khedive, and mother of Prince Ibrahim, who received his military education in England.

Her illness has been of long duration, and the Khedive has hitherto refused to allow her to return to Egypt, although pressed on the subject by his father.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 23.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 165.)

My Lord,

Cairo, April 4, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith an article extracted from the "Gazette des Tribunaux," a paper published at Alexandria under French editorship, on the illusory nature of the Control as a guarantee for the payment of the debt in consequence of the provisions of the Organic Law of the Chamber.

The article is worthy of attention in regard to coming negotiations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 23.

Extract from the "Gazette des Tribunaux" of April 3, 1882.

LE CONTRÔLE ET LA CHAMBRE DES DÉLÉGUÉS.—Le Règlement de la Chambre des Délégués enlève, il est vrai, à l'appréciation de la Chambre le service de la Dette Publique; mais cette disposition n'a, à vrai dire, aucune portée.

La rentrée des ressources nécessaires au service de la dette ne peut être assurée que par une bonne administration. Et quelle est la garantie de cette bonne administration, alors que le système que l'on veut mettre en pratique soustrait absolument les actes administratifs à l'action du Contrôle Général?

Les rédacteurs du Règlement, aujourd'hui promulgué, ont, d'ailleurs, fait preuve d'une ignorance absolue de l'état de choses résultant des Lois, Décrets, et Règlements en vigueur.

Aux termes de l'Article 34, le service du Tribut, celui de la Dette Publique—ainsi que toute charge relative à la dette résultant de la Loi de Liquidation ou de Conventions intervenues entre les Puissances étrangères et le Gouvernement Égyptien—ne pourront en aucun cas être l'objet des discussions de la Chambre.

Ces dispositions visent, sans doute, le paiement des coupons des Dettes Privilégiée et Unifiée, les échéances des obligations de la Daïra-Sanieh et des domaines, et les garanties complémentaires assurées à ces divers services, soit par la Loi de Liquidation, soit par des Conventions sociales.

Mais, si le Budget de la Daïra-Sanieh est confié à un Conseil Supérieur institué par l'Article 55 de la Loi de Liquidation, il n'en est pas de même du Budget des Domaines qui, aux termes du Règlement du 7 Avril, 1879 (Article 10), doit être soumis au Conseil des Ministres. Il n'en est pas de même du Budget de la Commission de la Dette, qui doit être approuvé par le Conseil des Ministres, aux termes de la Loi de Liquidation. Il n'en est pas de même, enfin, du Budget de Contrôle Général, qui doit être également approuvé par le Conseil des Ministres aux termes de l'Article 7 du Décret du 15 Novembre, 1879.

Ces différents budgets seront-ils, à l'avenir, soumis à l'appréciation souveraine de la Chambre des Délégués, notamment ceux de la Commission de la Dette et du Contrôle Général, qui font partie intégrante du Budget Général annuel qui doit, en vertu de l'Article 81, être soumis à la Chambre des Délégués?

Les revenus nets des chemins de fer, des télégraphes, et du port d'Alexandrie, sont affectés à la garantie de la Dette Privilégiée. Le budget des dépenses de ces Administrations, compris au Budget Général de l'État, sera-t-il soumis au vote de la Chambre?

Les revenus des domaines, des Provinces de Garbieh, Ménoufieh, Béhéra, et Siout, sont affectés à la garantie de la Dette Unifiée. Le budget des dépenses de ces Administrations figure aussi au Budget Général; devra-t-il être également soumis à la Chambre?

La même question se pose pour les dépenses de la Province de Kénch, dont les revenus, aux termes de l'Article VI de la Convention particulière du 11 Avril, 1880, sont affectés, dans des conditions déterminées, au paiement du coupon des obligations domaniales.

Le Règlement des attributions de la Chambre est formel: de la lecture des Articles 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, et 37, il résulte nettement que la Chambre discutera et votera souverainement le budget de ces Administrations et de ces provinces. Toutes les Administrations, y compris la Commission de la Dette, les Domaines, et le Contrôle Général, seront ainsi à la discrétion de la Chambre, qui sera libre de rendre illusoires toutes les garanties résultant des Conventions internationales relativement à la Dette Publique.

De ce rapide exposé on peut conclure que, en abolissant un système gouvernemental reconnu et accepté par les Puissances, le Gouvernement Égyptien a violé un engagement essentiel et international;

Que toutes les garanties basées sur cet engagement sont devenues lettre morte, elles ne peuvent plus être d'aucune utilité pratique; que, directement ou indirectement, les arrangements relatifs à la Dette Publique sont compromis;

Que le Contrôle Général, institué aux termes du Décret du 18 Novembre, 1876, pour assurer la marche régulière des services publics tout en sauvegardant les intérêts des créanciers par des garanties plus efficaces, est dans l'impossibilité absolue de remplir son mandat.

No. 24.

E

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 169.)

My Lord,

Cairo, April 4, 1882.

THE Report of the Controllers-General transmitted to your Lordship in Mr. Cookson's despatch No. 129 of the 13th ultimo, was only published in the "Moniteur Égyptien" of the 31st ultimo. The delay partly arose from the desire of the Ministry to reply to a passage in the Report relating to the possible effect which the new system of government might have on the guarantees assigned to the creditors of Egypt.

Together with the Report, therefore, a letter from Mahmoud Pasha Samy, President of the Council, to the Khedive, dated the 27th ultimo, has been published, in which his Excellency takes up the phrase of the Controllers-General, and endeavours to dissipate any anxiety that may exist on the subject, by declaring the intention of the Government to maintain faithfully the institutions established to insure the payment of the Public Debt, in the first rank of which he places the Control. He states that the changes which have taken place in the political system cannot affect the Control, and that there is no reason to fear that that system will limit

its attributions or diminish the guarantees which those attributions give to the creditors.

I have the honour to transmit herewith the Controllors Report, as published in the "Moniteur Égyptien," with the letter of the President annexed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 24.

Extract from the Supplement to the "Moniteur Égyptien" of March 31, 1882.

Extract from the "Rapport Annuel adressé par les Contrôleurs-Généraux à Son Altesse le Khédive (Article 5 du Décret du 15 Novembre, 1879). Année 1881."

EN terminant ce Rapport, nous nous faisons un devoir de reconnaître que sur toutes les questions financières de quelque importance, l'accord le plus complet a toujours existé, depuis l'institution du Contrôle, entre nous et les Ministres choisis par votre Altesse.

Nous n'avons cessé d'étudier de concert toutes les questions qui nous ont été soumises, sans autre préoccupation que de leur donner la solution la plus conforme aux intérêts généraux du pays.

Aussi pouvons-nous constater aujourd'hui que la situation financière s'est depuis deux ans progressivement améliorée; les faits mêmes relatés dans ce Rapport en sont une preuve indiscutable. Le Budget de 1880 s'est soldé par un excédant considérable de recettes; on peut affirmer qu'il en sera de même du Budget de 1881, les résultats acquis au 31 Décembre dernier ne laissant aucun doute à cet égard; tous les services ont été suffisamment dotés; toutes les dépenses ont été régulièrement payées; les recouvrements sur Contributions Directes se sont toujours opérés avec une facilité que dénotent de constantes anticipations sur les échéances, l'accroissement des revenus publics résultant non pas d'une augmentation des taxes, mais, soit des mesures prises pour en régulariser la perception, soit du développement normal de la prospérité publique, a permis de consacrer en une année plus de £ E. 600,000 à l'amortissement de la Dette Consolidée. Enfin la réalisation des ressources affectées à la liquidation a donné jusqu'à ce jour des résultats qui ne permettent pas de douter, non seulement qu'elles suffiront à éteindre toute la dette flottante, mais encore qu'un solde disponible pourra venir accroître la dotation de l'amortissement.

L'organisation politique qui a permis d'obtenir ces résultats a été en faite profondément modifiée par des événements récents. Nous ne pensons pas qu'il rentre dans le cadre de ce Rapport d'apprécier quels peuvent être, au point de vue de l'action du Contrôle, les effets de ce régime nouveau et dans quelle mesure il peut porter atteinte aux garanties accordées aux créanciers de l'Égypte en compensation des sacrifices que leur a imposés la Loi de Liquidation.

Daignez agréer, &c.
Les Contrôleurs-Généraux,
(Signé) A. COLVIN.
E. DE BLIGNIÈRES.

Le Caire, le 8 Mars, 1882.

Lettre de son Excellence le Président du Conseil des Ministres à Son Altesse le Khédive.

Monseigneur,

Le Caire, le 27 Mars, 1882.

En terminant le Rapport adressé à votre Altesse pour l'année 1881, MM. les Contrôleurs-Généraux, après avoir constaté l'amélioration de la situation financière, déclarent que l'organisation politique qui a permis d'obtenir ces résultats a été, en fait, profondément modifiée par des événements récents, et ils ajoutent:

"Nous ne pensons pas qu'il rentre dans le cadre de ce Rapport d'apprécier quels peuvent être, au point de vue de l'action du Contrôle, les effets de ce régime nouveau, et dans quelle mesure il peut porter atteinte aux garanties accordées aux créanciers de l'Égypte, en compensation des sacrifices que leur a imposés la Loi de Liquidation."

Cette dernière partie du Rapport, malgré ton extrême réserve dans la forme,

indique clairement que, dans la pensée des signataires, il existait une certaine inquiétude relativement à l'action ultérieure du Contrôle-Général, et à l'intégrité des garanties données aux créanciers de l'Égypte.

Ce n'est pas sans quelque surprise que j'ai constaté la persistance de cette inquiétude, alors que je la croyais entièrement dissipée, après l'échange de lettres qui avait eu lieu entre MM. les Contrôleurs-Généraux et moi, à la date des 8 et 9 Février dernier et dont j'ai l'honneur d'adresser ci-joint les copies à votre Altesse.

Pour ne pas laisser subsister l'incertitude à laquelle je regrette que ma réponse n'ait pas mis fin dès le 9 Février, je crois devoir déclarer de nouveau, Monseigneur, la ferme intention de votre Gouvernement de soutenir avec loyauté les institutions créées pour assurer le service de la Dette Consolidée, et au premier rang desquelles je range le Contrôle Général.

Les attributions des Contrôleurs-Généraux telles qu'elles sont nettement déterminées dans le Décret Khédivial du 15 Novembre, 1879, promulgué avec l'adhésion préalable des Gouvernements de la France et de l'Angleterre, font du Contrôle Général une institution de surveillance financière, complètement distincte des institutions politiques du pays.

Les modifications survenues dans l'organisation politique, modifications sanctionnées par votre Altesse, ne peuvent donc pas affecter l'institution du Contrôle, et il n'y a pas lieu de redouter, par conséquent, qu'aucun des effets résultant de l'établissement du nouveau régime puisse atteindre, soit l'action du Contrôle dans l'étendue de ses attributions, soit les garanties que donnent ces attributions aux créanciers de l'Égypte.

Je suis, &c.
(Signé) MAHMOUD SAMY.

M. le Président,

Le Caire, le 8 Février, 1882.

Dans la lettre que vous avez adressée à Son Altesse le Khédive, vous annoncez votre intention de soutenir loyalement les institutions créées pour assurer le service de la Dette Consolidée et parmi ces institutions vous mentionnez le Contrôle Général, comme la Commission de la Dette, le Contrôle de la Daïra, et la Commission des Domaines.

Les termes dans lesquels votre intention est exprimée donneraient à penser que vous considérez le Contrôle-Général comme ayant des attributions restreintes à la surveillance des Administrations dont le produit est affecté au service de la Dette.

Le Décret du 15 Novembre, 1879, étend, au contraire, à tous les services publics l'action du Contrôle et, nous attribuant séance au Conseil des Ministres, nous donne par cela même le droit d'émettre notre opinion sur toutes les questions d'administration intérieure qui touchent aux intérêts financiers du pays.

Nous ne pouvons donc accepter que sous réserve les termes du programme que vous avez soumis à Son Altesse. Nous vous prions de vouloir bien lui communiquer cette lettre et d'en donner lecture au Conseil des Ministres dans sa prochaine séance.

Veillez, &c.
Les Contrôleurs-Généraux,
(Signé) A. COLVIN.
E. DE BLIGNIÈRES.

Messieurs,

Le Caire, le 9 Février, 1882.

En soumettant à Son Altesse le Khédive les principes qui dirigeront ma conduite et celle du Ministère que je préside, ma volonté de soutenir loyalement les institutions créées pour assurer le service de la Dette Consolidée a été formellement exprimée.

Votre lettre du 8 Février courant me fait connaître que les termes dans lesquels ma volonté est exprimée vous ont donné à penser que la Contrôle Général avait des attributions restreintes à la surveillance des Administrations dont le produit est affecté au service de la Dette. Cette interprétation ne me paraît pas justifiée. Le Contrôle Général a été institué comme l'une des garanties les plus efficaces pour les intérêts des créanciers et c'est à ce titre que, dans ma lettre à Son Altesse le Khédive, il a été mentionné en tête des Administrations créées pour assurer le service de la Dette Con-

solidée. Aux termes du Décret du 15 Novembre, 1879, les Contrôleurs-Généraux, sans prendre part à la Direction des Services Administratifs et Financiers, ont, en matière financière, les pouvoirs d'investigation les plus étendus sur tous les services publics : ce Décret fait partie des dispositions législatives qui ont définitivement réglé la dette du pays, et j'ai formellement déclaré que le Ministère veillerait à leur stricte et fidèle exécution.

J'ai donc la satisfaction de vous donner l'assurance que vos réserves au programme que Son Altesse a daigné approuver n'ont aucun fondement et j'espère, Messieurs, que ces explications seront pour vous une nouvelle preuve de mon désir de vous faciliter l'exercice des fonctions dont vous êtes chargés dans l'intérêt des créanciers.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) MAHMOUD SAMY.

No. 25.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

E
(No. 392.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, April 11, 1882.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 282 of the 3rd instant, reporting your conversation with M. de Freycinet on the subject of the suggestion made by me in conversation with M. Tissot, that the British and French Governments should each send out to Egypt a technical adviser to assist their Agents and Consuls-General in settling the financial details of the arrangement which it is proposed to make respecting the future powers and attributes of the Chamber of Notables.

The objections which M. de Freycinet made to the suggestion appear to me to rest upon a misapprehension of its scope and intention.

I had not meant to propose that Commissioners should be sent out to examine and report upon the situation, or that the gentlemen sent should have any position which should derogate from the authority of the Agents and Consuls-General.

I had taken it for granted that the discussion of the arrangement to be made with the Egyptian Government would be left to these latter officers as representing their respective Governments. But it seems to me difficult to suppose that the Agents and Consuls-General would possess of themselves the necessary financial knowledge and experience for dealing with the details of a scheme such as will have to be framed. On the other hand, it is scarcely desirable that they should have to rely exclusively, for their information on these points, on the Controllers-General, who are themselves Egyptian officials, the extent of whose own power for the future are involved in the discussion, and who are at this moment considered by public opinion in Egypt to be the representatives of one party in regard to the questions at issue.

I therefore suggested that the British and French Representatives might each, for the moment, be advantageously supported by having at their side an adviser possessed of the necessary technical experience, who had been in the habit of considering economical reforms, and to whom they might have recourse for an independent and impartial opinion upon any points which seemed to them doubtful or complicated. I doubt much whether such an arrangement would create any jealousy on the part of the other Powers.

I have no wish to press the suggestion if M. de Freycinet sees decided objections to it, but I should be glad if your Excellency will bring the above-mentioned considerations under his notice.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 26.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

E
(No. 393. Confidential.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, April 11, 1882.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 283 of the 3rd instant, reporting your conversation with M. de Freycinet as to the expediency of communicating to the

Porte the proposals which have been made by England and France to the other Powers for the settlement of the administrative questions now pending in Egypt.

Her Majesty's Government have carefully considered the objections raised by M. de Freycinet to the course proposed by them. They quite admit that it is desirable so to manage matters as to avoid any appearance of conceding to the Sultan a right to interfere in questions which have been withdrawn from his control.

At the same time, the disposition of the Porte, favourable or hostile, cannot fail to have considerable influence on the negotiation, and Her Majesty's Government think it would be very unwise not to communicate to the Turkish Government, as an act of courtesy, and by way of information, proposals which are certain to become known to them through other channels in a very few days.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 27.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

E
(No. 394. Very Confidential.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, April 11, 1882.

HER Majesty's Government have carefully considered the observations of M. de Freycinet, as reported in your Excellency's despatch No. 284, Very Confidential, of the 3rd instant, with regard to the possible deposition of Tewfik Pasha from the Khedivate, and the substitution of Halim Pasha. I feel bound to state that, upon further reflection and consultation, the objections which at first occurred to me in regard to this suggestion have been strengthened rather than removed.

It seems, in the first place, although the observation does not apply personally so much to M. de Freycinet as to myself and Her Majesty's Government, that, after the declarations of support so recently given to the present Khedive in the name of the British and French Governments, it would be an act questionable in point of good faith if we were now not only to abandon him, but to combine for his removal, without any new and more apparent cause than can at present be shown to exist.

Nor have we any security that the change would necessarily be beneficial. I have listened with interest to the favourable account given by M. Tissot of Halim Pasha's qualities and disposition; but the European education acquired by an Oriental is not certain in its result, and it must be a matter of doubt whether, if raised to power, his conduct would answer to the expectations raised by his present language and demeanour.

I have not clearly understood from whence M. Tissot derived his impression that Halim Pasha would be received with satisfaction by all parties in Egypt. But it is a matter of general experience that but little reliance can be placed in such calculations by candidates for power residing out of the country or their partisans.

The further objection which occurs, on consideration, is that the measure, if it were really an efficacious one, could scarcely be accomplished without involving the consequences which it is desired to avoid.

The objects sought to be attained are, as M. de Freycinet states them, to secure an efficient Ruler who would not be fanatical or unreasonably submissive to the Sultan, to preserve the Anglo-French Control, and to guard against the necessity of armed intervention or some other violent measure.

But to interfere with the substitution of another Viceroy for the present Khedive without the action of the Porte would be a very strong innovation on the part of England and France, and would expose them to severe criticism.

To do so by the authority of the Porte would be to weaken still further the authority of the office. Circumstances might make it necessary to do so, but the individual so named could hardly fail to remember the fate of his two predecessors, and to consider how necessary it was to conciliate and obtain the continued support of the Sultan, by whatever means were best calculated to secure that end.

It must also be supposed that the Egyptian army have some perception as to their own interests, and will only consent to the change under the belief that it will strengthen their position. If they should have doubts upon this point, and should determine on resistance, it does not appear how the matter is to be carried through without that armed interference which M. de Freycinet and Her Majesty's Government

deprecate, and for the purpose of averting which I understand M. de Freycinet to make the proposal under discussion.

On the other hand, the army might sell its support to the incoming Khedive on terms which would be subversive of the Control or otherwise injurious to the country.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 28.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 303.)

My Lord,

Paris, April 11, 1882.

M. DECRAIS, Director of Political Affairs, came to me this morning from M. de Freycinet, and read to me a despatch from M. Brédif, the Acting French Controller in Egypt.

The despatch referred to a telegram dated, I think, the 1st of this month, in which M. Brédif had reported to M. de Freycinet the resignation of M. Lacron d'Airolles, the Secretary-General of the Control. It went on to say that M. Brédif thought the withdrawal of M. Lacron d'Airolles very undesirable at this moment, but that he had in vain urged him to remain, and that therefore, after conferring with M. Sienkiewics and Sir Auckland Colvin, he felt it his duty to ask M. de Freycinet to name a new Secretary-General of the Control.

M. Decrais went on to tell me that M. de Freycinet had, in consequence, asked M. Léon Say, the Minister of Finance, to recommend a suitable official from his Department for the post, and that M. Léon Say had recommended M. Hoédé, an Inspector-General of Finances of high repute.

M. Decrais said that M. Hoédé appeared to be well qualified for the office, and that he had even some experience of the East, having been formerly sent on a financial mission to Eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria; but that, before agreeing to the recommendation of him made by the Minister of Finance, M. de Freycinet desired to ascertain your Lordship's opinion.

M. Decrais had accordingly, he said, been desired by M. de Freycinet to ask me to make your Lordship acquainted with the state of the case, and to say that he would wait for your Lordship's answer before proceeding to accept the recommendation made by M. Léon Say.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 29.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 304. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, April 11, 1882.

WITH reference to my immediately preceding despatch No. 303 of to-day, it may perhaps be right that I should observe that, in M. Brédif's despatch to M. de Freycinet, in M. de Freycinet's message to me, and in M. Decrais' own observations to me, it seemed to be taken for granted that the Secretary-General of the Control would, as a matter of course, be a Frenchman, and that it would rest with the French Minister for Foreign Affairs to name the person to be appointed to the post.

I am not prepared to say from memory how far this assumption is well founded, and I have not time, before the message goes, to look into the papers, with a view to ascertain how the matter stands.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 30.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 12, 1:30 P.M.)

(No. 78.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, April 12, 1882, 12:20 P.M.

SIXTEEN arrests have been made among officers and soldiery in consequence of an alleged conspiracy to murder Araby Pasha.

Over 500 officers have recently been promoted, causing much discontent among those not promoted, principally Circassians.

Araby Pasha is said to be much alarmed, and no longer goes home at night, but lives entirely at the barracks.

No. 31.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 12, 3:20 P.M.)

(No. 79.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, April 12, 1882, 1:30 P.M.

M. BRÉDIF has sent a Memorandum to his Government suggesting additions to the proposals of Powers with regard to the Organic Law. I have sent them in a Memorandum from Sir A. Colvin in my despatch No. 176 of yesterday, which goes home by the mail to-day.

No. 32.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 308.)
My Lord,

Paris, April 13, 1882.

YESTERDAY I communicated verbally to M. de Freycinet the observations stated in your Lordship's despatch No. 392 of the day before, in answer to the objections made by him to your suggestion that technical advisers should be sent to assist the British and French Agents and Consuls-General in Egypt in settling the details of the financial arrangements contemplated in the recent identic communication to the Powers.

M. de Freycinet said that he saw the full force of your Lordship's observations, that they went far to remove some of his objections to the measure your Lordship had suggested, but that some of his difficulties remained.

He could not, he said, help still fearing that the mission of fresh English and French financial officers to Egypt, however clearly it might be explained and defined, will be liable to be misconstrued by the other Powers. But the principal misgiving that he felt related to the effect the mission might have on the relations between the Controllers and the Consuls-General. It would, he thought, be difficult to prevent the Controllers supposing that it was with a view to controlling them that the Agents were to be furnished with special financial advisers. They would, in fact, suppose that they would sink from the position of "Contrôleurs" into that of "Contrôlés." Such a state of feeling must, M. de Freycinet thought, inevitably produce a "froissement" between the Controllers and the Consuls-General.

I reminded M. de Freycinet that the financial experts would be sent to assist the Consuls-General in a particular discussion in which they would have need of technical advice, and in which, for the reasons stated by your Lordship, they could hardly have recourse to the Controllers for such advice.

After some further conversation, M. de Freycinet said that he did not wish to be understood as definitively declining to concur in your Lordship's suggestion, but that the matter did not seem to him to be very pressing, and that he should be much obliged if your Lordship would allow it to stand over for the present. The question might, he observed in conclusion, be taken up again if the course of events should tend to show that the mission suggested would be advisable.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS

No. 33.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 14.)

E
(No. 309. Confidential.)
My Lord,

Paris, April 13, 1882.

I SPOKE to M. de Freycinet yesterday, in the terms of your Lordship's despatch No. 393, Confidential, of the day before, on the subject of communicating with the Porte in regard to the proposals to the Powers respecting Egypt put forward in the identic despatch of the 17th ultimo.

His Excellency said that he did not object to communicate to the Porte these proposals, on condition that the communication was made simply as an act of courtesy ("un bon procédé"), and by way of information ("à titre de renseignement"), and that no invitation was given to the Porte to express its opinion or enter into discussion.

On this condition he should, he said, be willing that, when the time came for delivering to the Egyptian Government a note embodying the proposals, the Ambassadors at Constantinople should give a copy to the Porte at the same time that the original was presented at Cairo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 34.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 14.)

E
(No. 310. Very Confidential.)
My Lord,

Paris, April 13, 1882.

YESTERDAY I communicated to M. de Freycinet, verbally, but fully and accurately, the contents of your Lordship's despatch No. 394, Very Confidential, of the day before, relative to the suggestion made by his Excellency that Tewfik Pasha might be deposed, and Halim Pasha put in his place as Khedive of Egypt.

M. de Freycinet said that he quite understood that if the declaration made to Tewfik Pasha on the 8th January were looked at in immediate juxtaposition with a proposal now to dethrone him, there might appear to be a startling contrast between them. He thought, however, that the events which had occurred since the declaration should be considered. It might, he conceived, be argued that by the declaration the Governments of France and England had done all they could to strengthen Tewfik Pasha's position—that Tewfik had not known how to turn the support thus given him to account, that he had, on the contrary, let things go from bad to worse, that he had entirely lost the respect of the Egyptian people, that, in fact, under him the efficient government of the country had become plainly impossible, and that thus the two Powers were driven as a last resource to substitute for him a Ruler of energy and capacity.

I observed that undoubtedly a most unsatisfactory state of things had grown up in Egypt, but that I should have great difficulty in finding either in the conduct of Tewfik Pasha since the declaration, or in the dealings of France and England with him since that time, the means of distinctly reconciling with good faith a combination of the two Powers now to depose him.

As regards the character and capacity of Halim Pasha, M. de Freycinet said that he would waive all discussion at the moment. He had not deemed it prudent to make any searching inquiries respecting him, lest his so doing should give rise to unfounded suppositions and to inconveniences of many kinds. The impression, however, which he had derived from M. Tissot, the only person with whom he had conversed at any length on the subject, was certainly favourable to Halim.

As regarded the mode in which this substitution of Halim for Tewfik might be effected, M. de Freycinet observed that he had never had the least notion of proceeding otherwise than in concert with the Sultan.

His idea was that France and England should come to an understanding with the other Powers, and should then, in the name of all the other Powers, invite the co-operation of the Sultan.

As to the reception of Halim Pasha by the Egyptian army or the Egyptian people, M. de Freycinet had no misgivings. He was, he said, quite convinced that if

Tewfik were displaced and Halim appointed by the Sultan and all the other Powers united, there would not be even a semblance of opposition in Egypt. Commissioners might be sent to effect the change on the spot, one on the part of the Sultan, and one each on the part of France and England acting as the mandatories of Europe; and M. de Freycinet was certain that no opposition would be made.

I observed that it was very difficult to foresee with absolute certainty what would actually happen in such a case; and that if after all, any serious opposition were made, the intervention by force, which M. de Freycinet so much deprecated, might be rendered inevitable. But even if the appointment of Halim Pasha was acquired in, or even welcomed, at first, it must, I said, be remembered that the authority of the Khedivate had been already much shaken by the deposition of Ismail Pasha, that it would be very much more weakened by a second deposition within so short a time, and that consequently Halim might very soon have to look for support from abroad. Now it would, I said, be very difficult for France and England again to abandon a Khedive set up mainly by them, while the consequences which would have followed the Declaration of the 8th January, would not tend to give weight to any endeavours to support Halim by merely moral means. And thus we should again be brought close to the necessity for armed intervention.

M. de Freycinet answered that no doubt the prestige of the Khedivate had been much diminished by the deposition of Ismail Pasha; but that it having once been shown that the deposition of a Khedive was possible, two depositions would hardly have more effect than one.

It was, his Excellency went on to say, especially with a view to finally putting an end to all risk of armed intervention that he desired to set up a Khedive who would have ability and authority enough to establish and maintain regular and orderly Government.

The joint intervention of England and France would have many inconveniences, and would hardly tend to maintain harmony between them. On the other hand, the armed intervention of Turkey would, M. de Freycinet went on to say, be most objectionable. If once the Sultan got his troops into Egypt who could say when they could be got out again? It was, in his opinion, idle to talk of England and France exercising a control over Turkish troops in Egypt. The great aim of the Sultan was to reduce Egypt to a province like Tripoli, and if His Majesty once occupied Egypt with an army, M. de Freycinet was convinced that he would attain this object.

M. de Freycinet proceeded to observe that for the moment things seemed quiet in Egypt, but that nevertheless we might any day hear of some proceedings there which we could not tolerate, and he was anxious that we should be prepared to meet such a contingency.

I observed that on the one hand such an exercise of authority by the Sultan as a fresh change of Khedive did not seem calculated to diminish his means of interfering in Egypt, while on the other hand a measure of the kind could hardly be regarded as a means of meeting immediately a sudden emergency.

After some further conversation M. de Freycinet said that he did not propose the step as one to be taken immediately, but that he did wish it to be a subject of serious consideration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 35.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 311.)
My Lord,

Paris, April 13, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatches Nos. 303 and 304, both of the day before yesterday, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that M. de Freycinet begged me yesterday to ask your Lordship to let him have, as soon as possible, an answer on the subject of the nomination of M. Hoedé to the post of Secretary-General to the Control in Egypt.

His Excellency said that M. Lairon d'Airolles, who had just resigned the office, was desirous of leaving Egypt immediately, and that for this and other reasons it was desirable that the new appointment should be made without delay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 14, 3.5 P.M.)

(No. 81.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, April 14, 1882, 2 P.M.

MY telegram No. 78 of the 12th instant.
There is some anxiety as to the result of the imprisonment of the Circassians. It is doubted whether the Government is strong enough to remain master of the situation. It is said that the Bedouins are much discontented, and may move on slender provocation.

A little time, to see the turn which events may take, would be useful before opening any negotiations between the Powers and the Government.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 79.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 14, 1882, 5 P.M.

D'AIROLLES insists upon resigning Secretariat of Control. Does the appointment belong to the French?

Ask Colvin his opinion and wishes, and reply by telegraph.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 80.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 14, 1882, 5 P.M.

YOUR despatch No. 155.
You should point out to Egyptian Government the strong objection to the appointment of two dismissed clerks on the Customs Inquiry Commission.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 15, 1.55 P.M.)

(No. 82.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, April 15, 1882, 11 A.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 79 of yesterday.
The appointment has been held by M. d'Airolles since the establishment of the Control. Acting on the principle laid down in my despatch No. 346 of the 26th November last, and approved in your Lordship's despatch No. 245 of the 16th December last, Sir A. Colvin and I have considered that the French ought to fill the vacancy. We attach great importance to observing the rule we have always declared we should act upon, both as a guarantee to ourselves in the future, and as an earnest of our sincerity towards the French.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 15, 2 P.M.)

(No. 83.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, April 15, 1882, 11.30 A.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 80 of yesterday.
I complained at the time to the Egyptian Government of the two appointments. One of the persons resigned on hearing that objections to his sitting on the Commission had been raised, and the appointment of the other was cancelled. The Commission, as actually composed, is unobjectionable, and I hear that the Government is turning entirely in Mr. Caillard's favour.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 16, 5 P.M.)

(No. 30.)
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, April 16, 1882, 10.30 A.M.

SIR E. MALET'S telegram No. 82 of yesterday.
May I inform French Government that Her Majesty's Government agree to the appointment of M. Hoede as Secretary to the Control?

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 17, 11.15 A.M.)

(No. 85.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, April 17, 1882, 9.45 A.M.

MY telegram No. 81 of 14th instant.
Arrests continue, and now amount to thirty. The Khedive is anxious at the situation. He tells me that he has never known so much general uneasiness in Cairo and that something must shortly happen.

He seems to fear that in a few days the party in power may begin to accuse him of sympathy with alleged conspiracy and assisting it.

His Highness has received a telegram from his Agent at Constantinople asking him, by desire of the Sultan, whether Arabi is really "Sheriff," that is, descendant of the Prophet.

The Khedive does not understand the motive of the question. He has replied that Arabi is certainly not a descendant.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 89.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 17, 1882, 1.15 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 30 of yesterday.
Yes.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 418 A. Extender.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, April 17, 1882.

IN reply to your Excellency's despatch No. 311 of the 13th instant, I have to authorize you to inform M. de Freycinet that Her Majesty's Government have no objection to offer to the appointment of M. Hoede to the post of Secretary-General to the Control in Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 173.)
My Lord,

Cairo, April 8, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, extracted the "Moniteur Égyptien" of the 7th instant, a Decree dated the 6th instant, appointing M. G. Le Chevalier as French Commissioner of the Treasury of the Public Debt in the place of M. Bellaigue de Bughas.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 45.

*Extract from the "Moniteur Egyptien" of April 7, 1882.**Décret.*

NOUS, Khédive d'Égypte,
Vu l'Article 5 du Décret, en date du 2 Mai, 1876;

Décrétons :

M. G. Le Chevalier est nommé Commissaire-Directeur près la Caisse de la Dette Publique, en remplacement de M. Bellaigue de Bughas.
Fait au Palais d'Abdin, le 6 Avril, 1882.

(Signé) MÉHÉMET TEWFIK.

Par le Khédive :
Le Président du Conseil des Ministres,
(Signé) MAHMOUD SAMI.

No. 46.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 174. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, April 10, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 164 of the 4th instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that on the 6th instant the Khedive asked me to come to him, as he desired to inform me of the circumstances connected with the arrival at Alexandria of the Second Princess, wife of Ismail Pasha, ex-Khedive.

His Highness told me that on learning from Mr. Max Lavison, Agent of the ex-Khedive, that the Princess was on the eve of arriving in the steamer of the Rubattino Company, due on the 4th instant, he instructed Dr. Ardoin, Dr. Dacarogua, and an Egyptian doctor, attached to the household of the ex-Khedive's mother, to visit the Princess on her arrival, and to ascertain the state of her health. He gave orders that if she were found to be seriously ill, she was to be allowed to disembark with her suite, and to be conveyed to a Palace at Alexandria, which he had caused to be prepared for her reception.

The Princess refused to receive the doctors, but she was seen by the Governor of Alexandria, Omer Pasha Loutfy, who found her walking in her cabin, and not apparently in the state represented, of a person returning to her own country to die.

The ex-Khedive had sent with her a suite of twenty-eight persons, retaining only seven for the service of the two remaining Princesses at Naples.

The Khedive informed me that as the Princess refused to admit the doctors to report upon her health he could not consent to her landing, and she accordingly left Alexandria on the 8th instant for Naples, in the same ship in which she had arrived.

The Khedive has been much blamed and accused of inhumanity in the course which he pursued, but, I think, without justification.

It is held to be inhuman of His Highness to refuse permission to the Princess to return and die in her own country, but it is surely singular that she should desire to return to a climate notoriously disadvantageous to the disease of the stone from which she is suffering, and that, if she believes her end to be approaching, she should seek to separate herself from her husband and her son. The Khedive could more fairly be accused of inhumanity if he had endeavoured to force her to come to Egypt under such circumstances.

It is indeed reasonable to conclude that the whole incident is but an intrigue of Ismail Pasha to recover footing in the country, and that the action of the Khedive was fully justified both by political and family considerations.

I have the honour to inclose herewith an extract from the "Moniteur Egyptien" of the 6th instant, reproducing a letter on the subject, addressed by Araby Pasha, Minister of War, to the Director of the Press, in which he states that, it having been reported that he and the officers of the army were favourable to the return of the Princess, he takes the opportunity to declare that he and the army

generally are opposed to the return to Egypt of any one connected with the ex-Khedive.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 46.

Arabi Pasha to the Director of the Press.

M. le Directeur de la Presse,

Le Caire, le 6 Avril, 1882.

À L'OCCASION de l'arrivée à Alexandrie de l'une des Princesses, épouses de Son Altesse l'ex-Khedive Ismail Pasha, un public intéressé a fait courir le bruit que le Ministre de la Guerre et les officiers de l'armée étaient favorables à la venue et au séjour de cette personne en Égypte.

Ce bruit a pris une telle consistance que quelques esprits ont pu le considérer comme fondé.

Je crois opportun d'opposer à ces rumeurs le démenti le plus formel, aussi bien en mon nom personnel qu'au nom des officiers et même des simples soldats de l'armée Égyptienne. L'armée dans sa généralité, d'accord avec le peuple, est opposée à l'entrée en Égypte de toute personne indistinctement, quelque soit son rang ou son sexe, qui se présenterait de la part de l'ex-Khedive; parce que la nation et l'armée sont convaincues d'avance de tous les maux qui en résulteraient pour le pays.

Je vous invite à donner à cette lettre la plus grande publicité, afin de faire connaître la vérité à ce sujet, et pour faire disparaître jusqu'au moindre doute qui aurait pu naître de ces faux bruits.

Le Ministre de la Guerre,
(Signé) AHMET ARABI.

No. 47.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 176.)

My Lord,

Cairo, April 11, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a Memorandum by Sir Auckland Colvin on the financial situation. It appears that the Commissioners of the Domains which form the guarantee for the Rothschild Loan have presented their accounts for the past year, and that they show a deficit on that year of £ E. 108,000, and that this is apart from the sum remaining at the end of the year due to Government on account of land revenue in the non-assigned provinces, amounting to about £ E. 100,000.

In the Memorandum inclosed, Sir Auckland Colvin submits to the attention of Her Majesty's Government the bearing on the finances of Egypt of this and certain other charges which have been recently imposed. He explains the financial difficulties which must by degrees develop themselves, and he foreshadows in the course of 1883 the commencement of a fresh floating debt, resulting later on in a demand for further reduction in the interest assigned to the Unified Debt.

In a postscript he states that since writing this Memorandum he has seen another, written by M. Brédif for the information of M. de Freycinet, the object of which is to show that the proposed modifications in Article 34 of the Organic Law are by themselves illusory, on the ground that they afford no security for the equilibrium of the non-assigned revenues, which are the ultimate guarantee and safeguard of the whole system. He therefore makes certain proposals, which Sir Auckland Colvin deems to be still insufficient, but in the right direction.

Without pronouncing any opinion on their adequacy to ensure the financial situation, I may say that they appear to me to be sufficiently stringent to provoke a refusal of them on the part of the Egyptian Government, and I venture to submit that the Powers, before making demands which will really guarantee the future, ought to be agreed upon the means of enforcing them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Memorandum.

THE Commissioners for the Domains have presented their accounts for 1881, showing a deficit on that year of £ E. 108,000. This is apart from the sum remaining at the end of the year due to Government on account of land revenue in the non-assigned provinces, and which amounts in round figures to £ E. 100,000. The total loss, therefore, to the Government Exchequer on the year's working, is £ E. 208,000. In other words, £ E. 100,000 of land revenue must be written off as irrecoverable; and the Government before the 30th of this month, under the conventions with the Rothschilds, must make good the sum of £ E. 108,000.

2. This deficit arises partly from the receipts falling short of the Budget Estimates, partly from expenditures being in excess of Budget Estimates. As to the former, the Commissioners verbally explain to us (Controllers) that the year was below the average, and that they lost heavily on the sale of their cotton; as to the second, that they were obliged during the year to make large purchases of cattle, which they could not foresee. They add, as a general explanation, that in so large an affair as the agricultural management of the Domains, in a foreign country, and with a service only organized since two years, the Budget cannot be more than an approximative estimate.

3. Without entering here into the adequacy of this explanation, I think it necessary to call the attention of my Government to the bearing on the finances of this and certain other charges on them which have been recently imposed.

4. The sum of £ E. 108,000 will, properly speaking, be so much out of the £ E. 540,000 granted as the Extraordinary Budget of 1882, since that Budget is wholly composed of the balance remaining when the accounts of 1881 are closed (30th April, 1882). This sum (an unforeseen and, therefore, unprovided-for item) must be met before that date. But, as it would be inconvenient now to disturb the arrangements made for the Extraordinary Budget of 1882, the sum of £ E. 108,000 will practically be met by the surplus balance available when the accounts for the Ordinary Budget of 1882 are closed. The Extraordinary Budget of 1883 will, therefore, be less by £ E. 108,000 than it would otherwise have been.

5. But it was shown in our Report for 1881 (page 15, English version), that, in framing the Estimate for the Ordinary Budget of 1882, we have calculated on £ E. 182,941 on account of excess of collections over estimates, which, in the previous years, 1880 and 1881, had been excluded from the Estimates of the Ordinary Budgets, and formed part of the Extraordinary Budgets of 1881 and 1882. This was forced on us, chiefly by the necessity of meeting the increased army grant.

6. The Extraordinary Budget of 1883 will, therefore, be minus £ E. 182,941 and £ E. 108,000, or, in all, £ E. 290,941.

7. Now, the amount hitherto ordinarily available for the Extraordinary Budget has been about £ E. 550,000. Deducting from this £ E. 290,941 we can now foresee, with certainty, that the assets of the Extraordinary Budget of 1883 will not exceed £ E. 250,000.

8. Against this there are two fixed grants, each of £ E. 100,000, which *must* be met, viz., £ E. 100,000 being part of the increased grant to the army, and £ E. 100,000 for the Soudan. (The recent scheme of reorganization of the Soudan, and the application to the military forces there of the increased rates of pay decreed last year, will require, I may observe in passing, a larger sum than £ E. 100,000.) £ E. 50,000 must be added as a reserve for unforeseen expenses. The Extraordinary Budget of 1883 will thus be exhausted.

9. It has been the rule hitherto to supplement the grants to public works and railways, assigned in the Ordinary Budget (in accordance with the Budget presented to the Commission of Liquidation), by grants on the Extraordinary Budget. This was needful, because the ordinary grants suffice only for current expenses and maintenance, and leave nothing available for improvements, repairs, and purchase of material. Both canals and railways require large expenditure on this head, owing to the want of funds and maladministration in the last years of Ismail Pasha. Thus, in 1881, £ E. 199,287 were granted to the Public Works, and £ E. 99,252 to the Railways from the Extraordinary Budget. Similarly, in 1882, grants of £ E. 70,000 have been respectively allotted (see Appendices 3 and 8 Controllers' Report, 1881).

10. In 1883 nothing can be given. On the contrary, it will need the greatest care, even if all circumstances are favourable, to avoid a deficit on the Ordinary and Extraordinary Budgets of 1883. The necessity of making good the deficit of the Domains,

and the increased grant of £ E. 211,000 on account of war expenditure (p. 17, Controllers' Report, 1881, English Version), have led to this unfavourable result. The Domains deficit could have been met, while still leaving a considerable sum available for Public Works and Railways, but for the army expenditure.

11. It was always our aim, until the increased army grants were forced upon us, to charge to the Extraordinary Budget chiefly such grants as were, in their nature, at the same time productive of revenue and revocable. If the rule was unfavourable, or there came from any of the administrations a call on the guarantee to which ultimately the Government is pledged, a large part of the sums assigned on the Extraordinary Budget could have been immediately revoked. Now, for the reasons shown above, this is no longer possible. The Extraordinary Budget will suffice little more than to meet the fixed unproductive charges which I have specified. It is obvious, further, that the withdrawal of the Public Works and Railways' Extraordinary Grants will indirectly diminish receipts, both of these being productive administrations.

12. The financial outlook, therefore, in regard to the Ordinary and Extraordinary Budgets of 1883, is decidedly dark. These are the Budgets which, as I understand, are about to be made over to the Chamber.

13. It will, I apprehend, be the policy of the present Government and the Chamber to attempt to restore the financial equilibrium by reducing establishments and salaries, by economizing, in part or in whole, on the grants assigned to the Department of Land Survey and Settlement, and to the proposed reformed native Tribunals, and by dismissing a large number of Europeans. Some immediate saving may be effected by the first measure, much as an immediate saving might be effected by starving public works. But such saving, unless cautiously carried out, will shortly result again in increased expenditure; while, on the other hand, if cautiously carried out, it will be productive of little appreciable immediate relief. Savings under the second head will be made to the direct prejudice of improved administration and the most urgent needs of the country. As to the last head, a few details will not be out of place.

14. The total annual cost of European salaries to the Government is, in round numbers, £ E. 250,000. About 950 Europeans are employed. Of these eight-ninths draw salaries less than £ E. 480 per annum, and of these again the great majority draw less than £ E. 300 per annum, being mechanics and workmen on the railway, telegraph, or clerks, and such like. From the nature of circumstances in Egypt, it is only a small number of employes whom Egyptians, at present, are qualified to replace, and on such a low average salary the saving effected would be inconsiderable. It may be added that the vast majority of Europeans are employed in the railways, customs, ports, and telegraphs, with which the Chamber will have no power of direct interference.

There are, on the other hand, seventeen persons only (including the Controllers) who draw salaries of and over £ E. 2,000 per annum. Here again, obviously, no sensible financial saving can be looked for.

15. The proper directions, I am of opinion, in which to look on the expenditure side for improvement, are—

(1.) The immediate reduction of the Army Estimates.

(2.) The review and reorganization of the Civil Establishments, including the salaries of Europeans, as far as possible.

(3.) A more active policy of sale and farm of the Domains than the present Commission seems to be disposed to adopt.

This last measure is the only effective guarantee against such a deficit as the Domains deficit of 1881. On the receipts side, a revision of the commercial Tariff and the tobacco duties is the most promising source of revenue.

16. The problem before the Government and the Chamber is, therefore, extremely difficult and delicate. There is no chance of the Chamber being able, unaided, to reduce the army expenditure, and the Ministry, which is essentially an army Ministry, has no wish to assist them. No serious saving in establishments can be hoped for, except as the result of careful inquiries, unless they are carried out to the prejudice of administration, so as to lessen receipts by underpaying or starving the strength of the *personnel*. Economy brought about by delaying or destroying urgently-needed reforms is the worst economy possible. There is little chance of the Domains sensibly changing their present system of procedure. The present Government, finally, can appeal with little confidence to Europe to reconsider commercial Tariffs, or to assist it in extricating itself from the engagements towards Turkey by which, contrary to the Firmans, it has hitherto allowed itself to be bound in regard to the tobacco duties. The financial aptitude of the Ministry and the Chamber is of the humblest: their distrust of the financial advice urged on them by the Control is of the keenest. I apprehend that, in the course of

1883, the commencement of a fresh floating debt will be seen, resulting later on in a demand for further reduction in the interest assigned to the Unified Debt.

(Signed) A. COLVIN.

Cairo, April 10, 1882.

Since writing the above, I have been shown by M. Brédif, my French colleague, a Memorandum which he is sending by to-day's mail to M. de Freycinet. Its object is to show that the modifications in Article 34 of the Organic Law are, by themselves, illusory, on the ground that they afford no security for the equilibrium of the non-assigned revenues, which are the ultimate guarantee and safeguard of the whole system. He has proposed certain changes, which will doubtless be communicated to the English Government, having for their object the restriction of the right of the Chamber, in regard to the Ordinary Budget of the Non-Assigned Revenues, to the sum fixed by the Commission of Liquidation, and allowing them to make annual grants on the Extraordinary Budget only in the event of no requirements being established for the fulfilment of the guarantees furnished to the Domains, Daira, &c. I need not discuss his proposal here further than to say that, while it seems to me insufficient for the purpose in view, it is, I agree, in the right direction. Practically, it would raise the question of the Army Grant when the Budget of 1883 comes up for discussion. I have, in this paper, purposely abstained from discussing the terms of the proposed Anglo-French note, having said on a previous occasion all I have to say on that head, and thinking my duty limited now to keeping my Government informed of the actual situation.

A. C.

No. 48.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 179.)

My Lord,

Cairo, April 11, 1882

WITH reference to Mr. Cookson's despatch No. 132 of the 16th ultimo regarding the promotions of several Colonels in the army, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, since then, numerous further promotions have been made. I am informed that, up to the present time, 520 officers have been advanced in rank.

The Controllers-General are unacquainted with the manner in which the increase of pay of these officers is provided for, but it is supposed that the augmentation of the army has been more or less left aside, and that the money intended for this service is being used to pay the officers.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 49.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 320. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, April 16, 1882.

I HAVE this day had the honour to receive your Lordship's despatch No. 416 of yesterday, inclosing a copy of a telegram from Sir Edward Malet, dated also yesterday and marked No. 82, from which it appears that in Sir Edward's own opinion, and in that of Sir A. Colvin, the French ought to fill the vacancy which has been occasioned by the resignation by M. Lairon d'Airolles of the post of Secretary-General of the Control.

I have, in consequence, with reference to my despatches No. 303 and 304 of the 11th instant, and No. 311 of the 13th instant, asked your Lordship by telegraph whether you authorize me to inform M. de Freycinet that Her Majesty's Government agree to the appointment of M. Hoedé as Secretary-General of the Control.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 50.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 323.)

My Lord,

Paris, April 17, 1882.

HAVING received this afternoon your Lordship's telegram No. 89 of to-day, I have informed M. de Freycinet that Her Majesty's Government concur in the appointment of M. Hoedé as Secretary-General of the Control in Egypt.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 51.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 430 B. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, April 20, 1882.

THE French Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and placed in my hands a copy of his letter of credence, at the same time requesting that I would submit to the Queen his application for an audience to present the original.

M. Tissot then proceeded to discuss some matters of business.

His Excellency said that he had received from M. de Freycinet an account of your conversation with him on the 13th instant respecting Egyptian affairs.

M. de Freycinet had understood, from your explanations, that I had not intended that the gentlemen whom I had proposed to send out to Cairo should be invested with such extensive powers as he had at first supposed, but were merely to be financial experts to assist the Consuls-General in controlling the financial results of the course which events are taking. M. de Freycinet admits that this removes some of his objections to the suggestion. But he thinks that the position of the Controllers-General would be made rather difficult, that they would, in fact, no longer be Controllers but controlled, and that there would be considerable danger of friction between them and the Consuls-General.

M. Tissot said he was instructed to urge that I would at least wait until there was some favourable occasion to account for so unusual a proceeding, and that M. de Freycinet did not conceal that, in his opinion, it would be best to abandon it altogether.

I told M. Tissot that, as I had already informed your Excellency, I did not wish to press the suggestion if M. de Freycinet felt insuperable objections to it, that I was quite ready to accept the proposal to defer the matter until a convenient opportunity presented itself, but that I thought it would be better to consider it as held over for further consideration, rather than as definitively abandoned.

M. Tissot then went on to speak of the question of the participation of the Porte in the discussions on Article 31 of the Organic Law. He said that your Excellency had admitted to M. de Freycinet that the terms of the identic despatch of the 12th February did not make it incumbent on the two Governments to invite the Porte to take part in this negotiation, and that the terms of that despatch clearly contemplated the eventuality of a military intervention. M. de Freycinet on the other hand, he said, allowed that if it were only a question of informing the Porte, there was no valid objection to such a course, and he was ready to agree to the text of the note to the Egyptian Government being communicated courteously to Turkey, but without asking for any opinion upon it. M. Tissot, however, did not state, as M. de Freycinet had done to your Excellency, that M. de Freycinet was of opinion that the communication to the Porte should be made at the same time as that to the Egyptian Government, and not before it.

I said that I was glad to find that we were in agreement as to the communication to be made; that in the shape which it would take as a simple act of courtesy, the exact time of making it became a matter of form rather than of substance, but that M. Tissot himself would probably have remarked from personal observation that the Sultan was singularly susceptible on questions of his personal dignity and authority as Sovereign. I could not help thinking that, under the circumstances, the communication would come more graciously, and have more chance of a favourable reception, if it were made as soon as possible, and without delaying it till it came in the form of an accomplished fact. It could be done either by sending it to Constantinople or by communicating it to the Turkish Ambassadors in Paris and London.

M. Tissot promised to report my observation to his Government.

His Excellency then referred to the question of an eventual substitution of another Ruler for the present Khedive. He said that M. de Freycinet considered that the argument I had advanced as to the harshness and inconsistency of such a step, after the assurances of support given in the joint Declaration of January last, was one calculated to weigh more with me than with himself, who had been no party to that declaration. But that he thought that on examination the inconsistency would be seen in any case to be more apparent than real, and that the second act was the natural consequence of the first. The desire of the two Governments had been to confirm the authority of the Khedive. Experience had, however, shown that the Declaration had failed in its effect. Tewfik Pasha had allowed a Ministerial revolution to take place before his eyes, and he was powerless in presence of the Chamber of Notables and of a Cabinet which were encroaching upon his prerogative, and which were threatening to infringe his international engagements. What, then, was more logical, when all other means had failed, than to resort to the only possible alternative, the replacement of the Khedive? As regards the impossibility of effecting this measure without having recourse to force, M. de Freycinet maintained that the agreement of Europe and Turkey would prevent any sort of resistance, and that three Commissioners, Turkish, English and French, the latter two acting as Representatives of the other Powers, would be sufficient to carry the change into execution. M. Tissot continued that M. de Freycinet looked upon the plan as the only means of averting a resort to military occupation, which France was anxious at all hazards to avoid, and which the French Government were glad to find that we were equally opposed to. M. de Freycinet, he said, had remarked to your Excellency on the disadvantages attendant upon a Turkish occupation of Egypt, and the inconvenience to England of leaving a country on the highway to India in possession of Turkish forces. In this he said that your Excellency had concurred at once.

Finally, M. de Freycinet urged that it was necessary to decide on some course to be taken in case of necessity, that it was not sufficient to look merely at the drawbacks and disadvantages of each alternative, and that it would be wise to accept that one which, to his mind, offered the fewest objections.

I told M. Tissot that I did not feel that M. de Freycinet's arguments disposed of the objection I had raised as regards the inconsistency of such a course as he proposed. It was true that M. de Freycinet was not personally a party to the joint Declaration of January last, but it could not be denied that both the French and English Governments had promised Tewfik Pasha their support. Nor did I see what His Highness had done to forfeit his claim to the promise. There had been a moment when possibly, by following the advice of Sir A. Colvin, he might, by a *coup d'audace*, have mastered the mutiny of the army, at least for the time. But I did not see in what way his action in dealing with what represented the only material and political force in Egypt was different from what it had been before the note in which we promised our support.

As regards the proposed choice of Halim Pasha to succeed Tewfik, and the probability of his being accepted by the army and population, I said that I understood that M. de Freycinet's information was principally derived from M. Tissot, and M. Tissot's impressions rested on the accounts received from Halim Pasha and his friends; that no inquiries had been made in Egypt for fear of drawing attention to a project which had not yet been determined upon. But the accounts I received were not of a nature to confirm those impressions. I had only recently heard indirectly that Mr. Blunt, who was much allied with Araby Bey, had stated that he was entirely opposed to the idea of Halim Pasha's accession.

M. Tissot said that he had received information from Egypt, and that there were two other influential Colonels who were in favour of Halim.

I remarked that this gave some prospect of a division of parties, but no assurance at all of unanimity.

M. Tissot said that the Sultan was favourable to Halim Pasha.

I said that the Sultan was no doubt anxious to do something to assert his authority; that Musurus Pasha constantly asked me to suggest what steps the Sultan could take. In order to obtain the object of his ambition, it was probable that Halim had made promises to M. Tissot, to the Sultan, and to some of the National party, probably not of an identical character. The question was, which of those promises he was most likely to keep.

The position of Khedive was weakened by the deposition of Ismail; it would be much more so by a second change.

The natural result of the deposition of Tewfik would be that the new Khedive,

looking to the fate of his two immediate predecessors, would feel himself entirely dependent upon Constantinople, and would either become utterly subservient to the Porte, or would recommence Ismail Pasha's method of draining the country in order to pour gold into the Palace whenever he had any personal or political object to obtain.

He would also be inclined to flatter the anti-European prejudices of some of the National party.

M. Tissot said that he thought Halim Pasha a man of too much strength of character to adopt a position of complete subservience.

I observed that it was difficult to speak with certainty of the course which a man, untried in official and political life, would take when he came to power. M. Tissot was impressed with Halim Pasha's abilities, but it did not seem clear that it was for the interest of England and France that Egypt should be ruled by a man with the qualities of a Dictator or of the first Napoleon. A constitutional Ruler, with less talents and strength of character, might on the whole be safer and more advantageous.

M. Tissot said he thought that there might be a medium between these two characters, but I did not understand that he had any certain grounds for the belief that Halim Pasha would fulfil the desired conditions.

I told M. Tissot that I had just come from a meeting of the Cabinet, and had consulted my colleagues on the subject of the proposal; that they had been entirely of one mind with myself as regards their desire that England and France should continue in complete accord as to the course to be pursued in Egypt. But that the idea of a change of Khedive did not recommend itself to them as the best policy under present circumstances. I added that I thought the discussion of the question had nevertheless been of considerable use. It had shown that the French Government agreed with us as to the importance of Turkish influence in Egypt. If the Sultan, without any exhibition of force, was able to-morrow to effect such a revolution as a change of Khedive, surely the same influence, acting with England and France, would be available for supporting the present Khedive, and the existing *status quo*, so far as this has not been made inconsistent with the financial control and with international engagements.

I then said that, as all the Powers had agreed to our last proposal for a modification of Article 34 of the new Organic Law, I should have been in favour of entering upon the matter at once with the Egyptian Government if I had not recently received a telegram from Sir E. Malet stating that the position of the present Government was insecure, and that it would be better for the present to watch events before opening any negotiations. I was therefore inclined to suspend action for a short time.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 52.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

E

(No. 441 A. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, April 21, 1882.

THE French Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and referring to our conversation yesterday on the subject of Egypt, said that he had received a further despatch from M. de Freycinet, who was uneasy at the reports he received of the tendencies shown by the present Ministry at Cairo, and the signs of a growing spirit of insubordination and disorder in the army and among the population. M. de Freycinet, his Excellency added, thought it most desirable that the two Governments should agree as to the measures to be taken if matters came to a crisis. The proposal for a modification of Article 34 of the Organic Law was very well as far as it went, but it was no provision for the manner of meeting a real emergency. M. Tissot added that the proposal of the French Government for such a contingency was, as I was aware, the deposition of Tewfik Pasha and the substitution of Halim Pasha as Khedive. This, however, was not a plan which seemed to recommend itself to Her Majesty's Government. He was instructed to say that if we continued to feel objections to it, which he should regret, M. de Freycinet hoped that we would propose some alternative course for consideration.

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K

I promised M. Tissot that I would consult my colleagues and give him an answer as soon as possible.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 53.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.

(No. 160 A. Confidential.)

Foreign Office, April 21, 1882.

My Lord,

IN the course of my conversation with Count Herbert Bismarck this afternoon reference was made to Egyptian affairs.

Count Bismarck said that his father thought the French Government were mistaken in their extreme jealousy of Turkish influence in Egypt, and that it might be much more detrimental to their interests if an Arabian Khalifate were at any time established. He said that he had repeated this observation to M. de Courcel.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 54.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 22.)

C
(No. 328. Very Confidential.)

Paris, April 20, 1882.

My Lord,

M. DE FREYCINET said to me yesterday that he wished to speak to me confidentially and unofficially on the subject of Egypt.

The conspiracy against Arabi Pasha and the general character of the intelligence which he had recently received from Egypt had, he observed, made him fear that we might at any moment find ourselves in presence of a state of anarchy and disorder in that country which it would be impossible to tolerate. His apprehensions were not, he said, diminished by evidence which had been given him that Arabi Pasha was acting under the direction of the Sultan, and that the Sultan was (to say the least) not averse to seeing Egypt brought into a condition which would give him a pretext for interfering and assuming, in a more or less degree, the direct government of the country.

A crisis might, M. de Freycinet thought, be very near at hand, in which it would be necessary to take decisive measures to guard, on the one hand, against the practical subjugation of Egypt by the Porte, and, on the other hand, against the violent subversion by the military element in the country itself of the Anglo-French Control, and of all the institutions which contributed to the maintenance of the influence of England and France, and to the security of the interests and, he would add, the persons of Frenchmen, Englishmen, and other foreigners in Egypt.

Any way, it was, M. de Freycinet conceived, only too clear that, on waking any morning, we might find that things in Egypt had reached a pitch at which simple acquiescence on the part of England and France would be impossible. The two Governments ought to be prepared for a sudden and acute crisis in Egyptian affairs, and it appeared to him that it was urgent that they should come to an understanding at once on the course to be taken by them in presence of such a crisis.

The recent exchange of ideas on various points between the two Governments had had (M. de Freycinet observed) little more than a negative result. What was needful was a distinct and practical agreement on the course to be taken in an emergency, which might arise at any moment.

If such an emergency caught them unprepared, the two Governments would, he could not doubt, be exposed to severe censure by public opinion, and to fierce attacks in their respective Parliaments. The proposals to be made, with the concurrence of the other Powers, respecting the attributions of the Chamber of Notables were no doubt very judicious, and if order and tranquillity were maintained in Egypt, the adoption of them would certainly be beneficial. But supposing, as was only too probable, that there were no longer order and tranquillity in the country, it would seem ridiculous for the two Governments to be simply occupying themselves about

such details. It would be childish to be discussing the pattern of a carpet when the house in which it was to be laid down was in flames.

M. de Freycinet repeated that the conversation was to be considered as confidential and unofficial, but he begged me to report to your Lordship what he had said, and to press, on his behalf, the importance of a very early understanding between the two Governments on the action to be taken by them at once if a crisis should arrive in Egypt.

I did not succeed in eliciting from M. de Freycinet any suggestion as to what that action should be. He mentioned in the course of conversation his idea of a change of Khedive, but did not dwell upon it, and, on the other hand, he maintained the objections he has so often made to any armed intervention on the part of the Porte, but he seemed to wish to leave it to your Lordship to propose a plan of action.

He appeared to feel no little anxiety as to the effect which would be produced upon public opinion and upon the Chambers in France if he was unprepared to meet a crisis in Egypt, and he was no doubt apprehensive of being accused of having caused the evil by not persevering in the policy of his immediate predecessor.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 55.

C
(No. 329.)

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 22.)

My Lord,

Paris, April 20, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a letter from M. Gabriel Charmes, the well-known correspondent of the "Journal des Débats" on Egyptian affairs, which has appeared to-day in that newspaper.

It gives a very gloomy account of the state of things in Egypt at the time it was written (the 9th instant).

In the last paragraph the writer declares that he sees no solution in the country itself for the Egyptian question. There is not, he affirms, in the army any man of capacity enough to restore discipline. The authority of the Khedive has been too much compromised by the barren demonstration of France and England for him to be able to re-establish it without help from some one. As for Ismail or Halim, the army will oppose them by all possible means, as it knows very well that they can only obtain the recognition of Europe by destroying its power and putting down its chiefs. "Le remède," he says in conclusion, "s'il y en a, ne peut venir que du dehors, mais comme il est fort probable qu'il ne viendra pas, on doit s'attendre à une crise de plus en plus intense amenant des malheurs de plus en plus irréparables."

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 55.

Extract from the "Journal des Débats" of April 20, 1882.

ON nous écrit du Caire le 9 Avril :—

"Je quitte aujourd'hui le Caire, et je m'embarque demain pour la Tunisie, où je vais étudier sur un autre point le mouvement Arabe, dont je m'occupe constamment depuis quelques années. La situation dans laquelle je laisse l'Égypte est des plus sombres. Je vous répète qu'il est impossible de la juger d'après les dépêches télégraphiques envoyées en Europe. D'ailleurs, la crise Égyptienne, après avoir été à l'état aigu, traverse une période d'apparence plus calme; il ne faut pas se fier à cette apparence; elle cache un travail sourd, mais continue, dont les effets se feront bientôt cruellement sentir.

"Quand je dis que la situation est sombre, je ne parle pas de la situation financière. Celle-ci est encore admirable; la désorganisation vient des services administratifs, n'ayant pas eu le temps de produire ses effets inévitables. D'après le dernier état des recettes de la Caisse de la Dette, cette Caisse avait au 31 Mars, sur les deux coupons de la Dette Unifiée qui doit être payée le 1^{er} Mai, et de la Dette Privilegiée qui doit être payée le 15 Avril, un excédent de 272,442^l. Voilà le résultat de deux années de prudence et d'économie! Nous verrons sous peu le résultat de

quelques mois de désordre et de dilapidation ! Je vois ai expliqué que les Administrations Égyptiennes se composaient en ce moment de fonctionnaires Européens condamnés à l'inaction la plus complète et de fonctionnaires indigènes occupés à restaurer tous les vieux abus. Au Ministère des Travaux Publics en particulier, les réformes que M. de Blignières avaient inaugurées et que ses prédécesseurs avaient poursuivies sont totalement abandonnées. On revient purement et simplement au vieux système de gaspillages et de vols qui avaient créé une dette flottante énorme sous le poids de laquelle l'Égypte a failli fléchir.

"Il y a pourtant une différence entre le passé et le présent. Jadis on avait facilement recours aux Européens pour les grandes entreprises que les indigènes sont incapables de mener à bonne fin ; aujourd'hui, il n'en est plus de même : on se méfie tellement des Européens, qu'on refuse même d'exécuter les contrats et marchés déjà passés. Il en résultera une série de procès qui condamneront le Gouvernement Égyptien à payer de fortes indemnités. Qu'à cela ne tienne ! il ne les paiera pas. Arabi déclare sans hésiter, avec l'aplomb de l'ignorance et de l'infatuation, qu'il ne se soumettra aux jugements des Tribunaux Mixtes que s'il les trouve justes ; dans le cas contraire, il n'en tiendra aucun compte. Le Coran le lui permet. L'armée ne se contente pas d'avoir pris la place du Gouvernement, elle se propose de prendre encore celle de la magistrature. Tous les pouvoirs doivent être concentrés entre ses mains.

"On se consolerait de ces prétentions qui, après tout, sont assez conformes aux mœurs de l'Orient, si l'armée était capable de jouer le rôle qu'elle s'adjuge. Mais il n'en est rien. Aujourd'hui l'armée est dans un état d'anarchie indescritible. Il n'y a plus de commandement du tout. On croit qu'Arabi a de l'autorité, c'est une erreur ! Les événements, une certaine facilité de parole, le consentement de ses collègues, qui préféreraient le compromettre que de s'exposer eux-mêmes, l'ont poussé au premier rang. Mais c'est un homme sans intelligence et sans énergie, un vrai fellah, incapable de tirer parti de la situation que les circonstances lui ont faite. Aujourd'hui l'armée n'a plus de chefs : ce sont les soldats qui commandent aux sergents, ceux-ci aux Lieutenants, les Lieutenants aux Capitaines et ainsi de suite jusqu'aux Généraux qui commandent à Arabi, lequel commande au Khédive. Mais l'impulsion part des soldats. Pour les faire marcher contre le Ministère Riaz et contre le Vice-Roi, il a fallu leur insuffler l'esprit de révolte et d'indépendance. On raconte que les officiers ne sont parvenus à les conduire à l'émeute qu'en les comblant de promesses ; et, suivant les usages Orientaux, qu'en les embrassant, qu'en leur baisant les mains, qu'en les traitant de frères. Ils ont pris au sérieux ces démonstrations. La position que la révolution leur a faite est excellente. Comme ils sont la vraie autorité, comme les Ministres eux-mêmes sont obligés de plier devant eux, c'est à eux que tout ce monde s'adresse pour obtenir les faveurs gouvernementales. Lorsqu'on a une pétition à remettre à un Ministre, on va trouver un soldat, on lui donne quelques piastres ou quelques francs, et moyennant cela il se charge de la faire triompher. Il se présente au Ministère en déclarant que le pétitionnaire est son parent ou son ami ; or, qui oserait refuser quoi que ce fût aux parents ou amis des soldats ?

"Pour remédier à ce danger devenu intolérable, on songe sérieusement à faire de nouvelles levées, et à renvoyer les soldats actuels dans leurs foyers. Y réussira-t-on ? C'est douteux. La position de soldat et trop avantageuse aujourd'hui pour qu'on s'en laisse déposséder facilement. D'ailleurs, si les hommes qui sont sous les armes sont renvoyés dans leurs villages, ils répandront dans toutes les provinces les habitudes subversives qui sont devenues les leurs. Or, l'état des provinces est déjà assez triste, sans qu'on l'expose à ce nouveau péril. Jamais le désordre et le brigandage n'ont régné dans la Basse-Égypte comme ils y règnent en ce moment. Les Mudirs (Préfets) n'ont plus la moindre autorité. L'un d'eux avait fait arrêter récemment un homme coupable d'avoir assassiné un Juif. Aussitôt cet homme déclare qu'il est parent d'un Colonel et que par suite on n'a pas le droit de le punir. Le Mudir effrayé part pour le Caire afin d'y demander main-forte. Mais pendant qu'il y était, la garnison de la ville est allée délivrer le prisonnier auquel sa qualité de parent d'un militaire permet de tuer tous les Juifs d'Égypte avec la protection de la force armée.

"Comment se terminera la crise que traverse l'Égypte ? Il serait plus que téméraire de le dire. Le bruit courait ces jours-ci que l'ancien Khédive allait tenter un retour de l'île d'Elbe. Le fait est qu'il s'est borné à envoyer à Alexandrie une de ses femmes, escortée de tout le personnel de son harem. À l'heure où je vous écris, on n'a pas encore permis, et il est probable qu'on ne permettra pas à la Princesse d'entrer en Égypte. Elle se dit mourante, mais elle refuse de laisser constater son

état par les médecins. Tout fait supposer qu'elle se porte à merveille, et qu'elle vient ici pour y nouer des intrigues dont le terme serait le retour d'Ismail. C'était elle qui était employée jadis à des missions de confiance à Constantinople, et elle possède, paraît-il, un talent remarquable dans l'art de corrompre, par des moyens pécuniaires, les personnes dont l'appui ou le concours pourrait être utile à son mari. Malgré ce talent, je ne crois pas qu'elle réussirait en Égypte, si on l'y laissait débarquer. Arabi a éprouvé le besoin d'écrire une lettre officielle pour déclarer que toute l'armée était hostile à Ismail. Rien n'est plus évident. Elle n'est pas moins hostile au Prince Halim. Ismail ou le Prince Halim n'auraient de raison d'être ici que s'ils étaient en mesure de mater l'armée et de châtier ses chefs. C'est pourquoi l'armée et ses chefs, qui sentent le péril, ne les laisseraient débarquer que s'ils arrivaient avec une force étrangère. Mais si l'Europe était décidée à permettre ou à tenter une intervention quelconque en Égypte, on ne s'expliquerait pas que cette intervention fût faite au profit d'un tyran comme Ismail, d'un inconnu comme Halim, et non d'un Prince comme Tewfik, dont le seul crime est d'avoir eu une confiance absolue dans la France et l'Angleterre, et de n'avoir pas voulu chercher une force en dehors de ces Puissances.

"Je ne vois donc pas de solution intérieure à la question Égyptienne. Il n'y a pas dans l'armée d'homme capable de s'emparer du commandement et de rétablir la discipline. L'autorité du Khédive a été trop compromise par les démonstrations avortées de la France et de l'Angleterre pour qu'il puisse la reprendre sans le secours de personne ; quant à Ismail ou à Halim l'armée qui sait fort bien qu'ils ne se feraient accepter de l'Europe qu'en détruisant son pouvoir et en supprimant ses chefs, s'opposera par toutes les moyens à la restauration de l'un et à l'intronisation de l'autre. Le remède, s'il y en a, ne peut venir que du dehors ; mais, comme il est fort probable qu'il ne viendra pas, on doit s'attendre à une crise de plus en plus intense, amenant des malheurs de plus en plus irréparables.

(Signé)

"GABRIEL CHARMES."

No. 56.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 87.)

(Telegraphic.)

THE arrests now amount to forty-eight. Osman Pasha Rifki, who was Minister of War on the 1st February last year, was arrested yesterday.

Cairo, April 22, 1882.

No. 57.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 184. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, April 17, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 155 of the 30th ultimo, and to your Lordship's telegram No. 80 of the 14th instant, respecting the Commission appointed to inquire into the complaints made against the administration of the Customs, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, subsequently to writing that despatch, I made a further representation to the Egyptian Government respecting the composition of the Commission with reference to the nomination of Omar Bey Hamdi, a dismissed Customs official, and the rumoured intention of the Government to nominate on it a person named Elias, who was stated to be a professional informer.

The appointment of Elias was consequently cancelled, and I believe that that of Omar Bey Hamdi would have been cancelled also, but that he, hearing of the objections raised, sent in his resignation.

Ajad Effendi, whom I mentioned in my despatch as one of the Commissioners, is, it seems, only the Arab Secretary, and no objection is taken to him in this capacity.

I learn that the investigation is, so far, turning entirely in M. Caillard's favour.

I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy of an address which has been presented to M. Caillard by 100 of the principal merchants of Alexandria on the occasion of the institution of the inquiry.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 57.

Address presented to M. Caillard.

NOUS, Soussignés, négociants et autres, intéressés dans la marche du service Douanier, avons l'honneur de vous informer qu'il est venu à notre connaissance qu'un certain Moussa Torungia, se disant négociant à Alexandrie, et prétendant parler au nom du commerce d'Égypte, a adressé des pétitions au Gouvernement dans lesquelles il expose les griefs de ce commerce contre l'Administration actuelle des Douanes.

Nous désirons vous informer que M. Torungia n'a aucun mandat de notre part, et que sa démarche fut faite à notre insu, et qu'il n'a aucun droit de parler au nom du commerce de l'Égypte. Loin d'être mécontents de l'organisation actuelle du service Douanier, nous sommes heureux de pouvoir constater que depuis sa réorganisation en 1880, ce service marche avec beaucoup de régularité.

Sachant bien les énormes difficultés que vous avez dû rencontrer, c'est avec plaisir que nous déclarons que vos efforts ont résulté à établir un système d'organisation et contrôle qui mérite toute notre approbation.

Le service tel que nous le trouvons aujourd'hui étant organisé de manière à empêcher dans la mesure du possible qu'aucun commerçant ne soit favorisé aux dépens des autres, et aussi à assurer que les estimations soient faites avec exactitude, il est certain que les intérêts du commerce et aussi ceux du Trésor doivent en ressentir les avantages.

Nous vous adressons la présente en témoignage de faits, et avons l'honneur, &c.
(Suivent les signatures de 100 négociants, maisons de banque, &c.)

No. 58.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 186. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, April 18, 1882.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 79 of the 14th instant, asking me whether the appointment of a successor to M. Liron d'Airolles, the Secretary-General to the Control, belongs to the French Government, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that this post has been held by M. d'Airolles since the Control was established, and that Sir Auckland Colvin and I, acting on the principle laid down in my despatch No. 346 of the 26th November last with regard to the appointments of Frenchmen and Englishmen in the Egyptian service, which was approved in your Lordship's despatch No. 245 of the 16th December, considered that the appointment should be made by the French Government.

This being the first instance of a vacancy occurring since the arrival of M. Bredif, the new French Controller-General, we attached great importance to observing the rule we have always declared we should act upon, both as a guarantee for ourselves in the future, and as an earnest of our sincerity towards the French.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 59.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 187. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, April 18, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that an alleged conspiracy has been discovered among Circassian officers, for the purpose of assassinating Araby Pasha, and that nineteen arrests were made on the 11th and 12th instant in consequence.

About 560 officers have recently been promoted, creating much discontent among those not promoted, who are nearly all Circassians, numbering about 200.

Araby Pasha, on hearing of the conspiracy, left his house at two in the morning and went to the Abdeen Barracks, close to the Palace of that name, and has not since returned to sleep at his own house.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 60.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 188. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, April 18, 1882.

WITH reference to my immediately preceding despatch No. 187 of this day, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that some anxiety exists as to the result of the numerous arrests of Circassian officers. Araby Pasha has recently, from various causes, lost much of his influence, and it is doubted whether the Ministry will be able to contend efficiently with the discontent which is gradually gaining ground.

I would respectfully venture to suggest that negotiations concerning the change of Article 34 of the Organic Law of the Chamber be not opened until a little while has elapsed, in order to see what turn events may take.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 61.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 189. Confidential. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, April 18, 1882.

I SAW the Khedive on the 16th instant, when he informed me that up to that date thirty arrests had been made consequent on the alleged conspiracy against Araby Pasha. His Highness said that he could not but be anxious about the situation, that several Pashas were supposed to be implicated, and that a general uneasiness, such as he had never known before, reigned at Cairo. He feared that the atmosphere would not clear without a storm, and he said that the danger to himself was that if the Circassians and Turks continued their opposition he would be accused by the party in power of fomenting and assisting it.

His Highness also told me that he had been extremely surprised to receive a telegram from his Agent at Constantinople, Sabit Pasha, asking by desire of the Sultan whether Araby Pasha was in truth "Shereef," that is, a descendant of the Prophet. He had, he said, some time before, taken the trouble to ascertain the truth of the statement concerning Araby's descent, and therefore he had been able to reply at once that the Araby Pasha was not "Shereef," but that he said he had added that he did not understand the motive of the question, as the line of descent could not be taken into account in considering whether a man had done right or wrong.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 62.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 190. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Cairo, April 18, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship with reference to my previous despatches Nos. 187, 188, and 189 of this day's date, that on the 16th instant the Khedive received a telegram from the Porte saying that it was advisable that the matter of the alleged conspiracy against Araby Pasha should be terminated as quickly as possible, as it was causing uneasiness and exaggerated rumours.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs informed me to-day that, in consequence, the sentence of the Court-martial occupied in trying the prisoners would probably be pronounced to-day—that there was good proof against twelve out of the thirty prisoners, three of them being more guilty than the rest; that the names of several influential Pashas had been mentioned as instigating the prisoners to murder Araby Pasha; but that they would not be proceeded against without clear evidence.

The anxiety of the Khedive with regard to himself being suspected, as mentioned in my despatch No. 189 of to-day, is not unreasonable. During the month of March an attempt was made to poison Abdul Aal Bey, one of the three revolutionary colonels, by

his stepson, a youth of sixteen, and a friend. These young men were both cadets at the Military School, supported by the Khedive, and it was alleged that they had been prompted to the crime by Aly Pasha Riza, Agent of the Khedive's estates. The rumour acquired so much consistency, that the Khedive was obliged to defend himself to his Ministers, but the inquiry is, it is said, still pending. There can be no shadow of doubt that the Khedive is innocent, but it is not impossible that over-zealous courtiers may, by their intrigues, arouse suspicion against him.

Another element of general disquiet is the attitude assumed by the Bedouins towards the Government, of which they speak with open contempt, and have repeatedly said that, on a word from the Khedive, they will sweep it away. Although not well armed, their numbers are so large that little resistance could be made if they were to descend upon Cairo. I am informed that the frontier tribes number about 220,000 men. It is alleged that a short time since Araby Pasha endeavoured to enter into a compact with them to join in resisting intervention, and that they agreed, in case of intervention on the part of a Christian Power, but stated that if the Sultan intervened the Bedouins would side with him to a man.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 63.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 188. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Vienna, April 18, 1882.

WITH reference to the question whether the Sultan ought to be a party to any discussions among the Powers with reference to an intervention in Egypt, I have the honour to state that, if he were to be excluded from them, I should regard the participation of the Austro-Hungarian Government as extremely doubtful.

I have not, of course, touched upon the question in any conversation with Count Kalnoky, but when I communicated to him your Lordship's despatch No. 35 of the 11th February he showed very marked satisfaction at the sentence, intimating that it was intended that the Porte should be treated like other Governments.

Indeed, if I am not mistaken, Count Kalnoky rather inclines to the opinion that the position of the Sultan towards Egypt gives him a right to have a voice rather before than after that which can be claimed by any other Government; and, without wishing to let him interfere with the Egyptian Administration, he will hardly, at this moment, be disposed to take part in anything that His Majesty might resent as a slight.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 64.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 137. Secret.)

My Lord,

Berlin, April 22, 1882.

I NOTICE that the language held by M. de Freycinet on Egyptian affairs, as reported to your Lordship by Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, is repeated here by M. de Courcel, the French Ambassador, in confidential conversation with his colleagues.

His Excellency dwells more especially on the very great disadvantages of Turkish intervention in Egyptian affairs, and hints at the advantages which might be derived from a change of Khedive, but at the same time never fails to assert that France wishes above all to act in concert with England in all matters concerning Egypt.

As your Lordship knows, Prince Bismarck is personally in favour of Turkish intervention in preference to any other, but fully acknowledges the prior rights of interference acquired by England and France to guard their interests in case of danger.

I was, however, somewhat surprised last night, in a private conversation I had with Count Hatzfeldt, to hear his Excellency twice assert that he thought the choice of the present Khedive had been a mistake, and that if a better one could be found

Egypt would be the gainer by it, but that he doubted whether, among the candidates M. de Freycinet might have on his list, a better one existed.

From these observations, which fell incidentally from Count Hatzfeldt, I cannot but conclude that the Sultan must himself be favourable to a change of Khedive.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPHILL.

No. 65.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 83.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 24, 1882, 5:20 P.M.

INSTRUCTIONS were sent to you by mail of 21st to inquire as to reported intention of Egyptian Government to erect fortifications at Suez and Port Saïd.

No. 66.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 443 A. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, April 24, 1882.

I ACCOMPANIED the French Ambassador yesterday to Windsor, where he was received in audience by the Queen and presented his credentials.

During our visit M. Tissot asked me whether I was in a position to say anything further to him on the subject of Egypt.

I told his Excellency that my colleagues continued to think that there would be great disadvantages in attempting to substitute Halim Pasha for the present Khedive, and that they approved of the idea which I had suggested of making use of the Sultan's influence to control events without recourse to other than pacific means.

In the course of subsequent reflection it had occurred to me that this might be done in a manner which I would ask him to submit to his Government.

Acting upon the advice of persons who were versed in Egyptian affairs, we had at one time proposed to M. Barthélemy de St. Hilaire that England and France should invite the Porte to send a General to Egypt to restore discipline in the Egyptian army. The proposal was, however, declined by the French Government.

On the other hand, the French Government had proposed that a French and an English General should be sent as Commissioners for the same purpose. To this suggestion, as made at the time, we had seen serious objections, which had been stated to the French Government.

When the Sultan had sent two Commissioners to Egypt in October last, Her Majesty's Government had deprecated such a Mission, and done their best to shorten its stay in Egypt, because at that juncture it did not seem necessary, and because it had been dispatched without previous communication with England and France, and without their sanction.

I noticed, however, that in his last proposal for the deposition of Tewfik Pasha M. de Freycinet had suggested three Commissioners, French, English, and Turkish, as the instruments by which the change might be effected.

The situation of affairs in Egypt, I remarked, although alarming, did not yet seem to call for active intervention, but it would have a great moral effect in that country if the English and French Governments were able to announce to their respective Parliaments that not only were they prepared, with the concurrence of Europe, to take a step at once towards an arrangement with the Egyptian Government, but that they were also agreed as to the policy to be pursued in case of matters coming to a crisis, which they still hope may be averted. It would be sufficient to state that the agreement existed, without giving any public definition of the policy decided on.

The procedure to be resorted to in case of necessity might, in my opinion, consist in asking the Sultan to send a General with full powers to restore discipline in the Egyptian army, with a well-defined agreement that he was not to exercise those powers in any way without the concurrence of an English and a French General who would be associated with him. Care must also be taken so to frame the arrangement that the functions of the three Commissioners should in no way detract from the position, or trench upon the duties, of the French and English Representatives.

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I thought this plan was not likely to meet with objection on the part of the other Powers, and it seemed to me to be calculated to prevent the necessity of a resort to armed intervention, which might, perhaps, ultimately become inevitable, but which, as both Governments agreed, presented great difficulties, and was open to grave objection in every form.

M. Tissot said that he would report what I had said to his Government. The objection which occurred to his Excellency lay in the fact that the Sultan, as he believed, entertained a dislike to Tewfik Pasha, and would be unwilling to co-operate for the purpose of maintaining him as Khedive.

I answered that the Sultan was much more anxious to play a part in the question than particular as to what that part should be.

I should have said that I prefaced my remarks by observing that I did not admit the argument which the French Government had seemed to advance, if not explicitly, at least by implication, that because we had objected to their proposal for a change of Khedive, we were bound in our turn to propose a plan for the application of force in Egypt. M. de Freycinet's plan, I said, might be good or bad, but one of our principal objections to it was that the change of Khedive was of itself not unlikely to entail the necessity for a recourse to force either at once or in the immediate future. The project, therefore, did not in reality deal with the crucial questions of the application of force or of the nature of the force that should be applied. But I had no wish to attempt to bandy arguments or to try to fix responsibility on others we were not willing ourselves to undertake. The real object to be attained was that we should agree upon a measure to be resorted to in case of need, and that it should be known that we were so agreed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 67.

Earl Granville to Lord Amthill.

(No. 167. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, April 25, 1882.

I SAW the German Ambassador to-day, and had some conversation with him on Egyptian affairs.

I alluded to what I had said some days ago to Count H. Bismarck as to the desirability of making use of the influence of the Porte in Egypt, and I said that I had now put this idea into a tangible shape by a proposal to the French Government that, if matters assumed a really critical appearance, the Sultan should be invited to send a Turkish General to Egypt as a Commissioner, with full powers to restore discipline in the army, subject, however, to an arrangement that the latter should take no measures without the concurrence of two Generals, English and French, who should be associated with him for the purpose.

I begged Count Münster to consider this as a strictly confidential communication.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 68.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 27, 12.40 P.M.)

(No. 31.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, April 27, 1882, 11.15 A.M.

EGYPT: It appears that the French Ambassador reported your Lordship's suggestion about the three Generals, not as a definitive proposal, but simply as idea thrown out in conversation, to be followed by a regular proposal after you should have consulted the Cabinet.

M. de Freycinet told me yesterday that he should abstain from giving any opinion until he received the formal proposal thus announced.

I have since received your despatch No. 443A of the 24th. Should I now regularly communicate to him the suggestion about the Generals in the terms of that despatch, and invite an opinion from him?

No. 69.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 91.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 28, 1882, 2 P.M.

I QUITE agree with M. de Freycinet as to expediency of coming to an early agreement. Discuss my suggestion with him as a proposal.

No. 70.

Lord Tenterden to Lord Lyons.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 28, 1882, 4.45 P.M.

YOUR private letter of yesterday.

Lord Granville requests you to alter the paragraph from "Subsequently M. Gambetta," to "On the other hand, the French Government."

No. 71.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 453. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, April 28, 1882.

IN reply to the inquiry contained in your Excellency's telegram of yesterday, I have to authorize you to discuss with M. de Freycinet as a formal proposal the suggestion which was put forward in my despatch No. 443A, Confidential, of the 24th ultimo, in regard to the expediency of asking the Sultan to send a General to Egypt with full powers to restore discipline in the Egyptian army, such powers to be exercised only with the concurrence of an English and a French General to be associated with him.

I fully concur with M. de Freycinet as to the advisability of our coming to an early agreement in the matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 72.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 458. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, April 28, 1882.

THE French Ambassador called at the Foreign Office this afternoon, at my request, and I spoke to him on the subject of Egypt.

I said that I understood that M. de Freycinet did not consider that the last advices from Egypt were reassuring, and that he remained impressed with the increasing necessity of being ready for action; that he still held to the plan for a change of Khedives, though he considered that it must remain in abeyance as long as Her Majesty's Government objected to it; and that he had reserved any observations upon my alternative suggestion of sending three Commissioners, English, French, and Turkish, to restore order and discipline in the army, as he understood that I had merely thrown it out in conversation as a personal idea, with a promise to make a formal proposal after consulting the Cabinet.

I said that I concurred with M. de Freycinet as to the importance of the two Governments being agreed, not as to immediate action, but as to the exact course to be taken if action should eventually become necessary; and that I had telegraphed to your Excellency authorizing you to discuss my suggestion as a formal proposal on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

I told M. Tissot that I should also be glad if he could ascertain whether M. de Freycinet saw any objection to our communicating to the Turkish Ambassadors in London and Paris the proposal for a modification of Article 31 of the new Organic Law. That proposal had now received the assent of all the other Powers. The Turkish Ambassador here had several times asked for an interview, which I had postponed, not knowing exactly what language to hold to him. I thought it would be

advisable to let him know at once, as a matter of information, what had passed between the Powers on this point.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 73.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 350. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, April 27, 1882.

M. DE FREYCINET told me yesterday that he had received from M. Tissot a telegram stating that your Lordship had spoken to him of a plan which had occurred to you for dealing with the Egyptian question. The plan was, M. de Freycinet said, that three Generals (of whom one was, he presumed, to be Turkish, one French, and one English) should be dispatched to Egypt to restore discipline in the army. It appeared, however, his Excellency proceeded to observe, that your Lordship had simply thrown out this idea in conversation, and that you had told M. Tissot that you would take an early opportunity of bringing the matter before the Cabinet, and that, after you had done so, you would make a definitive proposal. M. de Freycinet said, in conclusion, that, this being the case, he thought it best to abstain from any expression of opinion until he should receive the regular proposal your Lordship had promised.

Last night, several hours after my interview with M. de Freycinet, I had the honour to receive your Lordship's despatch No. 443A of the 24th instant, giving me an official account of what had passed between your Lordship and M. Tissot.

I gather from it that, in his report to M. de Freycinet, M. Tissot somewhat underrated the character and importance of what your Lordship had said.

I await instructions from your Lordship as to whether you would wish me to communicate the suggestion about the Generals regularly to M. de Freycinet in the terms of your despatch, and to invite an opinion from him on the subject.

I have this morning had the honour to forward to your Lordship by telegraph the substance of the present despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 74.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 29, 5:30 P.M.)

(No. 32.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, April 29, 1882, 3:10 P.M.

EGYPT: M. de Freycinet cannot give an answer to your Lordship's proposal about the three Generals until he has brought it before the Council; and he desires me to ask you, from him, whether he may inform his colleagues that if the French Government agrees to the proposal it may be sure that Her Majesty's Government will unite with it in preventing this moral intervention of the Sultan being followed in any case by Turkish armed intervention.

No. 75.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received April 30, 5:45 P.M.)

(No. 66)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, April 30, 1882, 1 P.M.

ARABI PASHA has imprisoned a certain Osman, an Agent sent by the Sultan to Egypt. This has incensed the Sultan, and he has asked the Representatives of Germany, Austria, and Italy to induce their Governments to intervene against Arabi. The three Ambassadors have simply transmitted the message to their Governments. His Majesty did not address himself to the Russian Ambassador.

No. 76.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 1.)

(No. 356.)

My Lord,

Paris, April 29, 1882.

THIS afternoon, in pursuance of the instruction conveyed to me by your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, I spoke to M. de Freycinet in the terms of your Lordship's despatch No. 455A of the 24th instant, on the subject of the plan you had mentioned to M. Tissot as one that might be adopted, in case of need, for restoring order in Egypt.

I said to M. de Freycinet that it did not appear to your Lordship that the present state of things in Egypt rendered the immediate execution of the plan necessary, but that you quite agreed with his Excellency as to the importance of the two Governments being agreed as to the exact course to be taken if action should eventually become requisite.

I went on to say that in your Lordship's opinion the procedure to be resorted to in case of necessity might consist in asking the Sultan to send a General with full powers to restore discipline in the Egyptian army, with a well-defined agreement that he was not to exercise those powers in any way without the concurrence of an English and a French General, who would be associated with him. I added that your Lordship considered also that care must be taken so to frame the arrangement that the functions of the three Commissioners should in no way detract from the position, or trench upon the duties, of the English and French Representatives.

M. de Freycinet asked whether it was meant that the three Generals must be unanimous, or whether if two of them were agreed those two might act without the concurrence of the third.

I answered that, as I understood the proposal, the Turkish General was to be the ostensible actor, but that he was to do nothing without the concurrence of both the French General and the English General; in fact, that no step was to be taken without the co-operation of all three.

M. de Freycinet said that if your Lordship's plan were to be adopted it would be essential that this point should be made perfectly clear.

His Excellency proceeded to observe that the French were very reluctant to consent to Turkish intervention in any form, lest it should lead sooner or later to the armed intervention of the Porte, and to the introduction of Turkish troops into Egypt. Against this they felt bound to guard in every event.

I replied that your Lordship's express object in making use of the Sultan's moral influence in Egypt to control events was to prevent the necessity of armed intervention from any quarter.

M. de Freycinet then said that of course he could not give an answer to so important a proposal without bringing it before the Council of Ministers, and that certainly the first question he should be asked by his colleagues would be what assurance they could have that, by assenting to the plan, they would not be placing matters on a slope leading down to the armed intervention of the Porte.

I pointed out that your Lordship felt justified in counting upon the moral effect which would be produced in Egypt if the English and French Governments were able to announce to their respective Parliaments that not only were they prepared, with the concurrence of Europe, to take a step at once towards an arrangement with the Egyptian Government, but that they were also agreed as to the policy to be pursued in case of matters coming to a crisis, which they still hoped might be averted. I added that your Lordship conceived that it would be sufficient to state that the agreement existed without giving any public definition of the policy decided upon.

M. de Freycinet answered that he also was disposed to think that the moral effect might be considerable, and he told me that he was entirely of opinion that it would be inadvisable to make any public declaration beforehand of the measures that might have been decided upon.

Finally, he said that, before bringing your Lordship's plan before the Council, he must be able to speak positively upon the point of most importance. He must therefore beg me to put to your Lordship, on his behalf, the question whether he might inform his colleagues that, if the French Government agreed to your Lordship's proposal, they might be sure that Her Majesty's Government would unite with them in preventing this moral intervention of the Sultan being followed in any case by Turkish armed intervention.

I have accordingly submitted this question to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 77.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 86.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 1, 1882, 2.55 P.M.

WHAT do you know of report in Lord Dufferin's telegram No. 66, repeated to you?

No. 78.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 2.)

(No. 191.)

My Lord,

Cairo, April 20, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, extracted from the "Moniteur Egyptien" of the 18th instant, an Arrêté of the Contrôleurs-General, appointing M. Hoedé, Inspector of Finances in France, as Secretary-General of the Control in succession to M. Liron d'Airoles, who left Egypt on the 18th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 78.

Extract from the "Moniteur Egyptien" of April 18, 1882.

CONTRÔLE GÉNÉRAL.—Par Arrêté des Contrôleurs-Généraux, M. Hoedé, Inspecteur des Finances, a été nommé Secrétaire-Général, en remplacement de M. de Liron d'Airoles, démissionnaire.

Le Caire, le 17 Avril, 1882.

No. 79.

*Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 2.)***E**

(No. 193. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Cairo, April 22, 1882.

I OBSERVE from Lord Lyons' despatch No. 284, marked Very Confidential, of the 3rd instant, that M. de Freycinet attributes the main cause of the present state of affairs in Egypt to the incapacity of the present Khedive, and suggests the substitution of Prince Halim as a remedy for the evil.

I cannot agree in this estimate of the Khedive's character and its result, or in the efficacy of the remedy suggested.

Since the 2nd February, 1881, the Khedive has been in a peculiarly trying position, and taking a general view of the events and the present situation, it would appear to be more just to consider that he has behaved with both tact and intelligence. I take the key-note of his line of conduct to have been to act faithfully in accordance with the Rescript of the 28th August, 1878, by which the Khedive, Ismail Pasha, undertook to relinquish despotic rule and to govern in conjunction with his Ministry. It should be remembered that up to the moment of the first military disturbance in February 1881, he was regarded as a model Prince, endowed with moderation and intelligence, and that this was in great measure due to his cordial co-operation with Riaz Pasha and the Contrôleurs-General.

It is now made a matter of reproach that he did not after the 1st February treat the ringleaders of the revolt with a high hand, but on the day of the revolt he had pardoned them, and if he had adopted the course which he is now reproached with having neglected, he would have betrayed his word.

Subsequently, when the want of discipline became more apparent, he repeatedly pointed out the danger to his Ministry, and becoming convinced of the connivance of his Minister of War, now President of the Council, he dismissed him from the Ministry. Then, acting always with his Government, he endeavoured to resume the reins over the army which were falling from his hands. The 9th September was the result. On that occasion again he

is reproached with having lost his opportunity by want of energy, if not of courage. There are probably few natures which would have been suddenly ready to lose all or gain all at that critical moment. Negotiation was the natural expedient of a man not of the strongest personal character. "How easy it is for those in power and prosperity to preach heroism to the vanquished. How little can they understand that life itself may rise in value when nought but life remains."

Since that day the Khedive may be said to have had not even a powerful friend upon whom he could rely. During the brief Ministry of Chérif Pasha he constantly foresaw the difficulties in store, and he was buffeted backwards and forwards by the rival contention of England and France on the one hand and the Sultan on the other, that his only chance of safety lay in their support. When the moment which he had foreseen did come he was completely abandoned, both by the Powers and the Sultan, and left to struggle through the surf as he could. The men who had stripped him of his power, and were the authors of his humiliation, became his Ministers, and the last shred of support vanished. He has frequently spoken to me about the advice which the Porte and my colleagues have given him to show more energy, and has asked in what direction he should display it. He was urged to place himself frankly at the head of the national movement. Could he do so when he saw that its object was to rid Egypt of Christian officials who were the works which made the clock go? He was urged to form a party of his own. Was this party to support him individually against his own Ministry? If so, of what elements which had a chance of power or stability was it to be composed, and what time would be given to him by his Ministers to weld it into form? He was urged to accept the offer of the Bedouins, who recognized no master but himself, and at a signal from him would sweep away the present Ministry and the Chamber; but what fate would he himself merit if he invited pillage and massacre in his capital? He said that his life was well nigh unendurable, that he lived from day to day, not knowing what the morrow would bring forth, that his family could not sleep, but wept, that his only policy was to rigidly abstain from all intrigue himself, to treat his Ministry with frankness, to endeavour by reasoning to restrain them when they made a more rapid leap than usual in the dark, but that, notwithstanding all his circumspection, he was accused of complicity in the attempted poisoning of Abdul-al Pasha, and that from hour to hour he expected to be accused of connivance in the present alleged conspiracy to murder Araby Pasha. He would be grateful to me if I could tell him in what direction he could move, in what direction he could usefully show the energy to the absence of which his present position was frequently ascribed.

I was not able to answer His Highness' appeal. I could not say, "Resist your Ministry and military dictation, and leave the consequences to us." I could not hold out to him any hope of immediate and successful support to himself personally if the consequences of such a course placed him, as they certainly would, in danger; I could merely concur in his temporizing policy. And when I hear him abused for lack of energy and capacity, I doubt whether there be many men in the world who would have been able to extricate themselves from the difficulties in which he has been involved through the want of foresight of all who co-operated in the settlement of the internal affairs of Egypt on the accession of the present Khedive, in neglecting the signs of danger shown in the military revolt of April 1879. Nor do I believe that any real progress will be made towards the settlement of the Egyptian question until that military ascendancy is subdued.

With regard to the remedy suggested by M. de Freycinet of replacing the Khedive by Prince Halim, I see no signs that such a change would be welcome to any party in Egypt, where, to the present generation, he is comparatively unknown. I am acquainted with Prince Halim, and he appeared to me to possess, in a minor degree, the same power of producing a favourable impression upon the person with whom he is speaking as Ismail Pasha. He is profuse in agreeable promises. When I was at Constantinople at the time that the deposition of the ex-Khedive was first mooted, he spoke much to me about the paramount interests of England in Egypt and the necessity of recognizing them frankly, in accordance with which view he said that his first act on acceding to power would be to appoint Mr. Foster, the Director of the Ottoman Bank at Constantinople, to be his Minister of Finance, and it is probable that, *mutatis mutandis*, similar expressions have enlisted M. Tissot, and, through him, M. de Freycinet, in his favour.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 2.)

(No. 196.)

My Lord,

Cairo, April 25, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith an extract from the "Phare d'Alexandrie," the only daily newspaper of any importance in Egypt which, under the heading, "Le Bien public," gives two letters of considerable interest at the present moment. The first relates to the refusal of Chaker Pasha to accept the Governorship of the Province of Dakahliah, and makes some well-timed observations on the system adopted by the present Government of throwing dis-credit on high-placed officials, and paralyzing their work by appointing Commissions of Inquiry into their administrations. The remarks apply with much aptitude to the case of the Commission appointed to examine into certain charges against the administration of the Customs. While the Commission lasts, although the inquiry may only elicit evidence favourable to Mr. Caillard, the service suffers in credit, and opportunity is given for intriguers to harass him and occupy his time, which is not more than sufficient for his every-day duties.

The second letter is written by one of nineteen Turkish and Circassian officers, who, in consequence of the conduct of the present Minister of War, have quitted the service. They are young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six, who were brought to the country by Ismail Pasha, and received special training for the scientific branches of the military service.

The Khedive has informed me that he did his utmost to dissuade them from leaving, but failed to alter their determination. The letter brings out the general sentiment of the public with regard to the treatment of the persons who have recently been arrested for an alleged conspiracy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 80.

Extract from the "Phare d'Alexandrie" of April 24, 1882.

LE BIEN PUBLIC.—Nous recevons aujourd'hui, d'une part, un article de notre collaborateur de Mansourah, et, d'autre part, une lettre de dix-neuf élèves des compagnies de tirailleurs Circassiens, Turcs, Albanais, et de Bagdad.

Nous croyons utile de publier ces deux documents parce que tous deux touchent aux intérêts les plus vitaux du pays. Toutefois nous en retrancherons quelques considérations, que la modération que nous nous sommes fait un devoir d'apporter dans notre journal, ne nous permettait pas de reproduire.

Nous prions le Gouvernement de ne voir dans ces publications que le mobile qui nous a dirigé, c'est-à-dire : notre profond amour pour le pays, et notre désir sincère d'être utile au Gouvernement lui-même, en portant à sa connaissance les vœux des populations, et tout ce qui peut éclairer sa religion sur les véritables intérêts du pays :—

"Mansourah, le 23 Avril, 1882.

"On m'assure que Chaker Pacha, qui vient d'être nommé Moudir de cette province, décline l'honneur d'accepter ce poste. En attendant, la province reste sans Moudir, et bien des affaires, parmi lesquelles de très importantes, restent en souffrance. Chaker Pacha est actuellement à Damanhour, où il poursuit une enquête sur les faits qui se sont produits dans la Province de Béhéra.

"La raison pour laquelle Chaker Pacha voudrait se retirer du service est spécialement cette enquête qui lui donne la mesure de peu de cas que l'on fait de l'autorité des Moudirs, autorité qui, jusqu'en ces derniers temps, était presque absolue, et qui maintenant par l'excès contraire, est abandonnée au caprice du moindre employé, qui peut susciter des enquêtes de grand éclat par des motifs futiles. Les vieux employés du Gouvernement ne se soumettront certainement pas de gaieté de cœur à cet état de choses, qu'ils jugent préjudiciable à la bonne marche des affaires et contraire à leur dignité.

"Je ne veux certainement pas louer le système qui concédait une autorité illimitée aux Moudirs, et souvent j'avais parlé de la nécessité de réformer les attributions de ces fonctionnaires, qui pouvaient en certains cas abuser de leurs positions exceptionnelles.

"Mais de là à leur enlever toute autorité ou à les soumettre au bon vouloir d'une autorité avec laquelle il ne devraient rien avoir à faire, la différence est trop grande, et malheureusement par le nouveau système, nous avançons à grands pas vers la désorganisation complète des Administrations, désorganisation qui se fait déjà trop sentir.

"L'Égypte peut se dire vraiment le pays des enquêtes et des Commissions. À chaque moment on voit un Décret instituant une Commission, dont les opérations se font toujours attendre. On laisse passer des abus criants ; le Trésor est fraudé, le contribuable est mécontent, sans que personne se soucie de ses plaintes. Mais si un fonctionnaire, ou bien si un particulier qui a quelque haute protection, se croient lésés par un petit abus, souvent inévitable, une enquête est ordonnée et poursuivie avec grand bruit, sans que ceux qui l'ordonnent tiennent aucun compte de la considération qu'elle jette sur le fonctionnaire humilié ainsi devant ses subordonnés, lesquels cependant devraient continuer à le considérer, de même qu'avant, comme leur autorité immédiate.

"Au contraire, quel avantage ne résulterait-il pas pour tous les intérêts, si toutes les Administrations, si tous les fonctionnaires, étaient soumis à un contrôle efficace, à une inspection de toutes les heures. Les abus et les excès seraient ainsi évités. On n'oserait plus faire des actes de malversation ou d'abus de pouvoir, et si ces actes se produisaient, ils seraient de suite réprimés et la moindre accusation pourrait être aisément contrôlée sans le besoin d'une enquête sans fin.

"Il faut être pendant quelque temps dans l'intérieur pour connaître les abus de toute sorte qui se font sans que personne tâche de les réprimer et qui souvent sont supportés par la raison de solidarité qui lie entre eux leurs auteurs, lesquels ont tout intérêt à se garantir l'immunité. Tout le monde sait que les contribuables paient des sommes bien supérieures aux impôts qu'ils devraient payer, sommes qui sont perçues sous toutes les formes possibles, et qui servent à engraisser certains employés. Ce sont ces abus qu'on devrait réprimer et contre lesquels on devrait organiser des enquêtes.

"Cette tâche incomberait au Contrôle qui pourrait seulement de cette manière rendre de vrais services au pays. Mais de leur cabinet, ces messieurs ne peuvent se rendre un compte exact de ce qui se passe dans les provinces. Il y a vraiment un service d'Inspecteurs, dont le rapport des Contrôleurs dit beaucoup de bien, mais le pays ne s'est pas encore aperçu des avantages qui en sont résultés pour lui. Les Inspecteurs sont en grand nombre, largement rétribués, mais avec leur peu de connaissances du pays et de ses habitudes—moins quelques légères exceptions—ils ne pourront jamais faire procéder à quelque réforme sérieuse.

"Et cependant petit, un nombre d'Inspecteurs, bien choisis, pourrait, par de continuelles inspections dans les provinces, protéger le Trésor contre des abus continuels et en même temps garantir les contribuables qui sont malheureusement trop sacrifiés par une certaine catégorie d'employés.

"Ce service serait bien plus utile que tant d'autres qui viennent d'être créés, et du moins la dépense qu'il causerait serait utilement compensée."

M. le Rédacteur,

Alexandrie le 22 Avril, 1882.

"Ayant appris par nos camarades la loyauté de votre estimable journal, nous vous supplions de publier les motifs qui nous font quitter l'Égypte que nous avons adoptée comme notre patrie depuis douze ans. Nous sortons des compagnies des tirailleurs dépendant du 1^{er} régiment d'infanterie. Nous possédons à un degré avancé les sciences de mathématique, de géométrie, d'algèbre, de topographie, d'histoire, et de géographie, ainsi que les manœuvres de régiment, c'est-à-dire que nous pouvons soutenir des examens concurremment avec les nouveaux Généraux de Brigade et les nouveaux Colonels, &c., qui ne savent pas lire et écrire l'Arabe aussi bien que nous. Deux Circassiens seulement ont eu de l'avancement, bien que vingt d'entre eux soient Sergents-Majors dans les régiments ; il en a été de même pour l'École Militaire et pour notre compagnie, qui est aussi une école militaire. Malgré cela nous avons patienté et attendu et son Excellence le Ministre de la Guerre qui se dit libéral, et qui n'est rien moins que libéral, n'a rien fait.

"Ainsi que vous le savez, beaucoup de nos compatriotes sont enchaînés dans la prison d'une caserne comme des criminels, bien que la loi militaire ne permette pas de mettre un officier aux fers avant la constatation de sa culpabilité, et ils sont très maltraités : on nous assure que la nuit on les oblige à apprendre ce qu'ils doivent

dire le lendemain et qu'ils souffrent horriblement; on ne leur donne que du pain et de l'eau.

"Dans les casernes les uns disent qu'ils seront fusillés, d'autres disent qu'ils seront dégradés et envoyés au Fleuve Blanc.

"Devant toutes ces mesures . . . nous sommes tous décidés de présenter une pétition à notre Capitaine, le priant de nous faire obtenir notre congé; nous préférons retourner dans notre patrie pour consacrer notre vie et notre honneur à Sa Majesté le Sultan et à l'Empire.

"Nous avons fait la campagne de Russie avec son Altesse le Prince Hassan. À cette époque le Ministre de la Guerre avait de suite accepté notre offre de partir et nous avait dirigés sur Constantinople. Nous vous jurons par le Prophète que nous n'oublierons jamais la bienveillance que nous a toujours témoignée Son Altesse le Khédive, dont le cœur si noble, si honnête, si loyal aime à faire le bien à tous, sans distinction de race ou de religion. Nous lui avons exprimé, par une adresse notre vive gratitude. Son Altesse a daigné nous faire savoir qu'elle serait contente si nous voulions revenir sur notre décision, nous avons répondu qu'il est inutile que Son Altesse insiste, vu que nous ne changerons pas de résolution. Si nous partons c'est que l'armée marche à . . . il ne reste que ce que veut Araby Pacha et messieurs ses confidents les anciens Colonels, aujourd'hui Généraux. C'est vraiment . . .

"Votre tout dévoué,

"Pour 19 élèves Circassiens, Turcs Albanais et de Bagdad,
(Signé) "OSMAN.

"P.S.—À l'instant un sergent du 1^{er} régiment nous fait savoir que, sur la demande du Conseil de Guerre, on a arrêté son Excellence Omar Pacha Refki, ancien Ministre de la Guerre. Il avait arrêté et consigné les Colonels au Ministère: lui a été arrêté et incarcéré dans la prison d'une caserne; voilà la justice.

"O."

No. 81.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 2.)

(No. 197.)

My Lord,

Cairo, April 25, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship copies of three confidential letters addressed to the Controllers-General by M. Boinet, Inspector of the Control from Zagazig.

The first of these reports the backward state of the canal repairs and the difficulties experienced by the authorities in mustering the corvée roll, which falls short of last year's numbers by one-half; the suspension of the calling-in of the reserves and the unwillingness of the fellahs to join the recruiting sergeants; and, finally, the hostile attitude of the Bedouins towards the present Government and their measures, as evidenced by the Resolutions passed at a meeting of the Heads of the different tribes at Tantah on the 8th instant, at which they declared they would allow no interference in their affairs from the Chamber of Notables.

The second letter reports the immediately expected arrival of 1,000 troops to be garrisoned at Zagazig, and the various conjectures to which it has given rise. Amongst these it has been hinted that the soldiers have been sent to keep the public peace at Zancalone, where the natives have been stirred up by a certain Captain to strike for a common division of property, chiefly on the estate of Prince Ibrahim Pasha, who, to protect his interests, has let his lands on a long lease to an European. It also reports the arrival of about 2,000 pressed men to work on the canals.

In the third letter M. Boinet states that it has been now ascertained that the troops have been sent to Zagazig to strengthen the local authorities against the hostile attitude of the Bedouins, and that a further contingent of 1,000 men has been ordered to Damanhour. He also mentions that the Deputies for the Province of Charkieh are going to present to the Government a request for the lease of 36,000 feddans of land belonging to the domains, and will offer to guarantee the payment of the coupon on the same, and to pay £ E. 2½ per feddan, as surety, for which they propose a mortgage on 10,000 feddans belonging to three of the Deputies.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure 1 in No. 81.

M. Boinet to the Controllers-General.

(Confidentielle.)

Messieurs,

Zagazig, le 15 Avril, 1882.

LE curage des canaux est le sujet des plus graves préoccupations dans cette province: pour des causes que j'ai déjà signalées à votre attention (en Février) les travaux n'ont pu être poursuivis à l'époque favorable avec toute la vigueur et la promptitude que nécessite leur mode d'exécution: aujourd'hui la situation s'est aggravée encore par suite des nombreux soins qui réclament désormais le cultivateur près de sa terre. Le déplacement des fellahs pour la corvée devient de plus en plus difficile, cependant il est d'une importance vitale d'assurer l'irrigation, car le Nil, déjà bas, descendra encore au-dessous de son niveau actuel, et dans un avenir prochain les plantations de coton peuvent être compromises par une trop grande sécheresse.

Le Moudir et les principaux fonctionnaires sont en tournée dans les districts pour activer l'embauchement des hommes, mais d'après mes informations ils n'obtiennent pas beaucoup de succès; le rôle de la corvée n'atteint pas la moitié du chiffre des prestataires de l'an passé, en comptant même les hommes détachés dans les provinces adjacentes—1,500 à Béhéra, 3,000 à Callioubieh.

Les opérations du recensement ne font aucun progrès: le Règlement dit que le 20 Avril les recherches relatives au recensement préliminaire doivent être terminées, et les états déposés entre les mains des agents chargés du dénombrement définitif du 3 Mai; or, les listes préliminaires sont loin d'être établies, et le recensement ne pourra certainement par avoir lieu à la date indiquée par le Décret du 3 Décembre, 1881; la population des villages, Cheikhs Beled en tête, est absolument rebelle à cette mesure.

Le rappel des anciens soldats est suspendu actuellement, et le recrutement de la classe des conscrits n'est pas encore fixé—il y a trop peu d'enthousiasme pour le métier militaire; le fellah dit ouvertement qu'il ne veut pas quitter ses champs.

La Chambre des Délégués et les Ministres ont fait des ouvertures aux Bédouins, au sujet de diverses charges qu'ils devraient s'imposer comme patriotes (entre autres la corvée). Bien que possédant et cultivant des terres, les Bédouins se refusent à toute concession. Samedi dernier, le 8 Avril, les principaux Sheikhs des tribus de Charkieh, Garbieh, Béhéra Ghizeh, Fayoum, et la Haute-Égypte se sont réunis à Tantah, et ont décidé à l'unanimité de garder intacts leurs privilèges concédés par Mohammed Aly; ils doivent adresser un Mémoire à la Sublime Porte et aux Représentants de la France et de l'Angleterre en Égypte. Ils déclarent ne reconnaître que l'autorité du Khédive et les "ordres supérieurs" émanant de sa personne: ils refusent aux Notables et à "leur Gouvernement" toute ingérence dans leurs affaires.

Veillez, &c.

(Signé) A. BOINET, Inspecteur du Contrôle Général.

Inclosure 2 in No. 81.

M. Boinet to the Controllers-General.

(Confidentielle.)

Messieurs,

Zagazig, le 18 Avril, 1882.

CE matin est arrivée une dépêche du Ministère de la Guerre annonçant au Gouverneur l'envoi imminent d'un corps de 1,000 hommes d'infanterie pour tenir garnison à Zagazig et demandant que des dispositions soient prises d'urgence pour le casernement de la troupe.

On ne sait trop à quoi attribuer cette décision qui a surpris tout le monde: les uns disent que le Gouvernement voudrait ainsi faire une démonstration contre certaines dispositions hostiles des Bédouins; mais dans cette hypothèse, le cantonnement de Tel-el-Kebir sur la route d'Ismaïliah serait bien plus favorable que Zagazig comme position stratégique; d'autres croient que cette concentration de troupes à Zagazig même aurait été jugée nécessaire pour maintenir la population de Tzancalone (district à deux heures de Zagazig) dont l'esprit est très exalté à la suite des menées d'un Capitaine-Major qui prêchait ouvertement la grève des cultivateurs et le partage des terres: enfin beaucoup sont d'avis que ce déplacement d'officiers et de soldats sans cause apparente a pour but de prévenir un mouvement militaire qui est regardé comme inévitable.

Vous aurez sans doute eu connaissance, il y a peu de temps, des détails de l'affaire

citée plus haut de Tzancalone : les conférences subversives de ce Capitaine Adjudant-Major s'adressaient principalement aux fellahs du Teftiche de Son Altesse Ibrahim Pacha, qui possède la plus grande partie des terres du district. Le Prince redoutant les effets de cette propagande révolutionnaire vient de céder à long bail tout son Teftiche à un sujet étranger qui en continuera l'exploitation.

Deux mille prestataires environ sont retournés de Callioubieh pour travailler aux canaux de la province ; le Moudir qui est en tournée pour activer ce travail d'une importance vitale va revenir demain à Zagazig et s'occupera de la réception des troupes annoncées.

J'ai visité quelques sarrafs, dont je vous ferai parvenir les états prochainement.

Veillez, &c.

(Signé) A. BOINET, *Inspecteur du Contrôle Général.*

Inclosure 3 in No. 81.

M. Boinet to the Controllers-General.

(Confidentielle.)

Messieurs,

Zagazig, le 19 Avril, 1882.

IL se confirme que l'envoi de troupes annoncé par le Ministre de la Guerre a pour objectif de renforcer l'autorité en face des sentiments d'opposition contre le régime actuel manifestés par les Bédouins.

Un contingent de 1,000 hommes doit être également envoyé à Damanhour (Béhéra).

La garnison destinée à la province de Charkieh arrivera ici demain ; elle sera cantonnée à Abou Nisbit, 12 kilom. de Zagazig, sur le chemin de fer, point de bifurcation de la ligne de Fakous-Salahieh où se trouvent les oasis des Bédouins.

Les Députés "pour Charkieh" ont décidé hier avec l'approbation d'un Ministre influent, de présenter au Gouvernement une demande en location des 36,000 feddans de terre appartenant aux domaines dans cette province ; ils offriraient de garantir la quotité au coupon afférant à ces propriétés ; ils proposent de payer £ E. 2½ par feddan, impôts compris, pour annuité, et donneraient en garantie une hypothèque sur 10,000 feddans de terres appartenant à Soliman Pasha Abaza, Emine Bey Chamsi, et Achmet Bey Abaza (tous trois délégués).

Veillez, &c.

(Signé) A. BOINET, *Inspecteur du Contrôle Général.*

No. 82.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 2.)

(No. 199.)

My Lord,

Cairo, April 25, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 184 of the 17th instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I have complained to Moustapha Pasha Fehmy, Minister for Foreign Affairs, of the protraction of the inquiry into the complaints made against the Administration of the Customs. I said to his Excellency that certain complaints had been formulated by a person whose character was notoriously corrupt, and who was animated by a spirit of revenge against Mr. Caillard, that it had pleased the Government to listen to the complaints of such a man, and to institute the inquiry, that the complaints had been examined, and had, I understood, been found to be frivolous, but that the Commission allowed the man to bring further complaints, and that, if this continued to be permitted, the inquiry would be indefinitely prolonged. I said to his Excellency that the continuance of the inquiry could not but have an injurious effect on the Administration of the Customs, and that it distracted Mr. Caillard's attention from work, to which he owed all his time. I therefore requested that the Commission might be called upon to report upon the complaints which had been submitted to it when it was instituted, and that, unless the report showed that these complaints were well founded, the inquiry should be closed.

His Excellency assured me again that the inquiry was instituted in no spirit of hostility against Mr. Caillard, and that he had himself recommended the strictest

impartiality to the native members with whom he had spoken ; he promised also to speak to the President of the Council, and to press the request which I had made.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 83.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 2.)

(No. 200.)

My Lord,

Cairo, April 25, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, with reference to my despatch No. 187 of the 18th instant, that the number of arrests consequent on the alleged discovery of a conspiracy to assassinate Araby Pasha now amounts to fifty, and that on the 21st instant the Government arrested Osman Pasha Rifky, who was Minister of War under Riaz Pasha at the time of the military outbreak of the 1st February, 1881, when he was dismissed from his post on the demand of the officers and regiments in revolt.

It is now semi-officially stated that the prisoners' confessions show that the conspiracy was formed for the purpose of deposing the present Khedive and of restoring Ismail Pasha, but as the Court-martial holds its sittings in secret the whole of the proceedings are tainted with discredit.

The reports current, that the prisoners are treated with indignity and cruelty in order to extort avowals, are strenuously denied by the members of the Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 84.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 2, 11.30 A.M.)

(No. 90.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 2, 1882, 10 A.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 86 of yesterday.

The only Pasha arrested is Osman Rifki, ex-Minister of War. Forty officers, and he among them, have been condemned to exile for life to the furthest limits of the Soudan. The proceedings of the court-martial were secret. The prisoners were undefended by counsel.

I trust that the Khedive has not countersigned the sentence.

I have just been summoned to the Palace.

No. 85.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 2, 4.15 P.M.)

(No. 91.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 2, 1882, 2.15 P.M.

THE Reuter telegram, giving the sentence of the court-martial, was communicated by Government, and is correct.

No. 86.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 2, 5.20 P.M.)

(No. 92.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 2, 1882, 2.40 P.M.

THE Khedive has asked my advice as to whether he should refuse to sanction the sentence of the court-martial. I replied that, in my personal opinion, he ought to refuse on the ground of the secret nature of the proceedings, the fact that the accused had been undefended, and because the sentence dealt in the latter part with matters beyond the competence of the court-martial. But I advised His Highness to convoke the Representatives of the Great Powers, and be guided by their counsel. He is inclined to do so, but will wait over the discussion with his Ministers to-day.

The situation is critical, and I should be glad to know if your Lordship approves my reply to His Highness. It appears to me to be a moment when the Khedive must show that he can act.

No. 87.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 468. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 2, 1882.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your Excellency's despatch No. 356 of the 29th ultimo, reporting your conversation with M. de Freycinet on the proposal of Her Majesty's Government that in case of need a Turkish General should be sent to Egypt with full powers from the Sultan to restore discipline in the Egyptian army, but subject to an arrangement that he should not exercise those powers without the concurrence of an English and a French General who should be associated with him.

The answer which your Excellency gave to M. de Freycinet as to whether it was intended that the decisions of the Commission must be unanimous, or whether the agreement only of two would be required, was perfectly correct. It was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to propose that the concurrence both of the English and French Generals should be necessary, and that no step should be taken without unanimity.

It appears that M. de Freycinet further asks for an assurance that, if this proposal be agreed to, Her Majesty's Government will unite with that of France in preventing the moral intervention of the Sultan being followed in any case by Turkish armed intervention.

In reply to this request, I would ask your Excellency to state to M. de Freycinet that the present proposal of Her Majesty's Government is made as one to which the two Governments should agree to have recourse in case of need only, and that its aim and object is to avoid the necessity of any armed intervention in Egypt, to all forms of which there are great objections. Her Majesty's Government understand the proposal as not committing either France or England in any degree to a Turkish armed intervention. But they desire also to retain their full liberty of considering, in concert with the French Government, what form armed intervention should take if the occasion should unfortunately arise.

M. de Freycinet would seem to have some misgiving that Turkish intervention is desired by Her Majesty's Government. Your Excellency may assure him that this is quite opposed to our wishes. If it were not for the objections of the French Government, to which we give, and shall wish in the future to give, great weight, we are disposed to believe that Turkish intervention would be less objectionable than any other form of intervention which has yet been suggested. But we have not altered our opinion that any kind of armed intervention should be avoided if possible.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 88.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 3, 1 P.M.)

(No. 93.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 3, 1882, 11.45 A.M.

THE Government yesterday ordered of Krupp's agent here fifteen batteries of Krupp guns, ninety in all.

No. 89.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 87.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 3, 1882, 4.15 P.M.

HER Majesty's Government entirely approve your language to the Khedive, as reported in your telegram No. 92 of yesterday.

No. 90.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.

(No. 181. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 3, 1882.

THE German Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and asked in what position Egyptian affairs stood at this moment.

I told his Excellency the exact state of our negotiations with the French Government, with which you are already acquainted by the copies of the correspondence which have been forwarded to you.

Count Münster thanked me for this communication. He said that Prince Bismarck was anxious, as far as possible, to maintain the *status quo* in Egypt, but that he thought that if intervention became necessary Turkish intervention was the least objectionable form. Prince Bismarck, Count Münster added, was opposed to a joint Anglo-French occupation, believing that it would lead to disagreement and quarrels between England and France which, whatever might be said of his supposed policy, he would be glad to see avoided.

Count Münster concluded by saying that Prince Bismarck had given no decided opinion upon the proposal of Her Majesty's Government, that in case of need three Generals, Turkish, English and French, should be sent to Egypt to restore discipline in the army, but that he had expressed himself as willing to accept and support any method of action upon which England and France might come to an agreement.

I repeated to his Excellency the observations which had just reached me in a confidential despatch from Sir E. Malet as to the language held to him when at Constantinople by Halim Pasha, and the probability that he had given indiscriminate assurances of adherence and friendship not only to M. Tissot, but to any other persons whose influence he was anxious to secure in his favour.

Count Münster agreed that the promises of an Oriental in Halim Pasha's position could not be relied upon as a safe indication of the course he would pursue if he came into power.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 91.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 4.)

(No. 366. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 3, 1882.

I COMMUNICATED verbally to M. de Freycinet this afternoon the contents of the despatch No. 468, Confidential, which your Lordship did me the honour to address to me yesterday in answer to his Excellency's observations upon your suggesting that, in case of necessity, a Turkish, a French, and an English General should be sent to Egypt with a view to the restoration of discipline in the Egyptian army.

His Excellency thanked me for the distinct statement that it was intended that the concurrence of both the English and the French General should be requisite in every matter, and that, in fact, no step should be taken without unanimity on the part of all three Generals.

He proceeded to observe that he quite understood the force of your Lordship's arguments, but that the situation of the French Government was peculiar. They could not run any risk, however remote it might be, of contributing to raise the question of Turkish armed intervention in Egypt. Now, the moral influence of the Turkish General, supported by that of his French and English colleagues, might produce the desired effect, but, again, it might not. If it did not, the Turkish General and the Porte would undoubtedly strongly insist upon sending Turkish troops. Her Majesty's Government, though anxious to avoid all armed intervention, still seemed to think that Turkish intervention might be less objectionable than any other. If the other Powers should hold the same opinion, England might be reluctant to separate from them, and the result would be that France would be left alone. In this case M. de Freycinet and his colleagues would be accused of want of ordinary foresight and prudence in agreeing, without taking proper precautions, to a plan which was, it would be alleged, on the face of it, likely to pave the way for the introduction of Turkish troops into Egypt. The matter would, however, be quite different if he had secured beforehand the concurrence of England in opposing Turkish armed intervention. He was quite ready to retire from co-operation with the other Powers if he withdrew in company with England; but

he was not willing to run the risk of putting France in the situation of having to stand alone. No French Government could concur in Turkish intervention by force. Public opinion in France might possibly exaggerate the evil, but it was quite certain that any Ministry which was a party to the dispatch of Turkish troops to Egypt would be swept away within twenty-four hours by the Chambers.

M. de Freycinet proceeded to argue that the knowledge that Turkish armed intervention would not be admitted would, in fact, contribute to the success of the proposed mission of the Generals. There could be no doubt, he said, that the Sultan ardently desired to occupy Egypt with his own troops, and so long as he had a hope that the failure of the mission of the Generals would lead to that result he would certainly not be anxious to promote the success of it.

After some further discussion, M. de Freycinet told me that he should bring your Lordship's proposal before the Council of Ministers to-morrow morning, and that he would let me know the conclusion that was come to.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 92.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 4.)

(No. 367. Very Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 3, 1882.

M. DE FREYCINET showed me this afternoon a telegram which he had received in the morning from M. Sienkiewicz, the French Agent and Consul-General in Egypt.

M. Sienkiewicz stated in it that the Khedive had sent secretly for himself and for Sir Edward Malet, and that Sir Edward, who had been received first, had advised His Highness not to sanction the sentence of the court-martial upon the so-called military conspirators, but to invite the Representatives of all the Great Powers to come to the Palace to confer with him on the subject.

The telegram, so far as I recollect, went on to say that M. Sienkiewicz had himself recommended the Khedive not to accept the sentence in its present form, because the court-martial had gone beyond its province in giving advice on matters with which it had no concern. M. Sienkiewicz had, however, it appeared, suggested that the Khedive should accept the sentence on its being put into correct form, and should then immediately pardon all those to whom it applied, and thus be beforehand with Araby Pasha, whose object evidently was to take to himself the whole credit of showing clemency.

The telegram concluded by saying that the Khedive had agreed with M. de Sienkiewicz that there would be many inconveniences in assembling the Consuls-General of all the Powers at the Palace in the existing conjuncture.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 93.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 4.)

(No. 94.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 3, 1882, 5 P.M.

MY French colleague saw the Khedive after me yesterday. He recommended His Highness not to countersign the sentence at present, and he rather urged a middle course, such as confirming and pardoning or commuting.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs said to me yesterday that the sentence communicated to the press was incorrect; that the authentic version made no mention of the ex-Khedive's allowance.

This statement is untrue; but the Government, seeing the mistake of the court-martial in touching the allowance in question, has simply altered the words.

The sentence on the forty officers is equivalent to death, as few prisoners ever reach the White Nile. The Khedive tells me that the evidence does not go beyond proving that the prisoners intended to petition; the threats of assassination are not brought home.

I continue to think that the Khedive is (*sic*) simply to refuse confirmation of the sentence, and insist on a new trial, granting ordinary safeguards to the prisoners.

No. 94.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 88.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 4, 1882, 4.50 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 94 of yesterday: Court-martial sentences.

Her Majesty's Government approve your views. In giving expression to them you should act as far as possible in concert with your French colleague.

No. 95.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 4, 5 P.M.)

(No. 33.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 4, 1882, 3.45 P.M.

IN my despatch No. 366 of yesterday I reported M. de Freycinet's objections to concurring in your Lordship's proposal respecting the three Generals.

His Excellency has now sent to tell me that the Council of Ministers has confirmed those objections.

No. 95*.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 105. Extender.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 4, 1882.

IN your telegram No. 94 of yesterday you express the opinion that the Khedive should simply refuse to confirm the sentence of the court-martial and insist on a new trial of the accused, to whom the ordinary safeguards should be granted.

I have to instruct you, in giving expression to these views, which have the approval of Her Majesty's Government, to act as far as possible in concert with the French Consul-General.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 96.

Count Károlyi to Earl Granville.—(Received May 5.)

My dear Granville,

Austro-Hungarian Embassy, May 4, 1882.

I RECEIVED on the 30th March the instruction to inform the British Government of our approval of the proposed modification of Article 34 of the Egyptian Organic Statute, as contained in the identical notes of England and France of the 17th March, and to add that we are ready to support in Egypt, through our Consul-General, your steps for that purpose. Though I am not quite sure of the precise day on which I made to you this communication, I am certain I did so, at the latest, on the first days of April.

Very sincerely yours,
(Signed) KÁROLYI.

No. 97.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 102.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 5, 1882, 12.35 P.M.

MY three preceding telegrams.

Communicate Malet's telegrams to French Government, and say that I have not the slightest doubt that Malet is as desirous as we are to act in perfect accord with his French colleague.

No. 98.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 5.)

(No. 96.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 4, 1882, 2.30 P.M.

THE Khedive summoned the Agents of Germany, Italy, Austria, and Russia to-day. They came, with the exception of the first, who was unavoidably absent. I was present by accident. He asked their advice as to sanctioning the sentence. The

Italian recommended refusal. The others refused advice on so grave a point without special instructions. The Khedive requested them to obtain them, and asked for the support of their Governments.

His Highness has received a telegram from the Porte desiring him to retard decision.

I read privately to His Highness my telegram No. 92 of the 2nd instant, and stated that my advice was approved by Her Majesty's Government.

He proposes to convoke the Agents again on Saturday.

It is rumoured that the Khedive will be imprisoned in the Citadel if he refuses to sign, but if he does sign his position will be hardly tenable much longer. He will require strong support to keep him firm. I trust that it will be given.

No. 99.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 5.)

(No. 97.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 4, 1882, 2.30 P.M.

THE Court-martial.

The sentence, notwithstanding the present assertion of the Ministry, was in the terms published. It contained, in addition, a list of over 250 persons, including a number of Pashas, to be kept under surveillance.

The Court was composed of fifteen persons, three of whom were Generals whom it was alleged that the prisoners conspired to assassinate.

Persons living in the neighbourhood of the barracks heard the cries of the prisoners at night while undergoing torture.

No. 100.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 5.)

(No. 98.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 4, 1882, 4.40 P.M.

MY telegram No. 96 of to-day.

My French colleague has just been to me to say that, having heard that the Agents of the Great Powers, with the exception of himself, had met this morning at the Palace, he has been to the Khedive and informed him that he considered it an act of "mauvaise procédure" towards France of which His Highness must take the consequences; that he may wish to eliminate France from his counsels, but that he will find that France will not permit it.

The Khedive gave the true explanation that, having sent for us two separately the day before yesterday, he thought it best to speak to the others also, and convoked them together to-day, and that I had come in towards the end by accident.

I confirmed this to my French colleague, but he seems in no way appeased.

The incident is particularly unfortunate at a moment when concord between the Powers is very important.

No. 101.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 495.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 5, 1882.

HER Majesty's Government have learned with regret from your Excellency's telegram of yesterday that the French Government are unable to concur in the plan which you had been instructed to propose to them for the restoration of discipline in the Egyptian army. The matter does not, however, press for an immediate decision, and Her Majesty's Government trust that by a frank exchange of views some understanding may yet be arrived at.

In the meanwhile, it appears to Her Majesty's Government that, as all the Powers are agreed upon the nature of the modifications which are required in the 34th Article of the new Egyptian Organic Law, no further delay should take place in communicating the proposed modifications to the Turkish Ambassadors in London and Paris.

I shall be glad to hear from your Excellency by telegraph whether M. de Freycinet concurs in making this communication at once, in which case it would be desirable that you should agree with him upon the precise terms in which it should be framed.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 102.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 108.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 5, 1882.

I APPROVE the language which, as reported in your despatch No. 199 of the 25th ultimo, you held to the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs regarding the prolongation of the Commission instituted to inquire into the administration of the Customs by Mr. Caillard.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 103.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 5, 11 P.M.)

(No. 34.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 5, 1882, 8.15 P.M.

EGYPT: Your telegram No. 102 of to-day.

M. de Freycinet expressed to me this afternoon displeasure with the Khedive for having convoked the other Consuls-General without the French and English.

He did not express any doubt that Sir E. Malet's conduct had been perfectly friendly and correct, or that his presence at the audience of the Consuls had been purely accidental.

I communicated to him verbally the substance of Malet's three telegrams.

He proposes to send to the French Consul-General the following instruction:—

"To avoid giving advice to the Khedive at once if His Highness consults him separately, but to ask for time for reflection, and then to confer with his English colleague, so that the advice of both may always be identical. Moreover, if he cannot agree with his English colleague, then to refer the matter home for instructions."

He will send a telegram to this effect to the French Consul-General immediately, if your Lordship will send a similar one to Malet.

He is anxious for an early answer from your Lordship.

No. 104.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 6.)

E

(No. 370. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 4, 1882.

I HAD the honour to report to your Lordship in my despatch No. 366 of yesterday a conversation in which M. de Freycinet stated to me his objections to concurring in your Lordship's proposal, that the two Governments should agree that, in case of need, a Turkish, an English, and a French General should be sent to Egypt, with a view to the restoration of discipline in the army of that country.

M. Decrais, the Director of Political Affairs in the French Foreign Office, has come to me this afternoon with a message from M. de Freycinet, stating that he had brought your Lordship's proposal before the Council of Ministers in the morning, and that they had adopted and confirmed his objections.

I have had the honour to forward to your Lordship the substance of this despatch by telegraph.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 105.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received May 6.)

(No. 73.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 5, 1882.

LORD DUFFERIN'S telegram No. 66 of 30th April.

I am confidentially informed that on Wednesday last the Representatives of

Germany, Austria, and Italy communicated to the Palace the answer of their respective Governments to the following effect:—

First, that they had not sufficient information to warrant their interfering in favour of Osman Refki and the other officers under arrest.

Secondly, advising the Sultan, if he took steps in their behalf, not to interfere with the government of Egypt.

Thirdly, to be careful not to do anything before he had ascertained that he was not acting in opposition to the Western Powers.

No. 106.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received May 6.)

(No. 74.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 5, 1882.

LORD DUFFERIN'S No. 66 of 30th April and my No. 73 of to-day.

From hints dropped by Sultan's Private Secretary when conversing with Representatives of Austria and Italy, I am confidentially informed that he led them to suppose that His Majesty was now in favour of retaining Tewfik Pasha as Khedive and opposed to Halim Pasha as a candidate.

No. 107.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 6, 11.30 A.M.)

(No. 99.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 6, 1882, 10.45 A.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 88 of the 4th instant.

My French colleague appears disinclined to give advice to Khedive which would bring him into collision with his Ministry, and so lead to complications, possibly necessitating intervention, because he says that it would lead to the intervention of the Porte, which is contrary to French interests.

The Porte has telegraphed to the Khedive that Osman Pasha Rifki is an Ottoman General, and can only be tried by his equals.

No. 108.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 104.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 6, 1882, noon.

YOUR telegram No. 34 of yesterday.

Inform M. de Freycinet that Her Majesty's Government will send similar instructions to Sir E. Malet.

No. 109.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 92.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 6, 1882, 3.15 P.M.

WITH reference to Lord Lyons' telegram No. 34, you should act on proposed instructions. I have informed French Government.

No. 110.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 6, 5.10 P.M.)

(No. 100.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 6, 1882, 3.15 P.M.

THE Khedive has received an official telegram from the Porte, saying that it has learnt by a public telegram that several Ottoman subjects have been condemned to degradation and exile by a court-martial; that among them is Osman Rifki, holding

the rank of General, which, being given by the Sultan, can only be taken away by him; that this being contrary to the Firmans, the Porte desires the matter to be referred to it.

The Khedive replied that the sentence, as published, was exact; that as soon as he has finished the examination of the trial himself he will refer the matter to the Porte, whose privileges he desires to maintain, and that he is always ready to listen to instructions from it.

His Highness communicated the telegram and his reply to his Ministry this morning. They were exceedingly annoyed at his answer, and begged him to withdraw or modify it, saying that he was surrendering privileges acquired by the country. He denied this, and refused to change his answer, on which they left.

No. 111.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 6, 7 P.M.)

(No. 101.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 6, 1882, 4.40 P.M.

MY telegram No. 100 of to-day.

The reply of the Khedive throws him into the arms of the Porte, and into direct hostility with his Government. He said to me, with regard to the question of privileges, that it was better that Egypt should lose some of her privileges, and proper authority be re-established, than that the present misgovernment should continue.

No. 112.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received May 6, 7.57 P.M.)

(No. 75. Secret.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 6, 1882, 6.30 P.M.

MY telegram No. 73 of yesterday.

I have been secretly informed that the Palace directed Musurus Pasha yesterday by telegraph to sound Her Majesty's Government unofficially, and as if on his own initiative, as to their views with regard to affairs in general in Egypt.

The Turkish Ambassador in Paris has not yet been telegraphed to in the above sense, as the Sultan is anxious to know in the first place the [? policy] of England, as being the country most interested in Egyptian affairs.

No. 113.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received May 6, 8.15 P.M.)

(No. 76.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 6, 1882, 6.45 P.M.

I AM confidentially informed to-day that the Sultan is much displeased with Tewfik Pasha personally, and that he had ordered the Prime Minister to address severe remonstrances to His Highness on the general state of affairs. His Majesty is said to be exceedingly irritated at the manner in which officers are being treated, as those above a certain rank cannot be degraded without an Imperial order, which he looks upon as an infringement of his prerogative.

No. 114.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 497. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 6, 1882.

I HAVE to request your Excellency to inform the French Government that Her Majesty's Government will forward instructions to Her Majesty's Consul-General in Egypt, in regard to the course which he should pursue when consulted by the Khedive,

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similar to those which M. de Freycinet proposes to send to the French Consul-General, as reported in your telegram of yesterday.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 115.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 112. Extender.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, May 6, 1882.

HER Majesty's Government and the French Government are both of opinion that it is of the highest importance, at the present juncture, that there should be no divergence in the language of their respective Agents to the Khedive, and I have accordingly to instruct you to avoid giving advice to His Highness at once if he consults you separately, but to ask for time for reflection; you should then confer with the French Agent, so that the advice which you both give should be always identical.

In the event of your being unable to come to an agreement, you should refer home for instructions.

The French Government have sent a similar instruction to their Representative.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 116.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 7, 1.15 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 6, 1882, 10.45 P.M.

M. DE FREYCINET has no objection to the modification of the 34th Article of the Egyptian Organic Law being communicated to the Turkish Ambassadors in Paris and London, provided that it is well understood that the communication is simply one of courtesy; that it does not call for any opinion or any adhesion on the part of the Porte; and that it does not in the least commit England and France with regard to their further action.

He proposes to confer with me to-morrow afternoon on the subject of the exact terms in which the communication should be made.

No. 117.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 7, 2.45 P.M.)

(No. 103.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 7, 1882, 1.30 P.M.

THE Ministers last night petitioned the Khedive to commute the sentence to simple banishment from Egypt of the condemned, and erasure of their names from the roll of the army. The Khedive replied that the matter was now in the hands of the Porte, and that he could do nothing further till a reply came.

No. 118.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 7, 10.45 P.M.)

(No. 104.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 7, 1882, 5.30 P.M.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 103 of to-day, my French colleague and I have drawn up the following together:—

"In acquainting the Consuls-General this morning with the situation, the Khedive asked their opinion as to whether he should receive the petition of the Ministers favourably or await the instructions of the Porte.

"My French colleague, with whom I have concerted, thinks, as I do, that the question exceeds our competence, and should be referred to our respective Governments.

"Perhaps we might suggest to the Khedive a combination which would dispense

him from sanctioning the sentence. He might simply declare that, using his prerogative, he commutes the penalties, &c.

"Perhaps, again, the action of the Powers might be exercised on the Porte to induce it to send the Khedive instructions in this sense, but this would decide in favour of the Porte a question of principle, that is, to know whether it has or has not the right to oppose itself to the degradation of high Egyptian functionaries on whom it has conferred rank. This is a question which only the interpretation of the Firmans can decide.

"In any case, we may be certain that in the affair of the Circassians the rights of humanity will be preserved."

No. 119.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 7, 11.15 P.M.)

(No. 105. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 7, 1882, 6.7 P.M.

MY telegram No. 104 of to-day.

In consideration of the present details, it should be remembered that the Government is distinctly bent on diminishing the Anglo-French protection, and that our influence is steadily decreasing. We can only regain our ascendancy by the destruction of the military supremacy. The Minister for Foreign Affairs told me this morning, unofficially, that the Government would resist the arrival of Turkish Commissioners by force, and he begged me to use my influence to prevent this complication. I believe, however, that some such complication must come before a satisfactory solution of the Egyptian question can be attained, and that it would be wiser to hasten it than to endeavour to retard it.

No. 120.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 8.)

E
(No. 316. Confidential.)
My Lord,

Constantinople, May 2, 1882.

I HAVE already informed your Lordship by telegram that Osman Tewfik Pasha, who is in some sort Confidential Agent of the Sultan's in Egypt, has been arrested by Arabi Pasha; that this circumstance has greatly incensed the Sultan; that he had asked the Representatives of Germany, Austria, and Italy to induce their Governments to intervene as against Arabi Pasha; and that the Ambassadors in question contented themselves with simply transmitting the Sultan's representations to their respective Governments.

I have now learnt that Prince Bismarck has sent a somewhat evasive reply to the Sultan's requisition, and has observed that the affairs of Egypt having been now placed under the superintendence of the Five Powers, it would be impossible for anything to be done except by the concerted action of all.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 121.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 8.)

(No. 378.)
My Lord,

Paris, May 5, 1882.

M. DE FREYCINET showed me this afternoon a telegram which he had received from M. Sienkiewicz. It reported that the Khedive had summoned the Consuls-General of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia to the Palace; that, with the exception of the first, all had attended; and that Sir Edward Malet had also been present during a part of the interview.

The telegram, if I recollect right, went on to say that the Khedive admitted that he had summoned all of them except Sir Edward Malet, but affirmed that it was by accident that they had all come into his presence at the same time.

Finally, M. Sienkiewicz reported in his telegram that he had remonstrated in firm

and strong language with the Khedive against this apparent exclusion of France from his counsels.

In pursuance of the orders which I had received by telegraph from your Lordship, I proceeded on my part to recite to M. de Freycinet the substance of the telegrams respecting the same occurrence which you had received from Sir Edward Malet.

His Excellency observed to me that he could not but view with displeasure these proceedings on the part of the Khedive. His convoking the Representatives of the other Powers without those of France and England was decidedly objectionable, and at variance with the understanding that France and England were to take the lead in Egyptian matters. It would also, M. de Freycinet considered, have been more judicious if His Highness had consulted the French and English two days before together, instead of separately.

It would, M. de Freycinet thought, be advisable to take some special precautions to counteract the inconvenience of the line of conduct the Khedive seemed inclined to take.

With this object he was, he said, disposed to send to the French Consul-General the following instruction, namely: "To avoid giving advice at once to the Khedive, if His Highness consulted him separately; to ask in such a case for time for reflection, and then to confer with his English colleague, so that the advice of both might always be identical; and if he and his colleague could not come to the same opinion, then to refer the matter home for instructions."

M. de Freycinet said that he would send a telegram to this effect to M. Sienkiewicz immediately, if your Lordship would send a similar one to Sir Edward Malet; and he begged me to propose this to your Lordship, and to let him know your answer as soon as possible.

I have already had the honour to forward to your Lordship the substance of this despatch by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 122.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 8.)

(No. 379. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 5, 1882.

WITH reference to my immediately preceding despatch No. 378 of to-day, it occurs to me that it may be worth while for me to observe to your Lordship that M. de Freycinet appeared to be quite aware that Sir Edward Malet's presence during a part of the interview between the Khedive and the Austrian, Italian, and Russian Consuls-General was entirely accidental.

His Excellency did not express any doubt that Sir Edward Malet's conduct on the occasion had been perfectly friendly and correct.

I have forwarded the substance of this despatch to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 123.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 8.)

(No. 382.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 6, 1882.

IN obedience to the instruction contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 495 of yesterday, I took steps this afternoon to ascertain whether M. de Freycinet was willing that the Anglo-French proposals for a modification of Article 34 of the New Egyptian Organic Law should now be communicated to the Ottoman Ambassadors in Paris and London.

His Excellency has informed me that he has no objection to this being done, provided that it is well understood that the communication is simply one of courtesy, that it does not call for any opinion or any adhesion on the part of the Porte, and that it does not in the least commit England and France with regard to their further action.

His Excellency has appointed to-morrow afternoon for an interview with me to consider the exact terms in which the communication should be made to the Ambassadors.

I have had the honour to forward to your Lordship the substance of this despatch by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 124.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 8.)

(No. 383.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 6, 1882.

IN obedience to your Lordship's telegraphic instruction of to-day marked No. 104, I have let M. de Freycinet know that your Lordship will send to Sir Edward Malet instructions respecting concert between the English and French Representatives in Egypt similar to those which his Excellency suggested yesterday.

M. de Freycinet sends to-day like instructions to M. Sienkiewicz.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 125.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 8.)

(No. 384.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 6, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatches Nos. 382 and 383 of to-day, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of the letter in which I inquired of M. de Freycinet whether he was willing that the proposed modifications in the Egyptian Organic Law should be communicated to the Ottoman Ambassadors in Paris and London, and at the same time informed him that your Lordship would send to Sir Edward Malet the instructions he suggested, with a view to ensure concert between the French and English Representatives in Egypt.

I have also the honour to inclose a copy of M. de Freycinet's answer, stating the conditions on which he is willing that the communication shall be made to the Ambassadors, and informing me that he sends to-day the instructions to the French Agent in Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 125.

Lord Lyons to M. de Freycinet.

My dear President of the Council,

Paris, May 6, 1882.

ON the 28th of last month Lord Granville asked M. Tissot to ascertain from you whether you saw any objection to communicating to the Turkish Ambassadors in London and Paris the proposals for a modification of Article 34 of the new Organic Law in Egypt.

It appears to Her Majesty's Government that, as all the Powers are agreed upon the nature of the modifications which are required, it would be well to communicate those modifications to the Ottoman Ambassadors here and in London without delay.

Lord Granville is anxious to learn as speedily as possible whether you concur in making this communication at once; and if you concur, he authorizes me to confer with you upon the precise terms in which the communication should be made.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

P.S.—I informed Lord Granville yesterday of your suggestion that instructions should be sent to each of our Consuls-General—"To avoid giving advice at once to the

Khedive if His Highness consults him separately; to ask in such a case for time for reflection, and then consult his colleague, so that the advice of the English and French Representatives may always be identical; and, lastly, if he and his colleague cannot come to the same opinion, then to refer the matter home for instructions."

I have just received authority from Lord Granville to inform you that he will send instructions to this effect to Sir E. Malet.

L.

Inclosure 2 in No. 125.

M. de Freycinet to Lord Lyons.

Mon cher Ambassadeur,

Paris, le 6 Mai, 1882.

JE m'empresse de répondre à votre lettre de ce jour.

Je n'ai pas d'objection à ce que votre projet de modification à l'Article 34 de la Loi Organique Égyptienne soit communiqué aux Ambassadeurs Ottomans à Paris et à Londres, étant entendu que cette communication est toute de courtoisie, qu'elle n'appelle aucun avis ni adhésion de la Porte et qu'elle n'engage en rien notre action ultérieure. Je suis prêt à conférer avec vous demain à 3 heures (si ce moment vous convient) pour régler les termes précis dans lesquels cette communication aura lieu.

J'adresse aujourd'hui même à M. Sienkiewicz des instructions conformes à celles que Lord Granville vient d'envoyer à Mr. Malet, suivant la proposition que je vous avais faite hier.

(Signé) C. DE FREYCINET.

No. 126.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 8.)

(No. 387. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 7, 1882.

IN compliance with M. de Freycinet's invitation, I waited upon his Excellency this afternoon to confer with him as to the precise terms in which the proposed modification of the new Egyptian Organic Law should be communicated to the Ottoman Ambassadors in London and in Paris.

He at once put into my hand the draft, which I inclose, of a note to the Turkish Ambassador here. Your Lordship will see that it simply incloses "à titre d'information" the text of the new Article 34 proposed by the English and French Governments.

I observed to M. de Freycinet that this draft seemed to me to be somewhat curt, and that if the communication was to be made simply as an act of courtesy, it was all the more essential to make it in a perfectly courteous form.

M. de Freycinet replied that he was afraid of affording the Porte any peg on which to hang a discussion. He should not, however, he said, object, if your Lordship thought it advisable, to add a preamble giving some historical account of the circumstances which had led England and France to propose the modification. The note might be lengthened in this way, if its mere brevity gave it any semblance of scant courtesy; but M. de Freycinet would be very unwilling to insert in it any explanations or arguments of which the Porte could lay hold in order to raise discussion. The particular words in his draft to which he attached importance were, he said, these three, "à titre d'information."

I remarked that it had occurred to me that the simplest form of making the communication might be simply to put into the respective Ambassador's hands, at a personal interview, a copy of the Circular to the Powers of the 17th March, and thus to avoid the necessity of addressing any note at all to them.

M. de Freycinet said that the Circular contained a great deal which the Porte might make a subject of controversy, and that he by no means wished to invite an opinion from the Porte in the same way that the Circular had invited the opinion and the adhesion of the Powers.

After some further conversation, M. de Freycinet begged me to submit his draft to your Lordship as it stood, but at the same time to say that he was quite willing to make in it any changes which were in accordance with the conditions which he regarded as essential, that is to say, that the communication should be made simply as an act of courtesy, "à titre d'information," that neither the opinion nor the adhesion of the Porte

should be asked, and that the freedom of the future action of France and England should not be in any way fettered.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 126.

Draft of Note to Essad Pasha.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Paris, le Mai, 1882.

J'AI l'honneur de communiquer à votre Excellence, à titre d'information, le texte que les Cabinets de Paris et de Londres proposeront au Khédive de substituer à l'Article 34 du Décret rendu par Son Altesse le 7 Février, 1882, en vue de régler les attributions de la Chambre des Délégués Égyptiens.

Agréez, &c.

No. 127.

E
(No. 388.)

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 8.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 7, 1882.

M. DE FREYCINET was so good as to make me acquainted this afternoon with instructions which he had sent to M. Sienkiewicz, in answer to an inquiry from him as to what course he should take in case of disagreement between the Khedive and his Ministers.

The substance of the instructions was as follows:—

"You will first of all place yourself in accord with Mr. Malet, in conformity with the telegram which I sent you yesterday, and if there should be any persistent divergence of opinion between you and him you will refer to me, and in no case will you allow any such divergence to be apparent on the spot.

"If there should be a conflict between the Khedive and his Ministers, you will, acting always in accordance with Mr. Malet, take the side of the Khedive, who is the sole legal authority, conducting yourself, however, with the tact and circumspection necessary to avoid causing or aggravating conflicts in the heart of the Government.

"You will remember that whatever may be our opinion of the incapacity ('insuffisance') of the Khedive, we must nevertheless loyally exert ourselves to make his power last as long as possible."

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 128.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 8, 2:40 P.M.)

(No. 107.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 8, 1882, 1:20 P.M.

THE President of the Council came to me this morning to say that if the Porte ordered the sentence of the court-martial to be cancelled, the Egyptian Government would refuse to allow it to be done, and that if Turkish Commissioners were sent, they would be repulsed, if necessary, by force.

His Excellency observed that this would be open revolt against Turkey, and that he hoped that the good offices of the Powers would be used to prevent the necessity from arising.

His Excellency protested that the Government was animated by a desire to be on the most friendly terms with foreign Powers, and denied that they had anti-European tendencies. He declared the procedure of the court-martial to be strictly in accordance with the law of the country.

No. 129.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 112.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 8, 1882, 3.30 P.M.

SIR E. MALET'S telegram No. 104 of yesterday, repeated to you to-day.

Consult French Government whether we should not at once instruct our Representatives to advise the Khedive to declare that, using his prerogative, he commutes the penalties of the sentence. This would avoid reference to the Porte, and give authority to the Khedive.

No. 130.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received May 8, 4.45 P.M.)

(No. 77.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 8, 1882, 1.30 P.M.

A REPORT has reached me, which I give under strict reserve, that the Khedive has asked the Sultan to send him troops, and the question of detaching some from Tripoli is being discussed here; also, that the Sultan is about to send an agent secretly to Berlin to sound the views of the German Government as to Egypt.

No. 131.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 8, 6 P.M.)

(No. 108. Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 8, 1882, 3.30 P.M.

MY telegram No. 107 of to-day.

It is hardly likely that the Government would have announced so bold a course unless expecting support from without. My French colleague has been in frequent communication with the President of the Council during the last few days, and I cannot but suspect that the menace of resistance to the Porte must be encouraged, if not prompted, by him, though nothing in his language to me has indicated it.

No. 132.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 8, 6.40 P.M.)

(No. 36.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 8, 1882, 5 P.M.

EGYPT: M. de Freycinet has received a telegram from the French Consul-General, applying for instructions, in consequence of the Khedive's having asked for the advice of the Consuls-General on the question of pardoning the men sentenced by the court-martial.

The French Consul-General states that Sir E. Malet has sent you an identic telegram.

M. de Freycinet is strongly of opinion that the Khedive should grant a full pardon immediately, by virtue of his own prerogative, without waiting for action on the part of the Porte; and he has instructed the French Consul-General to concert with Sir E. Malet with a view to giving this advice to the Khedive.

No. 133.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 97.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 8, 1882, 8.15 P.M.

WITH reference to Lord Lyons' telegram No. 36, just repeated to you, we agree in opinion that Khedive should grant full pardon by his own prerogative.

You may concert with your French colleague to give this advice to Khedive.

No. 134.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 114.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 8, 1882, 8.15 P.M.

YOURS No. 36.

We have sent similar instructions to Sir E. Malet.

No. 135.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 503. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 8, 1882.

WITH reference to Sir E. Malet's telegram of yesterday respecting the sentence of the court-martial, which has been communicated to your Excellency to-day, I have to request you to consult the French Government as to whether instructions should not at once be sent to the British and French Representatives in Egypt to advise the Khedive to declare that, using his prerogative, he commutes the penalties of the sentence. Reference to the Porte would, by this means, be avoided, and the authority of the Khedive would be strengthened.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 136.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 504. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 8, 1882.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 36 of to-day, referring to a telegram received by M. de Freycinet from the French Consul-General in Egypt, asking for instructions on the Khedive's request for the advice of the Consuls-General on the question of pardoning the men sentenced by the court-martial; and your Excellency states that M. de Freycinet had expressed the opinion that the Khedive should grant a full pardon at once by virtue of his own prerogative, without waiting for action on the part of the Porte, and had instructed the French Consul-General to concert with Sir E. Malet with a view to giving this advice to the Khedive.

I have now to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government have sent similar instructions to the above to Sir E. Malet.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 137.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 504A. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 8, 1882.

THE French Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and spoke to me at some length on the subject of Egyptian affairs.

He said that he had received from M. de Freycinet an explanation of his reasons for objecting to Turkish intervention, which he was disposed to consider as the worst of all the methods of applying force. M. de Freycinet did not see in what way any limits could be set to a mandate so vague as that of "restoring order." An occupation for this object might be indefinitely prolonged, not only on account of the Khedive's weakness, but also on the ground of incidents which it would be the interest of the Turkish Government to originate, and which it would accordingly bring about. The result would be that Egypt would fall again under Turkish domination, a contingency to which the French Government could not in any way lend themselves.

M. de Freycinet thought indeed, said M. Tissot, that in not at once declaring resolutely against any Turkish intervention, Her Majesty's Government were rendering such intervention inevitable. The Porte, knowing that it would be authorized to inter-

vene under certain circumstances, would not fail to procure their occurrence. It would be the object of the Turkish Government to bring about the failure of the projected mission of the three Generals, if it took place. The best means, in M. de Freycinet's opinion, of making that mission effectual would be to let it be known at once at the Porte that in no case would its troops be allowed to intervene; in one word, that the projected mission is in no way the preface for a military expedition.

M. Tissot added that the French Government continued to be of opinion that matters could be made easier and clearer if it was decided to go to the root of the evil, and to establish what was wanting in Egypt, that is to say, a Chief of the State who possessed real authority. This measure would not be the ground for an intervention of indefinite duration, it would be a solemn act accomplished in a few days, after which Egypt, left to herself, might resume the normal course of her destinies. In this act of sovereignty it would be as natural and justifiable to have recourse to Turkey as it seems the reverse to do so for the purpose of administering and governing the country *de facto* under the cover of a Khedive who is unable to do it of himself. The first plan, M. Tissot said, would be a solution; the second one no more than the commencement of an era of embarrassment and deception.

In reply, I repeated to M. Tissot that it must not be supposed that Her Majesty's Government were in favour of Turkish military intervention; they saw, on the contrary, the gravest objection to military intervention in any form. It was true that they were disposed to regard Turkish intervention as that which offered fewest objections if intervention became absolutely necessary; but they in no way concealed from themselves that it would have serious inconveniences, and among the reasons for deprecating it not the least was the feeling with regard to it which was entertained in France.

Our proposal for the mission of the three Generals was made with the idea that it might avert the necessity of employing force. The plan of a change of Khedive offered no guarantee whatever that Turkish or other force might not be requisite both to introduce the new Rules and to maintain them afterwards, and it was certain that at least the tendency of the change would be to diminish the authority of the office of Khedive.

As regards the suggestion that we should at once declare to the Porte that Turkish intervention would not be allowed, I said that we had never encouraged the Porte to contemplate intervention. Our language had been in a contrary sense. But we wished to hold ourselves free, if the necessity arose, to consider all possible forms of intervention, and to choose that which was accompanied by the fewest inconveniences and risks.

M. Tissot said that Sir E. Malet, when at Constantinople, had encouraged the Sultan to look forward to a Turkish intervention being allowed in case of need.

I said that Sir E. Malet, on returning to Egypt, had been allowed at his own request to go by way of Constantinople, partly in order to have an opportunity of discussing the state of affairs in Egypt with Her Majesty's Ambassador, and partly on account of the moral effect which it was thought his taking that route would have in Egypt. But he had no authority to encourage the idea of Turkish intervention, and anything he might have said to that effect either to the Sultan or to his Ministers must have been an expression of personal views merely.

I added that our desire was, as it had always been, to maintain the tie between Turkey and Egypt; to avoid the surrender of any of the liberties which the Sultans had themselves granted to the latter country, and to maintain the *status quo* in regard to its administration so far as this was compatible with the course of events. This was the language which it was my intention to hold to Musurus Pasha, who, I understood, was desirous of seeing me, and who was sure to ask for an expression of my views.

M. Tissot then spoke of the language to be used by the French and English Ministers in Parliament in regard to their agreement on the policy to be pursued. M. de Freycinet, he said, was anxious not to make the declaration too absolute in its terms because the agreement, in fact, was not complete, the French Government being unwilling to admit Turkish intervention in any case, while Her Majesty's Government would allow it under certain circumstances. If, therefore, the question of Turkish intervention were at any time to become the subject of debate and this divergence of opinion were to become manifest, it might be said that there had been an attempt to assert that a more entire agreement existed than was really the case.

M. de Freycinet proposed, therefore, the following form of words:—

“La France et l'Angleterre n'ont pas cessé de marcher d'accord. Tout annonce que cet accord persistera jusqu'à la fin, et tout récemment encore, avant-hier, les deux Gouvernements ont envoyé des instructions à leurs Agents pour qu'ils tiennent le même langage au Caire en toute circonstance.”

I told M. Tissot that in consulting M. de Freycinet I had no idea of trying to commit

the French Government to anything to which they objected. My only desire was to secure perfect identity in our public declarations. I conceived that the fact that the two Governments differed in their view as to Turkish intervention was known, and I saw no advantage in calling further attention to it. But I thought that M. de Freycinet's suggested form might be adopted with some slight verbal alteration. I proposed to word it as follows:—

“France and England have not ceased to act in agreement. Both Governments equally desire that their concord should continue till the end. Instructions have been sent to their respective Agents from time to time to act and speak in the same sense. One such instruction was sent last week and another this week.”

I told M. Tissot that I only wished to be prepared with an answer: that I should not give any till it was necessary.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 138.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 114. Extender.)

Foreign Office, May 8, 1882.

Sir,

I HAVE repeated to you Lord Lyons' telegram No. 36 of to-day, stating that the French Government are of opinion that the Khedive should, by his own prerogative, grant a full pardon to the officers sentenced by the court-martial.

Her Majesty's Government agree in this opinion, and I have accordingly to instruct you to concert with the French Agent with a view to advising the Khedive in the above sense.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 139.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 9, 11 A.M.)

(No. 109. Secret.)

Cairo, May 9, 1882, 10 A.M.

(Telegraphic.)

AN electric machine, which is only used to explode submarine infernal machines, is now passing through the Custom-house.

No. 140.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received May 9, 1.45 P.M.)

(No. 80.)

Constantinople, May 9, 1882, 12.30 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

MY telegram No. 75 of 6th instant.

I am secretly informed that the Palace has sent instructions to Turkish Ambassador in Paris to sound French Government unofficially as to their policy in Egypt.

No. 141.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received May 9, 3.30 P.M.)

(No. 81.)

Constantinople, May 9, 1882, 1 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

MY telegram No. 77 of 8th instant.

I am secretly informed that the question of dispatching troops from Syria to Egypt is being discussed at the Palace. I am told that 30,000 men have been mentioned, but I do not believe the total number in Syria much exceeds that.

I am also informed that telegrams have been received at the Palace from Paris, stating that if the Porte will recognize the *status quo* in Tunis, the French opposition to the dispatch of troops to Egypt will be withdrawn.

No. 142.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 9, 4:30 P.M.)

(No. 110.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 9, 1882, 2:30 P.M.

THE Khedive has issued a Decree commuting the sentence on the prisoners to leaving Egypt, without any other penalty, and annulling the rest of the sentence.

No. 143.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 9, 6:20 P.M.)

(No. 111.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 9, 1882, 4 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 97 of yesterday, and my telegram No. 110 of to-day.

Your Lordship's instructions to me and M. de Freycinet's to my French colleague were differently worded. The French instructions were to advise the Khedive to use his prerogative to commute the penalties.

We were summoned to the Palace at 10 A.M., just after decyphering the instructions. The Khedive had received a telegram from the Porte desiring him to send in all the papers connected with the trial. It was urgent to act. The Khedive said that for the prisoners' sake he could not consent to a free pardon, as they would be immediately rearrested or otherwise pursued. I therefore accepted the Khedive's proposal, and consented to the Decree as it has been issued, which is, I think, the best solution in the interests of the Khedive and of the prisoners.

My French colleague and I remained at the Palace until the Decree was signed, after which it was at once transmitted to the President of the Council. The Ministers were not consulted with reference to it.

No. 144.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 9, 6:20 P.M.)

(No. 112.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 9, 1882, 4 P.M.

THE Khedive requests me to convey to your Lordship his sincere acknowledgments for the support and assistance which Her Majesty's Government have rendered him in the matter of the court-martial, and he expresses the hope that your Lordship will use your good offices at Constantinople to prevent the Sultan from resenting the course which he has taken at the recommendation of the English and French Governments.

No. 145.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 505 A.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 9, 1882.

THERE seems to have been some confusion in the telegraphic instructions furnished respectively to the English and French Agents at Cairo in regard to the sentence of the Court-martial.

Sir E. Malet and the French Agent proposed in the identic telegram of the 7th May that the Khedive might simply declare that using his prerogative he commutes the penalties.

In my telegram to you No. 112 of the 8th instant, I requested your Excellency to consult the French Government, whether we should not at once send instructions to our Representatives in this sense. In the meanwhile, it appears from your telegram No. 36 of the same day that M. de Freycinet had expressed to you his opinion that the Khedive should immediately grant a free pardon, adding that he had instructed the French Consul-General to concert with Sir E. Malet with a view to giving this advice. I at once sent similar instructions to Sir E. Malet, and informed you of the fact.

It now appears, however, from Sir E. Malet's telegram No. 111 of to-day, that the expression used in M. de Freycinet's telegram to the French Agent was "commute the penalties," and not "grant a full pardon."

It further appears that the two Agents, after consultation with the Khedive, agreed to His Highness' proposal, not for a "full pardon" or "commutation of the penalties," but for a commutation of the sentence into leaving Egypt without any other penalty.

I have to request your Excellency to explain what has happened to M. de Freycinet, and suggest that under the circumstances the action of the two Agents should be approved.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 146.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10.)

(No. 205. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 1, 1882.

A CURIOUS case has arisen lately, showing the interference of the military in affairs which do not concern them. Prince Ibrahim, son of Ahmed Pasha, heir to the Vice-Royalty, who was drowned by the train going into the Nile in 1858, possesses large estates in the neighbourhood of Zagazig, cultivated by peasants who, for their labour, are granted about an acre per head for their own benefit. An officer of the army recently presented himself and advised the peasants that they need no longer cultivate the Prince's lands, and that the acres they held from him were theirs by right. The consequence was a general strike, and the Prince, unable to obtain any redress from Government, has leased the lands to a French subject.

I have the honour to inclose herewith an interesting account of the whole proceeding, drawn up by Mr. Rowsell from information given by the Prince.

The question is one of serious interest to Mr. Rowsell, because the Administration of the Domains has met with similar difficulties, though on a smaller scale.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 146.

Memorandum by Mr. Rowsell.

BY appointment to Prince Ibrahim's house. Told him that I was desirous of knowing all the details of the difficulty he had had with labourers on his estate of Zinaloun, near Sel Hawir, the more so, that we had experienced difficulty with our "temalliehs" at Tommai, and I wished to ascertain what points of resemblance there might be in the two cases. Explained to the Prince that I had heard an imperfect account through M. Poilay, whom we had just taken into our service, and who had left to accept a better post under His Highness.

Prince Ibrahim said that M. Poilay (a French agriculturist, ten years in Egypt) had not accepted a post under him, but had become his tenant for Zinaloun under the following circumstances:—

Some years after Mehemed Ali Pasha had been in Egypt, he asked and had from the Sublime Porte permission to take for his own family purposes 150,000 feddans of land. In theory, at that time all land belonged to the Sultan, and was held conditionally on payment of rent and certain other conditions. Quoad the 150,000 feddans, Mohammed Ali, in virtue of his Firman, was substituted for the Sultan as owner. The land was said to be mostly poor land, requiring the expenditure of capital and the sedulous application of skill and labour. It was parcelled out among the family of Mohammed Ali, and constituted a new kind of property called "chefalik," resembling in essentials an English feudal manor. This land was worked by the grantees in person, was greatly improved, in many cases re-made, and descended by heritage to the surviving members of Mohammed Ali's family.

Zinaloun was one of these "chefalik." Upon it had settled peasants, originally vagabond in the country, who, for sake of the feddan or so allotted to them per head, and to have the Lord's protection, agreed to render suit and service exclusively to the proprietor. Prince Ibrahim says that an officer of the army has been lately at Zinaloun, giving out that he speaks in the name of the Government, and that in that name he

says that the people need no longer give service, and that if they inquire, they will find that the land they have held as a favour is theirs of right. Whence did Ibrahim Pasha get the land? from his father, and his father? By inheritance from Mohammed Ali. But Mohammed Ali took it by force from the ancestors of the present tenants, so that in reality they only claim their own. This language of the officer is testified to by twenty-five persons who heard him, and it is said the Sheikhs, encouraged by him and by the local Notables, have taken up the line of refusing rent and work too. Prince Ibrahim wrote to the Ministry of the Interior to require an investigation into the conduct of the officer, and that the Sheikhs should be obliged to fulfil their obligations. He asked, too, that the claimants should show their "hodgets" if their title were well founded.

Persons were sent by the Ministry, and the Prince was required to produce before them, in reference to subsidiary allegations of insufficiency of allotment and of wages paid in money, his books and papers showing the financial details of the whole property. This the Prince refused, on the ground of inconvenience and of absence of right in the Government to require it. The Government reply by saying they will have the books by force if not willingly on his part. Upon this, Ibrahim Pasha, in order to obviate the indignity and the unseemliness of a dispute of the kind, lets the property to M. Poilay, guaranteeing him a certain income for five years, and an interest in the land if the proceeds exceed the guaranteed amount.

Before reaching this stage, Prince Ibrahim, having heard that the Sheikhs and local notabilities were in communication with Arabi Pasha, and that a deputation of them had spent four nights at his house, sent a person thither to ascertain Arabi's opinions on the subject. The result was that Arabi maintained the people in their claim, based on the assumption originally set up, but without shadow of right, that Mohammed Ali had taken the land from these people's ancestors by force.

The Prince expressed his determination to do away henceforth with the "temallieh" system on his estates, to give no land to any one below its value in return for labour, but to exact in all cases the letting value, and to pay wages in money when he requires labour. He considers that the agitation and insubordination begun in the army are extending to the peasants, and that there is a difficult agricultural-social question in the immediate future. His Envoy to Arabi reported that the Pasha had remarked that as yet the Egyptian peasants had not got so far as the Irish, with whom he expressed sympathy.

(Signed) F. W. ROWSELL.

April 24, 1882.

No. 147.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10.)

(No. 208. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 2, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship two extracts from letters addressed to the Control by two of their Inspectors from Damanhour, in the Province of Behera, and Tanta, in the Province of Charkieh.

The first of these reports growing insecurity, due to the small respect paid to the civil authorities by the natives. This is attributed to the action of the military, who treat their civil colleagues with none of the consideration necessary to carry on provincial administration.

Corruption among the employés is attaining its former prevalence, and is favoured by the frequent changes among the higher functionaries, which virtually throw the working of the administration into the hands of subordinates, who alone are versed in the current business, and who are not slow to seize the opportunities for peculation thus offered to them.

The second letter dwells upon the straits to which the fellaheen are now reduced in order to obtain money. The banks will no longer lend any large sums, and the petty usurers ask interest as high as 36 per cent. per six months for small loans.

The landed proprietors attribute this tightness of capital, and their present distress, to the feeling of distrust which reigns under the present Government, and they boldly declare that the Ministry is responsible if they are unable to pay the land-tax, this being, in reality, almost the only side of politics at which the Egyptian agriculturist will look.

Land is everywhere losing its value, and sales at heavy loss are constantly being

made, one example being cited of property, purchased a few months back at 60l per feddan, having been lately sold at 28l.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure 1 in No. 147.

Extract from a Letter of M. Lovia to the Secretary of the Control.

(Particulière.)

Tanta, le 23 Avril, 1882.

JE n'ai rien de bien nouveau à vous communiquer au sujet de ce qui se passe dans les provinces. Je reviens d'une tournée d'inspection qui ne m'a appris quoi que ce soit au-delà de ce que l'on sait déjà. La situation est loin de s'améliorer: le fellah est toujours surchargé de dettes, et se fatigue à chercher de l'argent, soit pour ses besoins particuliers soit pour le paiement de l'impôt. Cela lui devient de plus en plus difficile chaque jour. Pour les sommes de quelque importance les banques ne veulent plus entendre parler d'affaires. Elles en ont déjà par dessus la tête et qui sait comment elles s'en tireront. Pour les petites sommes les usuriers Grecs, quand ils consentent à prêter, demandent des intérêts fabuleux. Je sais, de source certaine, que l'on est allé jusqu'à payer pour six mois 36 pour cent.

Aussi, on ne saurait s'étonner qu'une réaction très-sensible commence à se manifester clairement contre des gens qui étaient naguère les héros au jour. J'avoue cependant que j'ai été parfois assez surpris, moins de la presque-unanimité de ces sentiments que de la hardiesse avec laquelle il était exprimé. La grande masse des cultivateurs accuse hautement aujourd'hui les gens qui sont à la tête des affaires d'être la cause unique de l'embarras extrême dans lequel ils se trouvent. C'est à leur manière d'agir, disent-ils, que l'on doit de voir les capitaux se refuser à venir en aide à l'agriculture: si les choses continuent de la sorte il sera impossible aux petits propriétaires fonciers de payer l'impôt.

Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire que c'est là, généralement, le seul point de vue sous lequel le villageois envisage la question: les considérations nationales ont moins que jamais prise sur lui.

Ce qui me paraît évident, c'est que la perception de l'impôt se ressentira avant peu de la gêne qui, en ce moment, pèse sur la grande majorité des contribuables. Les serrafs commencent à se plaindre des difficultés qu'ils rencontrent déjà dans leurs recouvrements, et, comme dans les plus mauvais jours du règne précédent, on a vu dans de certaines localités des contribuables, escortés du "Chawich," qu'on leur envoie pour les contraindre à payer, faire le tour des prêteurs connus, prêts à se soumettre à toutes les exigences afin de se libérer des poursuites de l'autorité.

Les terrains ont dans ces derniers temps perdu considérablement de leur valeur. On pourrait aujourd'hui acquérir de petits lots au tiers du prix qu'on les payait il y a six mois. Les propriétaires, les petits, j'entends, vendent feddan par feddan, kerat par kerat, au fur et à mesure de leurs besoins. Pas plus tard que la semaine dernière, un cultivateur, pressé par la nécessité, a distrait de son maigre patrimoine à Similla, dans le voisinage même de Tanta, 42 kerats de terre, qu'il a cédés pour la somme de 50 livres, ce qui fait environ 28l. le feddan. Ce sont des terres qui avaient été payés 60l. le feddan il y a peine quelques mois. Ceci est un exemple entre dix que je pourrais citer. Où cela conduira-t-il? il est inutile de se le demander.

Inclosure 2 in No. 147.

Extract from a Letter from M. Behmer to the Controllers-General.

Damanhour, le 22 Avril, 1882.

LA sûreté publique dans le chef-lieu de la Moudirich même laisse à désirer: pendant les derniers mois plusieurs vols avec infraction ont eu lieu dans des magasins au milieu de la ville sans que l'autorité ait réussi, jusqu'à présent, à découvrir les coupables. Divers des gardiens sont mis en prison, mais n'ont encore rien avoué.

En vivant dans les villages on ne peut pas reconnaître que le respect devant l'autorité de la part des indigènes, sans distinction des classes, a sensiblement diminué par suite de l'insurrection militaire et de ses conséquences. On dirait presque qu'il

suffit aujourd'hui de porter l'uniforme de simple officier pour pouvoir exiger des fonctionnaires civiles des égards et des prévenances tout à fait exceptionnelles. Il est évident qu'un tel état des choses compromet également la dignité des fonctionnaires et du Gouvernement qu'ils représentent; on n'a donc pas à s'étonner si quelques-uns des Moudirs de la Basse Égypte ont donné leur démission, sans qu'elle ait été acceptée. Les ci-devant militaires occupés par le Ministère actuel dans des postes civils, soit-ce pour surveiller leurs collègues, soit ce pour renseigner leurs protecteurs sur tout ce qui se passe dans les diverses administrations, ne craignent pas même de professer leur aversion contre leurs collègues de l'état civil et notamment contre l'élément d'origine Turco-Égyptien, qu'ils regardent comme des usurpateurs. Il s'en suit naturellement qu'une entente cordiale entre les fonctionnaires de la même administration, fréquemment appelés à se remplacer l'un l'autre, n'existe que superficiellement entre ces collaborateurs, quoiqu'elle soit tout à fait indispensable pour assurer une marche régulière des affaires: les protestations manifestes et répétées d'amitié et de dévouement entre eux sont peu aptes à cacher la jalousie et haine réciproques.

La corruption des employés, cette véritable gangrène de l'Égypte qui du temps du Ministère Riaz avait quelque peu diminuée, prend actuellement, d'après ce que l'on entend, des proportions toujours croissantes, ce qui ne paraît pas même bien surprenant si l'on considère le manque de stabilité qui règne dans les régions des fonctionnaires. Ainsi la Moudirieh de Béhéra a eu en moins d'une année trois différents Moudirs, deux Délégués du Ministre des Finances, trois vekils de la Moudirieh et trois chefs écrivains. Il faut connaître la multiplicité des affaires d'une Moudirieh pour pouvoir juger qu'il est absolument impossible pour qui que ce soit de se mettre au courant des affaires dans quatre ou six mois, puisqu'il y en a qui datent depuis trois et plus d'années.

Le Moudir le plus capable et le plus laborieux qui aurait à cœur de juger les diverses affaires par lui-même, et non pas par l'entremise de l'écrivain qui lui soumet les pièces, devrait rester au moins quelques années à son poste pour pouvoir rendre les services sérieux à l'État que celui-ci a le droit d'attendre de ses fonctionnaires.

Mais en changeant dans une même année ses employés principaux deux et trois fois, le Gouvernement ne peut obtenir que des résultats fort douteux en fait d'administration, et il ouvre une large porte à la corruption pour ses employés subalternes, qui, insuffisamment rétribués, ne laissent guère échapper une occasion quelconque, eu égard que les changements fréquents de leurs supérieurs leur assurent une impunité presque certaine.

No. 148.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10.)

(No. 209.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 2, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a translation of an article from the newspaper entitled "El Wakaïeh Masrieh," which is the Arabic official Government newspaper, giving an account of the alleged plot which has led to the arrest of forty-eight persons, and the condemnation of forty to exile for life.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 148.

Extract from "El Wakaïeh Masrieh."

(Traduction.)

LE COMLOT.—On a parlé du complot des Circassiens, aussi bien ici qu'en Europe, en entourant cet incident de tant de détails fantaisistes que nous avons cru, comme beaucoup d'autres, qu'il s'agissait d'une de ces effrayantes conspirations qui bouleversent un pays.

Le journal officiel indigène, "El Wakaïeh Masrié," ainsi que nous l'avons dit dans notre numéro de Vendredi dernier, devait nous donner le récit émouvant de cette épouvantable machination. Nous avons aujourd'hui la traduction de ce récit, et notre impression est que c'est une montagne qui vient d'accoucher d'un souris.

Voici cette traduction mot à mot:—

"L'Affaire des Circassiens."

"Ismail Pacha, témoin de la tranquillité, du bien-être et du bonheur dont jouissait l'Égypte, éprouva un grand déplaisir de se voir éloigné de son beau pays. Il travailla dès lors à essayer d'y rentrer, et ne pouvant y parvenir, mû par un mesquin esprit de vengeance, il fit tous ses efforts pour y jeter le trouble et créer des obstacles à la marche des affaires.

"Et cependant l'Égypte ne lui a rien fait, au contraire c'est lui qui attire sur le pays les maux sous lesquels il gémit aujourd'hui.

"Il mettait donc en œuvre tous les moyens, il saisissait toutes les occasions qui se présentaient pour atteindre son but.

"Quand les derniers événements eurent lieu, et que Chérif Pacha eût été appelé à la présidence du Conseil, il en profita pour créer de nouveaux embarras et prit ce prétexte pour chercher la réalisation de ses desseins. À cet effet il envoya au Caire Ratib Pacha pour y former un foyer de partisans, capables de servir ses intentions.

"Ratib Pacha séjourna donc quelque temps au Caire, sans que Chérif ait songé à lui en interdire le séjour. L'émisnaire d'Ismail eut alors des entrevues avec son frère Mahmoud Effendi Talaat, ainsi qu'avec Youssef Bey Najati, Mahmoud Bey Fouad, neveu de Kosrow Pacha, Osman Pacha Rifki, ex-Ministre de la Guerre, et les chargea de se créer des amis et des partisans, dans le but de perdre les hommes du Gouvernement et les chefs de l'armée, et particulièrement Araby Pacha.

"Après avoir formé cet odieux complot Ratib, ayant rempli sa mission, retourna auprès d'Ismail.

"La ligue travailla alors à accomplir ses projets.

"Quelques personnes dénuées d'esprit eurent la faiblesse de s'y associer; sur ces entrefaites, le Gouvernement dut envoyer au Soudan 101 officiers destinés à remplacer ceux qui devaient rentrer en Égypte. Le choix tomba sur 9 Circassiens, 6 Turcs, et 80 Égyptiens. Le Ministère de la Guerre leur fit compter l'argent nécessaire aux dépenses de leur voyage selon les règlements, et leur fit comprendre qu'au Soudan ils auraient double solde.

"Les conjurés profitèrent de l'envoi de ces Circassiens au Soudan pour jeter le trouble dans le pays, et engagèrent ces officiers à désobéir à leurs chefs en refusant de partir pour cette contrée, leur faisant envisager que c'était un lieu d'exil, où ils ne pourraient obtenir aucun avancement. Se laissant entraîner par ces discours, les Circassiens refusèrent d'obéir à l'ordre du Ministère de la Guerre, bien qu'ils eussent reçu leurs frais de voyage, et lorsqu'ils savaient que leur séjour au Soudan ne serait, suivant les règlements, que de trois ans pendant lesquels ils toucheraient double solde.

"Ils demandèrent en même temps des promotions qui n'étaient pas méritées, comme celles qui avaient été accordées avec toute justice aux officiers Égyptiens; puis ils déployèrent toute leur activité pour atteindre leur but.

"Ils attirèrent à eux Rachid Effendi, un des officiers Circassiens, et le mirent au courant de leurs desseins. La conscience et la religion de Rachid se révoltèrent en entendant de telles révélations, et quand il fut sûr de la marche du complot, il alla le dénoncer à Araby Pacha. Les conspirateurs furent tous arrêtés; un Conseil de Guerre fut aussitôt convoqué. Ce Conseil ouvrit une enquête régulière, sans s'écarter jamais de la loi, confrontant les accusés avec les témoins, acceptant leurs déclarations avec beaucoup de douceur et d'égard et sans la moindre violence.

"Les accusés firent enfin, avec beaucoup de netteté, les révélations que nous avons déjà rapportées, et bientôt la sentence sera rendue selon la loi.

"Voilà la vérité toute pure! toute nouvelle contraire à ce que nous venons de raconter ne mérite aucune créance. Il n'y a pas eu de coup de revolver tiré, comme l'ont prétendu certaines personnes malintentionnées, et il n'est rien qui puisse faire supposer que les accusés aient pu être entraînés par une pensée de lutte de race ou de nationalité. Mais c'est le résultat des intrigues du méchant Ratib Pacha."

No. 149.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10.)

(No. 210.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 2, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, during the tenure of office of the present Ministry, the following officers have been appointed to posts usually held by civilians :—

Colonel Mihvez Bey, Deputy-Governor of Garbieh.
Colonel Bassour Bey, Deputy-Governor of Menoufieh.
Colonel Mohamed Bey Khantour, Deputy-Governor of Dakalieh.
Sakael Agasi, Mohamed Effendi Helmi, Deputy-Governor of Esneh.
Lieutenant-Colonel Hassan Bey Sadik, Deputy-Governor of Alexandria.
Major Ibrahim Effendi Saleh, Deputy-Governor of Rosetta.
Colonel Nohi Bey, Governor of Esneh.
Colonel Yacoub Bey Sabvi, Governor of Fayoum.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 150.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10.)

(No. 211.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 2, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a copy of the sentence of the Court-martial appointed to try the persons accused of conspiracy, as communicated to the Telegraphic Agency of Havas by the Government for publication.

It begins by stating that it is the sentence on the Circassians compromised in the recent plot against Arabi Pasha. Forty officers, among whom is Osman Pasha Rifki, ex-Minister of War, are condemned to be degraded and to exile for life to the furthest extremity of the Soudan.

General Ratib Pasha, at present in Italy, who is stated to have organized the plot, at the instigation of Ismail Pasha, is degraded, and will incur the same punishment if he returns to Egypt.

As the ex-Khedive is the promoter of the plot, and has made use, for this purpose, of the annual allowance granted to him by Egypt, the Council of Ministers is to consider whether the allowance shall be stopped. Finally, the proper authority is to prevent all communication between him and any one in Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 150.

*Newspaper Extract.**Le Caire, le 1^{er} Mai, 1882.*

(Télégramme.)

LE jugement concernant les Circassiens compromis dans le récent complot dirigé contre son Excellence Arabi Pacha a été rendu hier soir.

La sentence comprend quarante et trois personnes. Elle porte que—

1. Quarante officiers, parmi lesquels le Général Osman Pacha Refki, ancien Ministre de la Guerre, et le Colonel Youssef Bey Nadjaki, sont condamnés à la dégradation militaire, à la perte de leurs décorations, et à l'exil perpétuel à l'extrémité la plus éloignée du Soudan. Il est stipulé que chacun d'eux sera séparé des autres, et qu'ils n'auront le droit de résider ni sur de littoral le la mer, ni dans les chefs lieux d'une Moudirieh ou d'un Gouvernorat.

2. Deux civils sont privés de leurs droits civils et condamnés à l'exil dans les mêmes conditions.

3. Le Général Ratib Pacha, qui a dirigé le complot à l'instigation d'Ismail Pacha, et qui est actuellement à Naples, est condamné à la dégradation militaire, à la perte de ses décorations, et il est stipulé que s'il remet le pied sur la terre d'Égypte, il sera immédiatement arrêté et envoyé au Soudan dans les mêmes conditions que les précédents.

4. Toutes les armes qui ont été trouvées sur les personnes arrêtés ou dans leurs maisons sont confisquées et envoyées à l'arsenal.

5. Le jugement de cinq autres civils a été déféré aux Tribunaux Civils Indigènes.

6. Comme il a été reconnu que l'ex-Khédivé Ismail Pacha est l'instigateur du complot, et qu'il s'est servi, pour envoyer Ratib Pacha en Égypte, et pour organiser la conspiration, de l'argent qui lui est alloué annuellement par le Gouvernement Égyptien, la question de savoir si la liste civile d'Ismail Pacha doit être supprimée sera soumise à l'examen du Khédivé et du Conseil des Ministres. En outre il est prescrit à qui de droit d'empêcher toute communication entre Ismail Pacha et qui que ce soit en Égypte.

No. 151.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10.)

(No. 212. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 2, 1882.

IN reply to your Lordship's telegram No. 86 of the 1st instant, I have the honour to report that the only Pasha arrested for the alleged plot against Arabi Pasha is Osman Pasha Rifki, who was Minister of War in the Riaz Ministry. He and forty officers have been sentenced to exile for life to the furthest limits of the Soudan.

The proceedings of the Court-martial were secret, and the prisoners were not defended by counsel. I trust that the Khedive has not yet given his sanction to the execution of the sentence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 152.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10.)

(No. 213. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 2, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I received a message from the Khedive this morning, asking me to come to the Palace at 10 o'clock. On my arriving His Highness said that he desired to consult me as to the course he should pursue with reference to the sentence of the Court-martial on the prisoners accused of conspiring against Arabi Pasha, which sentence I had no doubt seen, as it had been published by the Havas Telegraphic Agency.

His Highness said that he had not yet countersigned it, as he had insisted on all the evidence, which was very voluminous, being communicated to him. He had also said to his Minister of War, Arabi Pasha, that the Council of Ministers ought to be consulted on the subject, but Arabi Pasha had replied that he saw no need for this, and that at all events it was superfluous, as the Ministers all agreed with him.

I replied to His Highness that in my personal opinion he ought to refuse to countersign the sentence, on the ground that the proceedings had been secret, that the prisoners, accused of a crime rendering them liable to the punishment of death, had not been permitted to have counsel for defence, and also because that part of the sentence which related to Ismail Pasha went into matters which were not within the competence of the Court.

His Highness said that, as far as the evidence which he had perused went, it showed that the prisoners had the intention of presenting four petitions, one to the Sultan, one to himself, one to the Ministry, and one to the Consul-General, praying that a Commission should be appointed in which Delegates from the Porte and the Powers should take part, to inquire into their grievances, and there was vague evidence that there had been threats of resort to extreme measures if their prayers were not listened to. His Highness himself could not consider that crimes were brought home to the prisoners deserving a sentence nearly equivalent to death.

It is in fact notorious that prisoners rarely return from the White Nile, the place indicated for the exile of the accused by the term "The most distant part of the Soudan."

"But," His Highness asked, "if I refuse to sign, what then?"

I replied that there were moments when one must face the unknown, and that I thought that if His Highness desired to maintain his reputation as a civilized Prince, he should on this occasion refuse to sanction a sentence which, by his own showing, and in general opinion, was contrary to the principles of humanity and justice. I said, however, that I did not desire His Highness to be guided by my advice alone, and that I recommended him to convoke the Representatives of the Great Powers, and to lay the matter before them. His Highness agreed to this course, and said that he would request us to come to the Palace this afternoon. I learn, however, from M. Sienkiewicz, my French colleague, who has seen him since, that he inclines to defer convoking us until he has spoken to his Ministers, who are to meet at the Palace to-day. M. Sienkiewicz informed me that he had strongly urged the Khedive not to sanction the sentence, but had suggested that he should insist on its being revised, on account of its dealing with matters beyond the competence of the Court.

I observed that, if this were done, the sentence on the accused would still remain, but M. Sienkiewicz replied that then the Khedive might employ the prerogative of pardon. My colleague is no doubt influenced by a strong desire to avoid a rupture between the Khedive and the Government, which might in its turn lead to the necessity of intervention. He has always urged the Khedive to show energy, but at this moment, when there is a vent for energy in a good cause, which would rally to His Highness the sympathies of Europe and the Porte, he dissuades him from rapid action. I have spoken to my German and Austrian colleagues on the subject of the Khedive's intention to consult us. Baron Saurma, although he entirely agreed that the Khedive ought not to sanction the sentence, said that he was not ready to give such advice officially, as his general instructions were to leave politics alone. M. de Martino said he was quite prepared to advise the Khedive to refuse.

In speaking to the Khedive as I did, I took into consideration the position of His Highness if he gave way on this occasion to the importunities of Araby Pasha. He would in that case have sanctioned an iniquity against his better judgment. Hitherto he has merely agreed to political changes of which he did not approve: the difference between the two acts is conspicuous. If he gives way in the present instance, it will show that he is pliant to a degree which is not consonant with the public safety of his subjects, and his deposition will not be far distant or unmerited.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 153.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10.)

(No. 391. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 8, 1882.

M. DECRAIS, the Director of Political Affairs in the French Foreign Office, came to me this afternoon from M. de Freycinet, and showed me a telegram from M. Sienkiewicz, the French Agent and Consul-General in Egypt.

In this telegram M. Sienkiewicz reported that the Khedive had asked the opinion of the Consuls-General as to whether he should, in compliance with the request of his Ministers, commute at once the sentences pronounced upon the officers, or whether he should await instructions from the Porte.

M. Sienkiewicz proceeded to observe that perhaps the English and French Agents might suggest, as a plan for relieving the Khedive, that His Highness should simply commute the sentences by an exercise of his own prerogative.

M. Sienkiewicz stated in conclusion that Sir Edward Malet was sending an identic telegram to your Lordship.

M. Decrais told me that M. de Freycinet was strongly of opinion that the Khedive should himself grant a pardon immediately by virtue of his own prerogative without waiting for action on the part of the Porte; and he added that M. de Freycinet had dispatched instructions to M. Sienkiewicz to concert with his English colleague with a view to their giving advice to this effect to the Khedive.

I have had the honour to forward to your Lordship by telegraph the substance of this despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 154.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10.)

(No. 392.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 9, 1882.

IN pursuance of the instruction contained in your Lordship's telegram No. 114 of last evening, I have this morning informed M. de Freycinet that your Lordship has sent to Sir Edward Malet instructions similar to those which he has sent to M. Sienkiewicz respecting the course to be pursued by the Khedive with respect to the sentences on the Egyptian officers.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of the letter by which I have conveyed this information to his Excellency.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 154.

Lord Lyons to M. de Freycinet.

My dear President of the Council,

Paris, May 9, 1882.

M. DECRAIS was so good as to come to me yesterday, on your behalf, and to show me a telegram which you had received from M. Sienkiewicz asking for instructions as to the advice to be given to the Khedive in regard to the sentence upon the officers, and stating that an identic telegram had been addressed by Sir E. Malet to Lord Granville.

M. Decrais informed me that you were strongly of opinion that the Khedive should himself commute the sentences immediately, by virtue of his own prerogative, without awaiting action on the part of the Porte, and that you had instructed M. Sienkiewicz to concert with his English colleague with a view to their giving this advice to the Khedive.

I hasten to inform you that Lord Granville has sent similar instructions to Sir E. Malet.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 155.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10, 2 P.M.)

(No. 113.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 10, 1882, 11 A.M.

THE Khedive summoned the Representatives of the Great Powers again yesterday at 6. He informed us that the President had insisted on his changing the Decree by inserting that the prisoners should be erased from the rolls. His Highness had refused, whereupon the President had menaced him, had spoken slightly of the protection which the foreign Representatives could afford him, and had said that, unless he yielded, there would be a general carnage of Europeans.

At the request of our colleagues, my French colleague and I went to the President of the Council. We said that, on the previous day, he had requested our good offices to prevent intervention of the Porte in the matter of the court-martial; that we had that morning, by advising the Khedive to issue the Decree, rendered the President the service which he had asked; that we were surprised to learn that, in return for this service, he had threatened danger to our fellow-countrymen, had spoken insultingly of our power to protect the Khedive, and had menaced His Highness. We had therefore come to ask officially, for ourselves and in the names of our colleagues, whether danger existed in case the Khedive did not alter the Decree, in order that we might all inform our Governments.

His Excellency absolutely denied that he had menaced the Khedive, or had used any of the language attributed to him. He said also that the question of altering the Decree was a request which the Khedive was free to grant or refuse. We asked what would be the consequence of refusal. He replied that he could not say, beyond that he would submit it to the Council.

He finally declared that it was impossible to work with a Khedive who had so little

regard for accuracy in his statements, and that he should resign; but that having resigned, he could not be answerable for the consequences.

No. 156.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10, 1:10 P.M.)

(No. 114. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 10, 1882, noon.

MY telegram No. 108 of 8th instant.

My suspicions as to my French colleague giving any encouragement to the President of the Council are entirely dissipated by the events of yesterday.

No. 157.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10, 6:30 P.M.)

(No. 37.)
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 10, 1882, 4:45 P.M.

EGYPT: Sentence of court-martial.

My telegram No. 36 of the 8th.

M. de Freycinet tells me that some difficulty arose at Cairo in consequence of his instruction speaking only of "commutation," while your Lordship's spoke of "full pardon."

I have said to him that I certainly understood the Director who brought me his message to say "full pardon," that I so reported to your Lordship, and that it must have been with the intention of making your telegram identical with his that you said "full pardon" instead of "commutation," which you had originally proposed.

M. de Freycinet says that the Director must have made a mistake. I have answered civilly that perhaps the mistake was mine.

I repeat this telegram to Sir E. Malet.

No. 158.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 511.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 10, 1882.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch No. 387 of the 7th instant, I transmit to your Excellency herewith, for communication to the French Government, the accompanying drafts of a note to Musurus Pasha, and of a despatch to Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, respecting the Egyptian Organic Law, and I have to request that you will furnish M. de Freycinet with copies of them, and ask his Excellency to be good enough to inform Her Majesty's Government at his earliest convenience whether they meet with his concurrence.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 158.

Draft of Note to Musurus Pasha.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Foreign Office, May , 1882.

I HAVE the honour to request that your Excellency will inform your Government that communications have been exchanged between the Governments of England and France and the other Powers with regard to the new Organic Law recently promulgated in Egypt.

Her Majesty's Government and the Government of France have felt it their duty to take exception to certain portions of this Law, as being in their opinion incompatible with the international obligations devolving upon the Government of Egypt, and this view having also been adopted by the other Powers, they have prepared the text of another Article which they and the other Powers consider should be substituted for the 34th Article of the Organic Law to which they take exception.

I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency herewith a copy of the Article as amended, and I have to request that you will have the goodness to transmit it to your Government, in order that the Porte may be acquainted with the views at which the British and French Governments have arrived in concert with the other Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 158.

Draft of Despatch to Sir E. Malet.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May , 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 74 of the 13th March to Mr. Cookson, I transmit to you herewith, for communication to the Egyptian Government, the text of the 34th Article of the Organic Law, as amended by the British and French Governments, and agreed to by the other Powers.

You are already aware of the correspondence which has passed on the subject, and it is therefore only requisite for me to instruct you to concert with your French colleague as to the form in which this communication should be made, in order most forcibly to impress its importance upon the Khedive and his Ministers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 159.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10, 11:30 P.M.)

(No. 115.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 10, 1882, 6:40 P.M.

IN company with my colleagues of France, Germany, and Austria, I asked the President of the Council to-day to give us an account of the situation. He replied that as the Ministry and the Khedive could not agree, and as the Ministry could not retire, they had convoked the Chamber of Representatives to meet immediately in order to submit to it the situation. In the meantime the Ministry guaranteed public security and the personal safety of the Khedive. The Chamber is convoked by the Ministry alone. The authority of the Khedive has not been asked. The accusation against His Highness is that he has attempted to diminish the autonomy of Egypt, and that he has acted many times without consulting his Ministry. We do not doubt that it is intended to dethrone the Khedive if the Chamber will lend itself to it. The President said that the Chamber might meet in three days. He also said that he intended to hold no further communication with the Khedive till the difference between them was decided by the Chamber.

No. 160.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10, 11:30 P.M.)

(No. 116.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 10, 1882, 8 P.M.

THE relations between the Khedive and the Ministry being broken off, the situation has become most serious. The guarantee of the safety of Europeans and of the Khedive given by the Ministers can scarcely be relied upon as effective.

No. 161.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 11, 11:45 A.M.)

(No. 117.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 11, 1882, 10 A.M.

IN case intervention is intended, measures should be taken as promptly as possible to preserve communication by the Suez Canal.

No. 162.

Earl Granville to Mr. Wyndham.(No. 121.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, May 11, 1882, noon.*

TAKE any steps you may consider expedient to prevent Sultan from resenting course taken by Khedive with regard to Court-martial sentences described in Malet's telegram No. 111 of yesterday.

No. 163.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 11, 1:20 P.M.)(No. 38.)
(Telegraphic.)*Paris, May 11, 1882, 12:46 P.M.*

FRENCH Ambassador has been instructed by telegraph to communicate as soon as possible with your Lordship on the subject of serious news which the French Government has received from Egypt.

M. de Freycinet has telegraphed to the French Consul-General at Cairo to ask whether he thinks it advisable in the present conjuncture that French iron-clads should be sent to Alexandria.

No. 164.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received May 11, 1:30 P.M.)(No. 82.)
(Telegraphic.)*Constantinople, May 11, 1882, noon.*

I AM assured that the Porte has no intention of sending Commissioners to Egypt, and that no extraordinary measures will be adopted without first consulting Her Majesty's Government.

The commutation of the sentence to simple banishment is less offensive to this Government than would have been the execution of the original one.

No. 165.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.(No. 127.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, May 11, 1882, 5:20 P.M.*

INFORM French Government that we are willing to send two iron-clads to Alexandria to protect Europeans, informing other Powers in case they like to do the same. If M. de Freycinet accepts this proposal, you might inform the other Ambassadors at Paris.

No. 166.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 11, 5:50 P.M.)(No. 118.)
(Telegraphic.)*Cairo, May 11, 1882, 4:10 P.M.*

THE Khedive has officially informed my French colleague and me this morning that the Ministry, in defiance of his authority and in violation of the 9th Article of the Organic Law, has convoked the Chamber.

His Decree concerning the court-martial has been sent back to him, but this may be on account of the informality, as the President of the Council asserts that it should have been written on the sentence of the court-martial, and sent to the Minister of War. His Highness has to-day caused this to be done without changing the wording of the Decree in any way.

What should be my attitude towards the Ministry?

No. 167.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 11, 5:50 P.M.)(No. 119.)
(Telegraphic.)*Cairo, May 11, 1882, 4:30 P.M.*

COULD the Controllers to continue to assist at the meetings of the Council? My French colleague sends the same question to his Government.
Reply urgent.

No. 168.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 514. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 11, 1882.

I HAVE to request that your Excellency will inform the French Government that Her Majesty's Government are willing to send two iron-clads to Alexandria to protect Europeans, informing other Powers, in case they are disposed to do likewise.

In the event of M. de Freycinet accepting this proposal, your Excellency might inform the Ambassadors of the other Powers at Paris.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 169.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 515. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 11, 1882.

I HAVE already repeated to you Sir E. Malet's telegram of to-day's date, reporting that the Khedive had informed the French Representative and himself of the convocation of the Chamber by the Ministry, in defiance of the Khedive's authority and of the Organic Law; and in the same telegram Sir E. Malet inquires what his attitude should be towards the Ministry.

I have to request your Excellency to communicate to M. de Freycinet the substance of Sir E. Malet's telegram, and to state to him that Her Majesty's Government propose, if his Excellency concurs, and will send similar instructions to the French Agent at Cairo, to reply that the Controllers should not attend the meeting of the Chamber unless summoned to do so, in which case they should decline to give advice, and should confine themselves to reporting to the British and French Agents, for the information of their respective Governments.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 170.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 516. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 11, 1882.

AS I had been led to anticipate by your Excellency's telegram No. 38 of this day's date, I received a visit this evening from the French Ambassador, who told me that M. de Freycinet was desirous of knowing what course should, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, be taken in view of the critical state of affairs in Egypt.

I answered that time was precious, and that I was very desirous not to throw backwards and forwards the responsibility of a proposal. On our part, we were ready to consider, with every wish to accede to it, any proposal that might be made by M. de Freycinet; but, as regarded any proposal of my own, I could think of nothing better to suggest than the plan I had already mentioned of sending three military Commissioners, Turkish, English, and French. Under the present urgent circumstances, I should have been ready to accompany it with a threat of Turkish intervention. I believed that such a threat would be the most likely means of preventing the necessity for any intervention; but I said I was ready to waive this part of the proposal, in deference to the views of M. de Freycinet, and I repeated my wish to avoid such intervention, if possible.

As regards the question of sending vessels of war to Alexandria, as to which I understood that M. de Freycinet had asked for an opinion from the French Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, I said that I had already instructed your Excellency, by telegraph, to state to the French Government that we were willing to send two iron-clads to that port to protect the life and property of Europeans, and that in that case we should propose to inform the other Powers of the step we were taking, in case they should like to do the same. If Turkey should claim to be represented in the naval demonstration, I saw no objection to admitting her participation. I understood that the depth of the port of Alexandria was not sufficient for most iron-clad vessels, and it might therefore be found expedient that one of our two vessels should be an unarmoured ship. This, however, was immaterial for the purpose for which they were required.

I remarked that such a demonstration could hardly in itself be a sufficient remedy or safeguard for the present condition of affairs, but that it might be useful as a moral support to the three Commissioners if it were decided to send them.

In case ships of war were sent to Alexandria, we should also propose to send a small ship of war to Suez for the protection of Europeans there against any outbreak.

I went on to say that I felt sure M. de Freycinet would agree with me, that whatever doubts might have previously existed as to the conduct to pursue towards the present Khedive, it was now obviously desirable to afford His Highness all possible support.

I proposed, I said, to telegraph to Sir E. Malet that the attitude of the French and English Representatives should be to declare positively that they objected to any change in the *status quo*, and I should be glad also to encourage the Porte to support the same view.

In conclusion, I alluded to a request which the Controllers-General had made for advice as to their attitude towards the Ministers in the present juncture. I said that I was of opinion that they should continue to attend the meetings of the Council if invited to do so, and should keep the English and French Representatives fully informed of what passed, but that they should abstain from themselves taking any part in the proceedings.

M. Tissot said that he would at once report, by telegraph, to M. de Freycinet what I had said.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 171.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 229. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 11, 1882.

YOUR Excellency will have learned, from Sir E. Malet's telegram No. 111 of the 9th instant relative to the recent court-martial, the reasons which induced the Khedive to commute the sentence on the prisoners without awaiting instructions from the Porte. In view of the urgency of the case, and the approval of the Decree by the British and French Agents, I have to request your Excellency to take any steps that you may deem expedient to prevent the Sultan from resenting the course adopted by His Highness.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 172.

Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Secret.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 11, 1882.

HER Majesty's Ambassador at Paris has been instructed to state to the French Government that Her Majesty's Government are willing to send two iron-clads to Alexandria to protect the European residents in the present critical state of affairs in Egypt. If the French Government concurs, the other Powers will be informed, in case they like to take the same step.

A further communication will be sent to you as soon as the answer of the French Government is received, but in the meantime I am directed by Earl Granville to request

you to move the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to make such preparation as may be necessary to ensure the departure of the ships with as little delay as possible after the order is issued to them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 173.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 11, 7.30 P.M.)

(No. 120.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 11, 1882, 5 P.M.

THE President of the Council, in speaking yesterday of the safety of Europeans, said that it was also guaranteed in case of a solely Turkish intervention.

The Delegates are arriving, and go at once to Araby's house. It is rumoured that the meeting will take place on Saturday, and that the deposition of the Khedive will be immediately pronounced, together with the exile of the whole family of Mehemet Ali, and that the President of the Council will be appointed Governor-General by the national will.

It is needless to say that the real national will is not expressed by the Chamber acting under terror of the military, which at present is extreme.

No. 174.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 11, 9.30 P.M.)

(No. 39.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 11, 1882, 7.15 P.M.

MY telegram No. 38 of this morning.

M. de Freycinet desires me to inform your Lordship that if the opinion of the Consuls-General at Cairo be favourable, he thinks it would be advisable that, as a first step, France and England should send at once a respectable number of iron-clads to Alexandria, concerting measures together beforehand so that the French and English ships sent should be equal in force and should arrive simultaneously.

He speaks as strongly as ever against Turkish intervention.

I am to see him again to-morrow morning.

No. 175.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 129.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 11, 1882, 10.45 P.M.

COMMUNICATE substance of Sir E. Malet's telegram No. 119, repeated to you to-day, to M. de Freycinet, and tell him that Her Majesty's Government propose, if he concurs and will send similar instructions to French Agent, to reply that the Controllers should not attend unless summoned, in which case they should decline to give advice, and confine themselves to reporting to the Agents for the information of the respective Governments.

No. 176.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 12.)

(No. 403.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 11, 1882.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your Lordship's despatch No. 511 of yesterday, inclosing drafts of a note to the Ottoman Ambassador in London, and of a despatch to Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Cairo, respecting the proposed modification of the Egyptian Organic Law.

M. Decrais, the Director of Political Affairs in the French Foreign Office, having come to see me this morning, I have put the drafts into his hand, and have begged him to lay them before M. de Freycinet immediately, and to say to his Excellency

that your Lordship will be particularly obliged to him if he will inform you at his earliest convenience whether he concurs in them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 177.

Mr. Swainson to Lord Tenterden.—(Received May 12.)

(Secret.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, May 12, 1882.

I HAVE laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of the 11th instant, requesting that orders may be given for two iron-clads to be held in readiness to proceed to Alexandria to protect the European residents during the present critical state of Egypt.

2. My Lords desire me to request that you will state to Earl Granville that, on the receipt of your letter, the Commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean was directed to hold two iron-clads in immediate readiness to proceed to Alexandria when ordered.

3. A further telegram was dispatched this morning, to the effect that Her Majesty's ship "Iris" should be prepared to sail if required.

4. Orders have also been sent to the Commander-in-chief in the East Indies, and the Senior Naval Officer at Aden, for a small vessel to be held in readiness at Aden to proceed to Suez, on receiving orders, for the purpose of protecting Europeans.

I am, &c.
(Signed) E. N. SWAINSON.

No. 178.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 12, 1.15 P.M.)

(No. 122.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 12, 1882, 11.40 A.M.

SULTAN PASHA, President of the Chamber, who returned last night in consequence of the convocation of the Chamber by the Ministry, has informed me this morning that the Chamber will not meet unless legally convoked by the Khedive.

He owned that in overthrowing Chérif Pasha it had acted under pressure from Arabi, and he said that the very Deputies who had then insisted on the course taken, finding that they had been deceived, were now anxious to overthrow the Ministry.

He expressed his intention to consult with me as to the course to be taken.

I cannot rely implicitly on his remaining firm, as he gave me corresponding assurances previous to the meeting of the Chamber in December.

No. 179.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 102.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 12, 1882, 3.30 P.M.

WHAT is the danger which you apprehend to the Canal? We are advised that, although it might be temporarily blocked, it is not possible to do it any permanent injury.

Would a vessel at Suez be of use?

No. 180.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 131.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 12, 1882, 12.25 A.M.

I HAVE seen French Ambassador, and have told him that time is precious; that I am most desirous not to throw backwards and forwards responsibility of a proposal; that I would consider, with the wish to accede to it, any proposal of M. de Freycinet; but that, for any proposal of my own, I could think of nothing better than that of the three

Commissioners. That, under present urgent circumstances, I should have been ready to accompany it with a threat of Turkish intervention; but that I waived that in deference to the views of M. de Freycinet, and I repeated my wish to avoid such intervention, if possible. I thought the threat of intervention the best means of avoiding actual recourse to it.

As regards the question of sending iron-clads, I said I had sent to you proposal in my telegram No. 127; but added that, in consequence of shallowness of port of Alexandria, one iron-clad might be replaced by another vessel. Such a demonstration would hardly be sufficient in itself, but might be useful in backing up the Commissioners, if they were sent. If Turkey desired to be represented in the naval demonstration, I saw no reason for objecting. In case of this demonstration, we should also be ready to send a small vessel of war to Suez, to protect Europeans against outbreak.

I said I felt sure that M. de Freycinet agrees that, whatever doubts may previously have existed, it is desirable now to give all possible support to Tewfik; that I should telegraph to Malet that the attitude of the French and English Representatives should be to declare positively that they objected to any change in the *status quo*; that I should be glad to invite the Porte to support strongly the same policy. That the Controllers should continue to attend the meetings of the Council, if invited; that they should take no part in the proceedings, but keep the French and English Representatives informed of what passes.

No. 181.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 12, 10.30 A.M.)

(No. 121.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 12, 1882, 9.30 A.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 100 of yesterday, repeating Lord Lyons' telegram No. 38 of same date.

My French colleague and I think that the arrival of iron-clads at Alexandria now might be dangerous to the European colonies at Cairo. That if intervention be decided upon, a strong naval demonstration as forerunner would be useful, but that in that case we should be informed in time to permit of Europeans leaving Cairo.

No. 182.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Thornton.

(No. 149.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 12, 1882.

THE Russian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and asked me if I could give him any information on the state of affairs in Egypt, and the measures we proposed to take with regard to it.

I told his Excellency that the last account I had received was of a somewhat better character, as it appeared that the Notables declared that they would not meet unless convoked by the Khedive. I said that we were in active communication with the French Government as to the course to be pursued; that a few hours had been lost yesterday as my telegrams to Lord Lyons containing proposals had crossed one from the French Government, instructing their Ambassador to call upon me. I had, however, discussed the matter at length with M. Tissot yesterday evening, and expected to receive the reply of the French Government at once.

Prince Lobanow made some inquiries as to the nature of my proposal, but I said that I should prefer to reserve any further observations until I could make a complete and definite announcement.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 527.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 12, 1882.

I TOLD the French Ambassador this evening that questions would be addressed to me in the House of Lords on Monday next on the subject of the language reported to have been used by M. de Freycinet in the Chamber of Deputies yesterday as to the preponderating influence of France in Egypt. I said that I did not ask for any explanations, as I thought it out of place for a Foreign Secretary to make explanations in regard to language used by a member of a foreign Government in Parliament. But that it might be useful that I should receive any explanations which he might be able to offer, and which might relieve me from the necessity of asserting in the most positive manner that we refused to acknowledge the existence of any such preponderance.

M. Tissot said that he imagined that there had been some mis-report.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 184.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 12, 9.30 P.M.)

(No. 40.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 12, 1882, 7.50 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 129 of the 11th.

M. de Freycinet sends to French Consul-General in Egypt the instructions proposed by your Lordship with regard to the attendance of the Controllers at the Council.

No. 185.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 12, 11.15 P.M.)

(No. 123.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 12, 1882, 10 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 102 of to-day.

I apprehend that, on the first alarm that intervention is intended, undertaken, or countenanced by England, ships will be sunk in the Canal. It could be probably prevented by the Canal being policed [? examined] by gun-boats.

No. 186.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received May 12, 11.30 P.M.)

(No. 83. Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 12, 1882, 8 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 121 of yesterday.

I sent a Memorandum to the Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day, expressing the hope that the Porte would not resent the course taken by the Khedive with regard to the Court-martial sentences.

Sir A. Sandison, unable to find the Minister for Foreign Affairs, went to the Palace, and communicated its substance to the Sultan through Munir Bey. His Majesty expressed his thanks, and referred me for an answer to the Minister.

Sir A. Sandison met the Minister at the Palace door, who said that he would take the orders of the Sultan, and give me a reply to-morrow. But he observed, "Of what use a Decree when there is no Khedive?"

The feeling against Arabi Pasha in official circles is very strong, and I believe the Porte would interfere at once with armed force if it did not fear opposition from France and England. It would, I believe, also act in the above sense upon the slightest encouragement from Her Majesty's Government, without reference to France.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 13.)

(No. 398.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 10, 1882.

M. DE FREYCINET expressed to me this afternoon the satisfaction with which he had learned that, in accordance with advice given him by the French and English Agents, the Khedive had issued a Decree commuting the penalties pronounced by the court-martial.

His Excellency observed that some little difficulty appeared to have existed for a moment in consequence of a difference in the wording of the instructions received by the two Agents. It seemed, he said, that while his instruction to M. Sienkiewicz spoke only of a commutation of the sentence, your Lordship's instruction to Sir Edward Malet spoke of a full pardon.

I answered that I had certainly understood M. Decrais, the Director of Political Affairs in the French Foreign Office, who had brought me his Excellency's message on the subject, to have said full pardon, and that I had consequently telegraphed to your Lordship that the French Agent was to be instructed to advise the Khedive to grant a full pardon.

I proceeded to tell M. de Freycinet that some hours after I had received his message and forwarded it to your Lordship, a telegram reached me from you making a similar proposal, but using the expression "commute the penalties." It was therefore, I said, evident that it was in consequence of my report, and with the intention of making your instruction identical with his Excellency's, that you had said full pardon instead of commutation.

M. de Freycinet said that his telegram had already been dispatched when he sent the message to me; that in repeating its contents to me M. Decrais must have made a mistake, but that this was of no consequence as the instructions had had the desired effect.

I answered with proper courtesy that the mistake might have been mine.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 188.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 13.)

E

(No. 406.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 12, 1882.

A QUESTION respecting Egypt was put yesterday to M. de Freycinet in the Chamber of Deputies by M. Villeneuve, and in answer to it M. de Freycinet made an important statement respecting the policy of the Government.

I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith the authentic report of the proceedings given in the "Journal Officiel" this morning.

M. de Freycinet began by giving explanations as to the communication of papers to the Chamber. He observed that a Yellow Book containing papers relative to the year 1880 had recently been distributed. A second would, he said, be distributed in ten days or a fortnight. This would comprise nearly all the year 1881, and would come down about a month later than the English Blue Book, which stopped at the 4th November, 1881. A third was in preparation which would begin in the month of December 1881, and come down to the present day; but he could not communicate it immediately to the Chamber, because he must come first to an understanding with the English Government, who thought that the publication of it ought to be deferred in consequence of recent events in Egypt.

M. de Freycinet then gave an account of the last events in that country, and having occasion to mention that the Khedive had consulted the Porte, he observed "ce n'est peut-être pas sa meilleure inspiration."

He said that intelligence which had arrived that morning showed that the situation of affairs in Egypt had now an absolutely revolutionary character—that the Ministry was in insurrection against the Chief of the State.

He went on to state that his first care had been to put himself immediately in communication with England, "sans laquelle la France n'est pas habituée à marcher en Égypte, parce que, depuis de longues années un accord intime s'est établi entre les deux

Puissances, et que jusqu'ici, je n'hésite pas à le dire, cet accord a porté les meilleurs fruits. (Vive approbation.)"

M. de Freycinet then declared that in its Egyptian policy the French Government had two objects: (1) to preserve the special situation—the justly-privileged situation—the preponderating influence of France; (2) to maintain the independence of Egypt established by the Firmans. "Nous sommes préoccupés, et nous l'avons toujours été, de deux choses: en premier lieu, conserver à la France la situation particulière, la situation privilégiée, justement privilégiée, qu'elle a en Égypte (très bien! très bien!); l'influence prépondérante que lui ont acquise les concours de toute nature qu'elle a prodigués à ce pays depuis plus d'un siècle, l'influence que lui assure la présence d'une colonie Française, qui porte haut et ferme, et avec dignité, le drapeau de la patrie. (Applaudissements.)

..... "J'ajoute, et c'est là la seconde partie de l'objectif auquel tend notre politique, que nous avons à cœur de maintenir l'indépendance de l'Égypte, telle que les Firmans reconnus par les Puissances de l'Europe l'ont établie. (Très bien! très bien! et applaudissements.)

..... "En ce qui nous concerne, nous ne souscrirons à aucune démarche, à aucune négociation, à aucun arrangement duquel, je le répète, l'Égypte pourrait sortir moins indépendante qu'elle ne l'est à cette heure.

..... "Quant aux moyens que nous employerons, ils sont également bien faciles à indiquer. Nous emploierons en premier lieu celui qui nous a réussi jusqu'à présent, c'est-à-dire l'accord intime avec l'Angleterre. (Nouvelle approbation.) Cet accord jusqu'ici ne nous a jamais fait défaut. Il y a dans les deux Cabinets un désir égal de voir cet accord se continuer.

"De notre part, ce désir est absolument sincère, et je suis persuadé qu'il ne l'est pas moins de la part du Cabinet de Londres. J'ajoute que cet accord ne saurait être rompu tant que la ligne générale de notre politique, telle que je viens de la tracer, n'aura reçu aucune atteinte. Car, sur cette grande ligne de conduite que j'ai esquissée tout à l'heure, nous ne pouvons pas faire de concessions, nous nous devons à nous-mêmes, à nos traditions, à notre histoire, à notre dignité, de ne pas transiger sur ce qui est de la direction générale de notre politique. (Applaudissements.)"

M. de Freycinet went on to say that side by side with this intimate agreement with England the French Government would make use of the European concert, and he argued that there was no danger in doing so, because the Great Powers unanimously admit that the situation of France and England in Egypt is preponderating, and avow that they leave to France and England the direction of the policy respecting that country.

M. de Freycinet's speech was warmly applauded in the Chamber, and is praised highly in the newspapers this morning.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 188.

Extract from the "Journal Officiel" of May 12, 1882.

Question Adressée par M. Villeneuve à M. le Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères.

M. le Président.—La parole est à M. Villeneuve pour une question qu'il désire poser à M. le Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères et que celui-ci a acceptée.

M. Villeneuve.—Messieurs, mon intention était d'interroger M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères sur la politique qu'il comptait suivre ou qu'il suivait en Égypte. Mais en l'état des choses et des négociations, la question prendra de modestes proportions. Les dépêches mêmes qui sont arrivées aujourd'hui m'imposent le devoir de lui demander des renseignements sur la situation actuelle. Vous connaissez ces dépêches, Messieurs.

Il y a en Égypte un Gouvernement qui se compose d'un Vice-Roi et d'une Chambre des Notables. C'est à la suite de plusieurs révolutions que s'est produite cette constitution. Le parti militaire, mécontent, avait fait, sous l'influence d'un parti qu'on a appelé le parti national, un pronunciamiento, à la suite duquel une

constitution libérale avait été promulguée. Cette constitution était basée sur l'existence d'une Chambre, et cette Chambre était élue par des censitaires choisis dans une certaine catégorie de censitaires.

Aujourd'hui, la Chambre des Notables vient d'être convoquée par le Conseil des Ministres sans autorisation du Khédive, avec l'intention, paraît-il, de le déposer.

Il y a là, Messieurs, une situation grave qui ne vous échappera pas. C'est là-dessus, tout d'abord, que je viens demander des renseignements à M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, et si quelque chose pouvait nous prouver la nécessité de tenir le Parlement au courant de ces affaires, ce seraient assurément les événements qui se sont succédé depuis quelque temps.

Mon opinion est que nous devons être renseignés chaque fois qu'il y aura dans la politique étrangère de ces fluctuations qui modifient notre politique habituelle; nous devons être renseignés également chaque fois qu'il y aura une mesure d'intérêt spécial prise par le Gouvernement d'un pays et qui pourra engager notre responsabilité.

Je trouve la nécessité pour nous d'être éclairés sur les mesures qui ont pu être successivement prises en Égypte dans le volume publié par M. Waddington, en réalité le seul qui traite des affaires Égyptiennes.

De ces mesures, la première, c'est celle de l'ingérence du Contrôle Anglo-Français dans l'Administration Égyptienne, ingérence qui a été l'une des causes déterminantes des difficultés dans lesquelles se débat ce pays. Les Contrôleurs n'étaient que des Agents accrédités des Gouvernements Français et Anglais pour sauvegarder les intérêts des créanciers; ces Contrôleurs appuyés par leurs Gouvernements n'ont cessé de s'immiscer dans la politique et dans l'Administration Égyptienne.

De cette immixtion est né le mouvement que l'on a appelé national; de là est aussi sorti un mouvement plus grave, la résurrection de l'esprit religieux fanatique dans le pays, esprit si dangereux pour la sécurité des étrangers.

Une autre mesure avait suivi celle-là, c'est l'abdication, ou plutôt la déposition, de l'ancien Khédive.

L'ancien Khédive avait eu de grands torts, mais il est incontestable que, pendant sa vie, il avait maintenu l'ordre dans son pays, et qu'il avait maintenu la paix entre les Berbères, les Circassiens, les Turcs, les Arabes, les fellahs et toutes ces races diverses qui sont ennemies les unes des autres. Il avait éteint le fanatisme à ce point, que les Européens étaient traités dans ce pays avec le même respect que dans leurs propres pays. Quelque mal qu'on puisse en dire, on ne pourra jamais dire qu'il ait été hostile à la France.

M. Waddington a cru, parce que le Khédive avait modifié la composition d'un Ministère où entraient l'élément Européen, pouvoir demander l'abdication de ce Prince et subsidiairement sa déposition par la Porte.

La Porte Ottomane se hâta de déposer le Khédive, et cette déposition hâtive fut loin de satisfaire le Ministre, qui s'en plaignit dans des termes que je ne me rappelle pas, mais qui furent très vifs.

L'ingérence du Contrôle, la déposition du Khédive, telles furent les causes qui ont amené la situation dont nous nous plaignons aujourd'hui et les difficultés dans lesquelles nous nous trouvons. Ajoutez à cela que la prépondérance des Contrôleurs a mis nos Consuls dans une situation telle qu'aujourd'hui ils manquent de cette autorité qui nous serait si nécessaire.

Je demande à M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères s'il compte suivre cette politique de subordination des Consuls au Contrôle; s'il compte, comme M. Waddington et mieux que lui, soutenir le Firman de 1873 ou plutôt celui de 1879; si son intention est de nous donner communication des documents diplomatiques jusqu'à ce jour. Je lui demande, enfin, de nous dire quel est aujourd'hui l'état des choses dans ce pays où la Turquie cherche toutes les occasions d'intervenir.

Et la Turquie, vous le savez, n'est pas un pays d'agriculteurs, d'administrateurs, ni de commerçants; ce n'est pas un Gouvernement qui puisse constituer ni une administration, ni des finances; c'est un Gouvernement de militaires et de fanatiques, et là Turquie, à la porte de nos possessions Africaines, ce serait encore pour nous l'obligation de recourir à des expéditions militaires. Je demande à M. le Président du Conseil de vouloir bien, en répondant à ces questions, affirmer son intention de poursuivre avec fermeté toutes les revendications que nous paraît exiger la sauvegarde de nos intérêts nationaux. (Très bien! très bien! sur divers bancs à Gauche.)

M. le Président.—La parole est à M. le Président du Conseil.

M. de Freycinet (Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères).—Messieurs, je me fais un devoir de répondre aux questions qui viennent de m'être adressées par M. Villeneuve.

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L'honorable M. Villeneuve a parlé en premier lieu de la distribution à la Chambre des documents diplomatiques ; il m'a demandé si je comptais communiquer bientôt les documents relatifs à la question Égyptienne, qui préoccupe plus particulièrement l'opinion publique.

La Chambre sait qu'il lui a déjà été distribué des documents anciens qui remontent à 1880. Je reconnais qu'ils n'ont pas un intérêt actuel très grand ; mais, ayant l'intention de donner des documents complets, il m'était impossible de ne pas reprendre la distribution au point où elle avait été laissée par mes prédécesseurs.

Ce n'est pas ma faute, on en conviendra, si les documents de l'année 1880 n'ont pas été livrés plus tôt. Mon premier soin a été de faire remettre au Parlement un premier fascicule que les Députés ont actuellement entre les mains. Ce premier fascicule sera suivi d'un second qui pourra être distribué dans dix ou quinze jours.

Il comprend à peu près toute l'année 1881. La publication Anglaise s'est arrêtée au 4 Novembre, la nôtre ira environ un mois plus loin.

Il restera enfin un troisième fascicule qui commencera au mois de Décembre et qui ira jusqu'à l'époque la plus rapprochée de nous. Je ne pourrai pas le communiquer tout de suite au Parlement, car il faut que je me concerte au préalable avec le Gouvernement Anglais qui a estimé jusqu'ici qu'il y avait lieu de différer la publication de ce troisième fascicule à cause des événements qui se déroulent actuellement en Égypte. (Assentiment.)

Je désire, puisque je suis à cette tribune, fournir à la Chambre quelques détails complémentaires sur des faits plus récents. (Parlez ! parlez !)

Vous avez eu connaissance par la presse, par des dépêches arrivées hier soir et ce matin, d'incidents assez graves, qui sont survenus au Caire.

La Chambre doit se rappeler que la situation troublée que traverse l'Égypte depuis huit ou dix mois s'était maintenu à peu près stationnaire jusqu'à environ trois semaines. À ce moment, un complot d'une nature mal définie s'est formé contre Arabi Pacha, Ministre de la Guerre, et quelques autres personnages politiques de l'Égypte.

Le complot a donné lieu à une assez longue instruction qui a abouti à un jugement fort sévère. La nature de ce jugement, les termes dans lesquels il était conçu, le grand nombre de personnes qu'il atteignait, la rigueur des peines qu'il prononçait, ont produit une vive émotion en Égypte, et particulièrement au Caire. Cette émotion a été telle, que le Khédive n'a pas cru pouvoir ratifier ce jugement dans sa teneur et s'est entouré de conseils variés ; il a fait appel à l'assistance des Conseils-Généraux des Grandes Puissances ; il a interrogé d'une manière spéciale ceux de la France et de l'Angleterre, et enfin—ce n'est peut-être pas sa meilleure inspiration—il a demandé conseil à la Porte.

Toutes ces consultations ont pris un temps assez long ; c'est là une phase malheureuse de l'affaire. Pendant les délais qui se sont ainsi écoulés, des commentaires nombreux ont circulé, une excitation assez vive s'en est suivie, et enfin, dans ces derniers jours, le Khédive, préoccupé de la situation, a demandé un Conseil Suprême aux Consuls-Généraux de France et d'Angleterre pour savoir quelle serait la solution que, d'après eux, il devrait donner à cette affaire. Les Consuls-Généraux, sur l'instruction précise des Cabinets de Londres et de Paris, ont conseillé sans aucune hésitation au Khédive de prononcer sur ce jugement sans attendre la réponse de la Porte. Il nous a paru que, à bien des égards, attendre cette réponse avait des inconvénients considérables ; nous n'avons donc pas balancé à conseiller au Khédive de prendre une décision. (Très bien ! très bien !)

Le Khédive a prononcé, en accordant des commutations de peines assez importantes. Ainsi que je le disais en commençant, la rigueur de ce jugement, le nombre des personnes qui y étaient impliquées avaient produit une émotion telle, disait notre Consul-Général, qu'on ne savait pas ce qui pourrait advenir, au Caire, si la sentence primitive recevait son exécution ; de sorte que le Khédive dut prononcer un certain nombre de commutations de peines.

Nous avions donné pour instruction à nos Agents de faire accorder les commutations de peine "opportunes"—c'est le mot dont nous nous étions servis. (Très bien ! très bien !)

À ce moment,—c'était hier,—tout semblait terminé et les Ministres mêmes ont témoigné à nos Agents toute la satisfaction qu'ils éprouvaient de voir résolue enfin une affaire qui avait duré un temps plus long qu'il n'eût été désirable.

Subitement, ce matin nous avons reçu de notre Agent des dépêches dans il est assez difficile, quant à présent, de pénétrer exactement toutes les nuances.

Je ne puis qu'indiquer en gros les faits dont ces dépêches rendent compte. (Écoutez ! écoutez !)

Il paraît que, après cet acte accompli par le Khédive, et probablement sous l'influence d'interprétations qui tendaient à le représenter comme disposé à trop obéir à l'influence de la Porte Ottomane, les Ministres ont demandé au Khédive de modifier les termes de la sentence qu'il avait rendue.

La démarche s'est faite, et dans des conditions telles—autant qu'on en peut juger par les télégrammes assez succincts qui me sont parvenus—qu'il était impossible au Khédive, sous peine d'abdiquer moralement, de prendre cette détermination.

Il a pris conseil des Représentants des diverses Puissances et plus particulièrement des Consuls-Généraux de France et d'Angleterre, et il a déclaré, faisant preuve en cette circonstance d'une fermeté qu'il n'a peut-être pas toujours montrée au même degré, qu'il maintenait sa décision.

À la suite de cette déclaration, les Ministres se sont considérés comme tenus en échec par le Khédive. Mais au lieu de donner leur démission, ce qui serait peut-être intervenu dans un pays comme le nôtre . . . (Sourires sur divers bancs à Gauche et à Droite.)

Un Membre à Droite.—Pourquoi : "peut-être ?"

M. Clémenceau.—Nous retenons "peut-être." Ce "peut-être" est plein de charme !

M. le Président du Conseil.—Au lieu de donner leur démission, ils ont déclaré qu'ils ne pouvaient pas la donner . . . (nouveaux sourires) et qu'en conséquence ils se croyaient tenus de convoquer l'Assemblée des Notables en dehors de la participation du Khédive.

Ils viennent, en effet, de faire cette convocation. Telle est la situation. Je ne parle pas ici des pronostics auxquels chacun peut se livrer, des réflexions dont notre Consul-Général accompagne ses renseignements. Vous pouvez facilement les deviner. Il est certain que nous sommes en présence d'une situation d'un caractère absolument révolutionnaire. C'est un Ministère en insurrection contre le Chef de l'État, et qui espère trouver des points d'appui autour de lui.

Mon premier soin, vous devez le penser, a été de me mettre immédiatement en rapport avec l'Angleterre, sans laquelle la France n'est pas habituée à marcher en Égypte, parce que, depuis de longues années, un accord intime s'est établi entre les deux Puissances, et que jusqu'ici, je n'hésite pas à le dire, cet accord a porté les meilleurs fruits. (Vive approbation.)

C'est ce matin seulement que les nouvelles sont arrivées. Immédiatement j'ai avisé par le télégraphe notre Ambassadeur à Londres ; et j'attends sa réponse, afin de voir dans quelle direction devra s'orienter la politique que nous aurons à suivre ultérieurement.

Quant à la direction générale de cette politique, je n'ai aucune espèce de difficulté à l'indiquer en termes sommaires. (Mouvement général d'attention.)

Nous sommes préoccupés, et nous l'avons toujours été, de deux choses : en premier lieu, conserver à la France la situation particulière, la situation privilégiée, justement privilégiée, qu'elle a en Égypte . . . (Très bien ! très bien !), l'influence prépondérante que lui ont acquise les concours de toute nature qu'elle a prodigués à ce pays depuis plus d'un siècle, l'influence que lui assure la présence d'une colonie Française, qui porte haut et ferme et avec dignité le drapeau de la patrie. (Applaudissements.)

Cette colonie, qui est en quelque sorte la sentinelle avancée de la France en cette partie de la terre d'Afrique, nous impose des devoirs d'une nature toute particulière, auxquels nous sommes très décidés à ne jamais faillir. (Nouveaux applaudissements.)

J'ajoute—et c'est là la seconde partie de l'objectif auquel tend notre politique—que nous avons à cœur de maintenir l'indépendance de l'Égypte telle que les Firmans reconnus par les Puissances de l'Europe l'ont établie. (Très bien ! très bien ! et applaudissements.)

Nous ne souffrirons pas, en tant que cela peut dépendre de notre action, qu'aucune atteinte soit portée à ces Firmans. Nous ne souffrirons pas que, de quelque crise que ce soit, l'Égypte puisse sortir moins libre et moins indépendante qu'elle ne l'est aujourd'hui. (Vifs applaudissements.)

En ce qui nous concerne, nous ne souscrirons à aucune démarche, à aucune négociation, à aucun arrangement duquel, je le répète, l'Égypte pourrait sortir moins indépendante qu'elle ne l'est à cette heure.

Vous savez, Messieurs, en quoi consiste cette indépendance de l'Égypte : elle relève de la Porte en ce qui concerne le choix du Souverain, lorsque la succession ne peut, par suite des événements, suivre l'ordre prévu ou qu'on croit devoir y déroger. Son indépendance est encore restreinte sur quelques points. Ainsi, son armée ne peut dépasser un certain chiffre ; il lui est interdit d'avoir sur mer des navires cuirassés ; le Khédive ne peut conclure de Traités de paix ou de guerre avec d'autres nations.

Mais, en dehors de ces points spéciaux, sa liberté d'action est complète, son état intérieur dépend absolument des dispositions qu'elle adopte ; elle est libre de ses actes dans le domaine administratif, financier, et économique.

C'est cette indépendance que nous entendons, pour ce qui nous concerne, respecter et faire respecter autant que cela dépendra de nous. (Vive approbation.)

Quant aux moyens que nous emploierons, ils sont également bien faciles à indiquer. Nous emploierons en premier lieu celui qui nous a réussi jusqu'à présent, c'est-à-dire l'accord intime avec l'Angleterre. (Nouvelle approbation.) Cet accord jusqu'ici ne nous a jamais fait défaut. Il y a dans les deux Cabinets un désir égal de voir cet accord se continuer.

De notre part, ce désir est absolument sincère, et je suis persuadé qu'il ne l'est pas moins de la part du Cabinet de Londres. J'ajoute que cet accord ne saurait être rompu tant que la ligne générale de notre politique, telle que je viens de la tracer, n'aura reçu aucune atteinte. Car, sur cette grande ligne de conduite que j'ai esquissée tout à l'heure, nous ne pouvons pas faire de concessions ; nous nous devons à nous-mêmes, à nos traditions, à notre histoire, à notre dignité, de ne pas transiger sur ce qui est de la direction générale de notre politique. (Applaudissements.)

À côté de cet accord intime avec l'Angleterre, nous emploierons également la voie du concert Européen. Nous estimons que, lorsque les faits qui s'accomplissent en Égypte prennent une importance de nature à avoir un retentissement sur l'équilibre Européen—car il n'est pas indifférent, vous le sentez bien, Messieurs, que l'Égypte soit aux mains de telle ou telle Puissance—lorsque les faits qui s'accomplissent en Égypte ont des conséquences manifestement politiques, et que ces conséquences peuvent influer sur l'équilibre Européen, nous estimons que c'est le concert Européen qui doit prononcer ; nous croyons qu'il ne serait point juste et qu'il serait imprudent que ces questions fussent discutées et réglées en dehors du concert de l'Europe. (Vifs applaudissements.)

Nous sommes donc disposés à nous entendre avec les Grandes Puissances pour la solution de la question Égyptienne, comme nous nous sommes entendus sur toutes les questions qui ont nécessité une modification plus ou moins considérable dans l'état des choses en Orient.

N'ayez nul souci, Messieurs, des conséquences que peut avoir cette consultation Européenne. Les Grandes Puissances sont unanimes à reconnaître que la situation de la France et de l'Angleterre est prépondérante en Égypte ; elles le reconnaissent, elles le proclament, et elles ne font aucune difficulté d'abandonner aux deux Cabinets de Londres et de Paris la direction de cette politique. C'est donc un fait qui est aujourd'hui acquis—et ce fait a une immense portée au point de vue de la tranquillité future—c'est un fait acquis, dis-je, dans la solution de la question Égyptienne, que l'avis de la France et de l'Angleterre, d'accord entre elles, devra prévaloir. Loin donc qu'il y ait un embarras ou un inconvénient quelconque dans cette consultation suprême de l'Europe, nous y trouverons, au contraire, une grande force pour faire face à toutes les éventualités qui pourraient se produire. (Applaudissements.)

Ces éventualités, quelles sont elles ? Il est, vous le sentez, bien téméraire de l'indiquer, et il serait bien imprudent, bien coupable à un Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, de laisser même entrevoir quels sont les moyens qu'il pourra développer, dans les cas spéciaux qui pourront surgir. Il y a des paroles qu'il convient de ne pas prononcer à la tribune—(vif assentiment)—et, quand on a l'intention de faire prévaloir une politique, ce n'est pas en tenant à la tribune un certain langage qui pourrait engager l'amour-propre des Puissances auxquelles on a affaire. (Très bien !)

Ce n'est pas ainsi qu'on parvient à son but—(très bien ! très bien !)—c'est par des démarches soutenues, fermes, mais qui en même temps ne froissent pas la dignité des autres, pas plus que nous n'entendons laisser froisser la nôtre. (Vifs applaudissements.)

Je crois que la Chambre m'a compris, qu'elle sent que nous sommes en communion d'idées avec elle, avec le pays ; nous sentons très bien ce que veut le pays dans cette question d'Égypte ; nous en avons conscience, et vous pouvez être certains que nos résolutions et notre action seront à la hauteur des devoirs qui pèsent sur nous, et dont nous acceptons d'avance la responsabilité devant vous. (Applaudissements)

prolongés. M. le Président du Conseil, en retournant à son banc, est félicité par un grand nombre de Députés de la Gauche et du Centre.)

M. Villeneuve. Je n'ai, comme la Chambre, qu'à me déclarer satisfait des paroles que vient de prononcer M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères. Depuis quelque temps, en effet, il semblait qu'il y eût une modification dans la politique que nous suivions en Égypte. Le concert Européen, dont il vous a parlé, paraissait, dans l'opinion publique, n'être qu'un moyen d'éviter la responsabilité qui pesait sur nous, qui avions été les instigateurs de ce Contrôle Européen, et de l'abdication ou de la déposition du Khédive. Il faut dire aussi que cette charte de l'Égypte, ce Firman de 1873, avait reçu une atteinte sérieuse, le jour où on avait admis la Porte à venir modifier, non pas l'ordre de succession, mais la stabilité de l'institution Khédivienne.

Je me félicite d'avoir donné à M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères l'occasion de déclarer qu'il soutiendra les Firmans de 1873 et 1879, qui sont la charte de l'indépendance Égyptienne, parce que, comme il vous l'a dit, nous avons de grands intérêts et des traditions à sauvegarder dans ce pays, et je compte qu'il saura, comme les Ministères antérieurs, soutenir la politique traditionnelle de la France. (Très bien ! à Gauche.)

No. 189.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 13.)

(No. 407.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 12, 1882.

I WAITED by appointment upon M. de Freycinet this morning for the purpose of conversing with him upon the present critical state of things in Egypt.

His Excellency was good enough to read to me the report which M. Tissot had made to him by telegraph of the conversation he had with your Lordship yesterday, and I, on my part, gave him the perusal of your Lordship's telegram of this morning (No. 131 of 12.25 A.M.) giving an account of the same conversation.

M. de Freycinet proceeded to tell me that the whole matter had been considered in a Council of Ministers which had just sat, and that he should send immediately instructions to the French Ambassador in London to make proposals to your Lordship on the several points which had been mentioned in your conversation with him.

The substance of the proposals will, I understand from M. de Freycinet, be as follows:—

1. Sending Ships to Alexandria.

France and England each to send ships of war of sufficiently light draught of water to be able to enter the harbour of Alexandria.

France would send two middle-sized iron-clads ("cuirassés moyens"), three dispatch-boats ("avisos"), and one gun-boat ("canonnière"). One of the iron-clads, one dispatch-boat, and the gun-boat might be at Alexandria on Monday next. The three others could not be there till Wednesday or Thursday. The French Government thinks it very desirable that the three first should arrive in conjunction with three similar English ships, so that the complete accord between the two countries should be manifest to every eye.

A light French vessel would also be sent to Suez in conformity with your Lordship's suggestion.

The orders to these ships should be given immediately ; but, as a measure of extreme prudence, the French Government telegraphs to M. Sienkiewicz to inquire whether the appearance of the ships at Alexandria would be likely to place British and French citizens in danger in Egypt. This does not appear probable ; but, at any rate, the preparations for sending the ships may be proceeded with, as the answer from the Consul-General will arrive in time for them to be stopped if necessary.

2. Request to be made to the Porte.

The French and English Governments to telegraph to their Ambassadors at Constantinople to request the Porte to abstain, for the present, from all intervention or interference in Egypt.

3. Communication to the Great Powers.

The two Governments to telegraph also to their Ambassadors at Rome, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Vienna, to inform the Governments to which they are accredited of the

dispatch of the ships to Alexandria, and to ask those Governments to send to their Representatives at Constantinople instructions similar to those to be sent to the French and English Representatives there.

4. *Support of Tewfik Pasha.*

Notwithstanding the preference formerly shown by the French Government for the plan of deposing Tewfik, a plan which, if adopted in time, might, in their opinion, have prevented serious complications; yet, in the present circumstances, and considering that Tewfik Pasha has lately acted on the advice of England and France, they consider that it is the bounden duty of the two Governments to support His Highness as far as circumstances will allow, and they will co-operate loyally, and without any *arrière-pensée*, with the English Government in this sense.

5. *Armed Intervention of the Porte.*

The French Government continue to be opposed to Turkish intervention, but they would not regard as intervention a case in which Turkish forces were summoned to Egypt by England and France, and operated there under English and French control, for an object, and on conditions which France and England should have themselves defined.

6. *Summons of Turkish Troops to Egypt.*

If, after the arrival of their ships at Alexandria, the French and English Governments should consider it advisable that troops should be landed, they should have recourse neither to English nor to French troops, but should call for Turkish troops on the conditions above specified.

7. *Relations of the Consuls-General with Egyptian Government.*

The Consul-General to be instructed to recognize as legal no other authority than that of Tewfik Pasha, and not to enter into relations with any other *de facto* Government except for the purpose of securing the safety of their countrymen.

8. *Mission of the Three Generals.*

The French Government does not consider that this mission would be opportune in the present conjuncture; first, because in the ignorance in which we are of the various events which may occur, it would be impossible to give any definite instructions to the Generals, and this would throw a dangerous responsibility on the Governments; secondly, because it necessarily would be a very long and delicate affair to draw up any instructions suited to the present complicated state of things, and because the communication of such instructions to the Powers, with a view of obtaining their concurrence, would take a long time, whereas it is indispensable to act very rapidly.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 190.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 103.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 13, 1882, 12.50 A.M.

HAVE received a communication from French Ambassador, stating that his Government concur that Tewfik Pasha must be supported.

Will telegraph to you to-morrow after Cabinet.

No. 191.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 13, 1882, 2.20 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 119 of the 11th May.

The Controllers should continue to attend meetings of Council if invited. They

should take no part in the proceedings, but keep the French and English Representatives informed of what passes.

The French Agent will receive similar instructions.

No. 192.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, May 13, 1882, 5.30 P.M.*
THE following proposal was made to me by the French Ambassador, and by M. de Freycinet to Lord Lyons yesterday:—

"1. *Sending Ships to Alexandria.*

"France and England each to send ships of war of sufficiently light draught of water to be able to enter the harbour of Alexandria.

"France would send two middle-sized iron-clads ('cuirassés moyens'), three dispatch-boats ('avisos'), and one gun-boat ('cannonnière'). One of the iron-clads, one dispatch-boat, and the gun-boat might be at Alexandria on Monday next. The three others could not be there till Wednesday or Thursday. The French Government thinks it very desirable that the three first at least should arrive in conjunction with three similar English ships, so that the complete accord between the two countries should be manifest to every eye.

"A light French vessel would also be sent to Suez, in conformity with your Lordship's suggestion.

"The orders to these ships should be given immediately; but as a measure of extreme prudence, the French Government telegraphs to M. Sienkiewicz to inquire whether the appearance of the ships at Alexandria would be likely to place British and French citizens in danger in Egypt. This does not appear probable, but, at any rate, the preparations for sending the ships may be proceeded with, as the answer from the Consul-General will arrive in time for them to be stopped, if necessary.

"2. *Request to be made to the Porte.*

"The French and English Governments to telegraph to their Ambassadors at Constantinople to request the Porte to abstain for the present from all intervention or interference in Egypt.

"3. *Communication to the Great Powers.*

"The two Governments to telegraph also to their Ambassadors at Rome, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Vienna, to inform the Governments to which they are accredited of the dispatch of the ships to Alexandria, and to ask those Governments to send to their Representatives at Constantinople instructions similar to those to be sent to the French and English Representatives there.

"4. *Support of Tewfik Pasha.*

"Notwithstanding the preference formerly shown by the French Government for the plan of deposing Tewfik—a plan which, if adopted in time, might, in their opinion, have prevented serious complications—yet, in the present circumstances, and considering that Tewfik Pasha has lately acted on the advice of England and France, they consider that it is the bounden duty of the two Governments to support His Highness as far as circumstances will allow, and they will co-operate loyally and without any *arrière-pensée* with the English Government in this sense.

"5. *Armed Intervention of the Porte.*

"The French Government continue to be opposed to Turkish intervention, but they would not regard as intervention a case in which Turkish forces were summoned to Egypt by England and France, and operated there under French and English control, for an object and on conditions which France and England should have themselves defined.

"6. *Summons of Turkish Troops to Egypt.*

"If, after the arrival of their ships at Alexandria, the French and English Governments should consider it advisable that troops should be landed, they should have recourse neither to English nor to French troops, but should call for Turkish troops on the conditions above specified.

"7. *Relations of the Consuls-General with Egyptian Government.*

"The Consuls-General to be instructed to recognize as legal no other authority than that of Tewfik Pasha, and not to enter into relations with any other *de facto* Government except for the purpose of securing the safety of their countrymen.

"8. *Mission of the three Generals.*

"The French Government does not consider that this Mission would be opportune in the present conjuncture; first, because, in the ignorance in which we are of the various events which may occur, it would be impossible to give any definite instructions to the Generals, and this would throw a dangerous responsibility on the Governments; secondly, because it necessarily would be a very long and delicate affair to draw up any instructions suited to the present complicated state of things, and because the communication of such instructions to the Powers, with a view to obtaining their concurrence, would take a long time, whereas it is indispensable to act very rapidly."

I have replied that:—

[See No. 194, from the words "1. Her Majesty's Government" to the end.]

Have you any observations to make on these proposals, in concert with your French colleague?

No. 193.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 13, 5:30 P.M.)

(No. 41.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 13, 1882, 3:40 P.M.

SIR E. MALET'S telegram No. 121 of yesterday about danger to English and French at Cairo.

M. de Freycinet has received from the French Consul a similar telegram, but not quite so positively worded.

M. de Freycinet is himself inclined to think that the apprehensions of the Consuls-General may be exaggerated, and he would be disposed to persist in sending the ships to Alexandria if your Lordship were of that opinion.

He thinks the naval demonstration might encourage Tewfik Pasha and his supporters, and give strength to the opposition to Arabi.

He is very anxious for a speedy answer from your Lordship.

No. 194.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 135.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 13, 1882, 5:40 P.M.

YOUR despatch No. 407 of the 12th instant.

Similar communication received from M. Tissot.

Inform French Government that:—

1. Her Majesty's Government concur in proposal to send ships of war to Alexandria and one French and one English small vessel to Suez. Instructions have been sent by the Board of Admiralty for three ships of war to be at once in readiness to proceed to Alexandria, but, having regard to the answer sent by Sir E. Malet as to his and French Agent's opinion that the appearance of the ships would be likely to place British and French subjects in danger, the vessels have been directed to proceed to Suda Bay, Crete, to await orders.

2. Her Majesty's Government will telegraph to the British Ambassador at Constantinople to request the Porte to abstain, for the present, from all intervention or

interference in Egypt, but they think it desirable to instruct his Excellency to intimate in guarded language that it is not improbable that further propositions may be made hereafter to the Porte.

3. The instructions proposed by the French Government shall be at once sent to Her Majesty's Representatives at Rome, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Vienna. Her Majesty's Government would, however, wish that your Excellency should suggest to the French Government whether, in view of the very large force which it is proposed should be dispatched to Alexandria by England and France, it might not be as well, if not inconsistent with the other objects which M. de Freycinet has in view, that the Powers, including Turkey, should be invited to have their flags represented.

4. It is, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, undoubtedly the bounden duty of the two Governments to support the Khedive under present circumstances, and they gladly welcome the loyal co-operation tendered by the French Government.

Her Majesty's Government concur in the fifth, sixth, and seventh proposals of the French Government, and they are also ready to defer to the objections of the French Government to the mission of the three Generals at the present moment.

No. 195.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 136.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 13, 1882, 6:30 P.M.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 135, I have agreed with French Ambassador to defer making any communications to other Powers till to-morrow, when I hope to have answer of French Government to our observations on their proposals.

No. 196.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 13, 7:45 P.M.)

(No. 124.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 13, 1882, 6:15 P.M.

THE President of the Chamber and the Deputies side ostensibly with the Khedive, but they have asked His Highness to pardon his Ministers and to be reconciled to them. The Khedive has refused. He remains firm, and will not be reconciled to Ministers who have openly defied him, threatened him and his family, and violated the law by the convocation of the Chamber without his sanction.

There is considerable uneasiness at Cairo, and many persons are leaving.

No. 197.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 528. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 13, 1882.

HER Majesty's Government have had under their consideration your Excellency's despatch No. 407 of the 12th instant, and I have now to request that you will inform the French Government—

1. Her Majesty's Government concur in the proposal to send ships of war to Alexandria and one French and one English vessel to Suez. Instructions have been sent by the Board of Admiralty for three ships of war to be at once in readiness to proceed to Alexandria, but, having regard to the answer sent by Sir E. Malet as to his and M. Sienkiewicz's opinion, that the appearance of the ships would be likely to place British and French subjects in danger, the vessels have been directed to proceed to Suda Bay to await orders.

2. Her Majesty's Government will telegraph to the British Ambassador at Constantinople to request the Porte to abstain for the present from all intervention or interference in Egypt; but they think it desirable to instruct his Excellency to intimate in guarded language that it is not improbable that further propositions may be made hereafter to the Porte.

3. The instructions proposed by the French Government shall be at once sent to Her Majesty's Representatives at Rome, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Vienna. Her Majesty's Government would, however, wish that your Excellency should suggest to the

French Government whether, in view of the very large force which it is proposed should be dispatched to Alexandria by England and France, it might not be as well, if not inconsistent with the other objects which M. de Freycinet has in view, that the other Powers, including Turkey, should be invited to have their flags represented.

4. It is, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, undoubtedly the bounden duty of the two Governments to support the Khedive under present circumstances, and they gladly welcome the loyal co-operation tendered by the French Government.

5. Her Majesty's Government concur in the 5th, 6th, and 7th proposals of the French Government, and they are ready to defer to the objections of the French Government to the mission of the three Generals at the present moment.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 198.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 529. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 13, 1882.

THE French Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, after the meeting of the Cabinet, to learn the conclusions they had arrived at on the proposals of M. de Freycinet, embodied in your Excellency's despatch No. 407 of yesterday's date.

I read to M. Tissot the replies to those proposals, as given in my despatch to your Excellency No. 528 of this day. I then said that I was in some embarrassment as to the communications to be made to other Powers, as their nature depended to a considerable extent on the concurrence of the French Government in our observations. I asked his Excellency whether he thought his Government had as yet made any communications to other Governments.

M. Tissot said he was convinced they could not have done so, as M. de Freycinet was as yet in ignorance of the practical agreement of the two Governments on the course to be followed.

We therefore agreed that I should defer making any communication to other Powers until to-morrow, when I hoped to have the answer of the French Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 199.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 530.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 13, 1882.

I RECEIVED last evening from the French Ambassador a communication similar to that which M. de Freycinet made to your Excellency yesterday, and which is embodied in your despatch No. 407 of that day, containing the views of the French Government as to the measures to be adopted in view of the present situation in Egypt.

I told M. Tissot that I could not give him an answer without consulting my colleagues, but that I received this communication with great satisfaction, as it led me to believe that the agreement which existed between the two Governments on all substantial matters with regard to the policy to be pursued in Egypt was likely to be continued till the end.

I said that I had received a telegram from Sir E. Malet, conveying his own opinion and that of the French Agent, that the arrival of iron-clads at Alexandria at this moment might be dangerous to the European community at Cairo. I presumed that M. de Freycinet had received a similar Report from M. de Sienkiewicz, and had given it due consideration.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 200.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 120. Extender.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 13, 1882.

IN your telegram No. 119 of the 11th instant you inquire whether, in the present position of affairs in Egypt, the Controller-General should continue to take part in the meetings of the Council.

I have agreed with M. de Freycinet, that they may continue to attend if summoned, but that they should not take part in the proceedings, and should decline to give advice, confining themselves to reporting what passes to their respective Agents.

A similar instruction will accordingly be sent to the French Agent.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 201.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 121. Extender.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 13, 1882.

THE following proposal was made to me by the French Ambassador and by M. de Freycinet to Lord Lyons on the 12th instant:—

"1. Sending Ships to Alexandria.

"France and England each to send ships of war of sufficiently light draught of water to be able to enter the harbour of Alexandria.

"France would send two middle sized iron-clads ('cuirassés moyens'), three dispatch-boats ('avisos'), and one gun-boat ('canonnière'). One of the iron-clads, one dispatch-boat, and the gun-boat might be at Alexandria on Monday next. The three others could not be there till Wednesday or Thursday. The French Government thinks it very desirable that the three first, at least, should arrive in conjunction with three similar English ships, so that the complete accord between the two countries should be manifest to every eye.

"A light French vessel would also be sent to Suez in conformity with your Lordship's suggestion.

"The orders to these ships should be given immediately; but as a measure of extreme prudence the French Government telegraphs to M. Sienkiewicz to inquire whether the appearance of the ships at Alexandria would be likely to place British and French citizens in danger in Egypt. This does not appear probable, but, at any rate, the preparations for sending the ships may be proceeded with, as the answer from the Consul-General will arrive in time for them to be stopped, if necessary.

"2. Request to be made to the Porte.

"The French and English Governments to telegraph to their Ambassadors at Constantinople to request the Porte to abstain for the present from all intervention or interference in Egypt.

"3. Communication to the Great Powers.

"The two Governments to telegraph also to their Ambassadors at Rome, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Vienna to inform the Governments to which they are accredited of the dispatch of the ships to Alexandria, and to ask those Governments to send to their Representatives at Constantinople instructions similar to those to be sent to the French and English Representatives there.

"4. Support of Tewfik Pasha.

"Notwithstanding the preference formerly shown by the French Government for the plan of deposing Tewfik—a plan which, if adopted in time, might, in their opinion, have prevented serious complications—yet, in the present circumstances, and considering that Tewfik Pasha has lately acted on the advice of England and France, they consider that it is the bounden duty of the two Governments to support His Highness as far as circum-

stances will allow, and they will co-operate loyally and without any *arrière-pensée* with the English Government in this sense.

"5. *Armed Intervention of the Porte.*

"The French Government continue to be opposed to Turkish intervention, but they would not regard as intervention a case in which Turkish forces were summoned to Egypt by England and France, and operated there under French and English control, for an object and on conditions which France and England should have themselves defined.

"6. *Summons of Turkish Troops to Egypt.*

"If, after the arrival of their ships at Alexandria, the French and English Governments should consider it advisable that troops should be landed, they should have recourse neither to English nor to French troops, but should call for Turkish troops on the conditions above specified.

"7. *Relations of the Consuls-General with Egyptian Government.*

"The Consuls-General to be instructed to recognize as legal no other authority than that of Tewfik Pasha, and not to enter into relations with any other *de facto* Government except for the purpose of securing the safety of their countrymen.

"8. *Mission of the three Generals.*

"The French Government does not consider that this Mission would be opportune in the present conjuncture; first, because, in the ignorance in which we are of the various events which may occur, it would be impossible to give any definite instructions to the Generals, and this would throw a dangerous responsibility on the Governments; secondly, because it necessarily would be a very long and delicate affair to draw up any instructions suited to the present complicated state of things, and because the communication of such instructions to the Powers, with a view to obtaining their concurrence, would take a long time, whereas it is indispensable to act very rapidly."

I have replied that—

1. Her Majesty's Government concur in proposal to send ships of war to Alexandria, and one French and one English small vessel to Suez. Instructions have been sent by the Board of Admiralty for three ships of war to be at once in readiness to proceed to Alexandria, but, having regard to the answer sent by Sir E. Malet as to his and French Agent's opinion that the appearance of the ships would be likely to place British and French subjects in danger, the vessels have been directed to proceed to Suda Bay, Crete, to await orders.

2. Her Majesty's Government will telegraph to the British Ambassador at Constantinople to request the Porte to abstain, for the present, from all intervention or interference in Egypt, but they think it desirable to instruct his Excellency to intimate in guarded language that it is not improbable that further propositions may be made hereafter to the Porte.

3. The instructions proposed by the French Government shall be at once sent to Her Majesty's Representatives at Rome, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Vienna. Her Majesty's Government would, however, wish that your Excellency should suggest to the French Government whether, in view of the very large force which it is proposed should be dispatched to Alexandria by England and France, it might not be as well, if not inconsistent with the other objects which M. de Freycinet has in view, that the Powers, including Turkey, should be invited to have their flags represented.

4. It is, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, undoubtedly the bounden duty of the two Governments to support the Khedive under present circumstances, and they gladly welcome the loyal co-operation tendered by the French Government.

Her Majesty's Government concur in the fifth, sixth, and seventh proposals of the French Government, and they are also ready to defer to the objections of the French Government to the mission of the three Generals at the present moment.

Have you any observations to make on these proposals in concert with your French colleague?

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 202.

Earl Granville to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

My Lords,

Foreign Office, May 13, 1882.

WITH reference to my letter of the 11th instant, requesting that vessels of war should be held in readiness to proceed to Egypt, I have the honour to state that Her Majesty's Government has agreed with the French Government, that each nation should be represented by six ships of sufficiently light draught to be able to enter the harbour of Alexandria, consisting of two middle-sized iron-clads, three dispatch-boats, and one gun-boat; and it has also been arranged that a light vessel of each nation should be sent to Suez. The French Government would be able to send one vessel of each class mentioned to Alexandria on Monday next, the 15th instant, but the other three could not be there until two or three days later. It is therefore very desirable that the three first ships should arrive in conjunction with three similar British ships, so that the complete accord between the two countries should be manifested; but in view of a telegram which has been received from Her Majesty's Agent at Cairo, stating that in his opinion, and that of his French colleague, the appearance of these vessels at Alexandria would be likely to place the British and French residents in danger, I have the honour to request that your Lordships will cause the Captains of the ships selected to proceed to Suda Bay, Crete, to await further orders.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 203.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received May 13, 10.30 P.M.)

(No. 84.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 13, 1882, 7.25 P.M.

LORD DUFFERIN'S telegram No. 66 of the 30th April, and my telegram No. 73 of the 5th instant.

Italian Chargé d'Affaires informed me to-day that, by order of his Government, he had represented to the Porte that it should, in future, address itself to all the Powers.

He stated he had communicated this to the French Ambassador as well as myself.

No. 204.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received May 13, 10.30 P.M.)

(No. 86.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 13, 1882, 7.40 P.M.

I AM confidentially informed to-day that the Porte has (so far) come to no decision with regard to action to be taken by it in presence of what is now going on in Egypt, but that the Minister for Foreign Affairs will probably soon receive instructions to expose its views to the Governments of England and France.

I am also informed that the Sultan and his Government appear disposed to maintain the Khedive.

No. 205.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received May 13, 10.30 P.M.)

(No. 87.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 13, 1882, 7.45 P.M.

MY telegram No. 83 of yesterday.

Minister for Foreign Affairs has not yet given a decided answer as to Khedive's action with regard to sentences, but I am under the impression that, although the Porte may not sanction it, it will not resent it.

M. de Freycinet to M. Tissot.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by M. Tissot, May 14.)

(Télégraphique.)

Paris, le 14 Mai, 1882, 2-20 soir.

J'AI reçu le télégramme par lequel vous m'informez que le Gouvernement Anglais a accepté la proposition du Gouvernement Français. Je me félicite de ce résultat, qui resserre si heureusement l'entente entre les deux pays.

Nous envoyons à la Sude pour joindre la division Anglaise nos trois navires destinés à Alexandrie, et qui attendaient les ordres au Pirée. Nous envoyons également un navire à Suez.

Nous croyons que la présence de l'escadre à Alexandrie aura une action efficace même au Caire.

En effet, il résulte des dernières communications de M. Sienkiewicz qu'une grande irrésolution règne parmi les chefs du mouvement. L'arrivée de navires Anglo-Français en un pareil moment peut produire une sorte de désorganisation du parti révolutionnaire et rendre le Khédive maître de la situation.

Je serais d'avis d'informer immédiatement nos Agents au Caire dans les termes suivants :—

“ Une escadre Anglo-Française se réunit à la Sude et entrera bientôt à Alexandrie. Nous nous réservons d'employer tel autre moyen que nous jugerons nécessaire pour faire respecter l'ordre et maintenir l'autorité du Khédive. Vous vous concerterez avec votre collègue pour faire de ce télégramme l'usage que les circonstances vous paraîtront demander.”

Je propose de télégraphier à nos Ambassadeurs à Constantinople en ces termes :—

“ À la suite des derniers événements survenus en Égypte les Gouvernements de la France et de l'Angleterre ont décidé d'envoyer à Alexandrie une escadre qui se réunit en ce moment à la Sude. Afin de ne pas compliquer la situation, il importe que le Gouvernement Turc s'abstienne de toute intervention et de toute ingérence en Égypte. Je vous invite à lui faire des recommandations dans ce sens. Il serait désirable que vous pussiez laisser entrevoir au Sultan en termes très modérés, qu'il ne serait pas improbable que d'autres propositions fussent faites plus tard à la Porte. Vous vous concerterez pour ses démarches avec votre collègue (d'Angleterre ou de France), qui recevra des instructions semblables.”

Je ne suis pas d'avis de convier quant à présent les Puissances à l'envoi de navires à côté des nôtres. Nous n'avons, à mon sens, aucun intérêt à prendre une initiative qui tendrait à enlever à l'action Anglo-Française le caractère dirigeant que l'Europe lui reconnaît et paraît désireuse de lui laisser en Égypte.

Je propose de télégraphier à nos Ambassadeurs à Berlin, Vienne, Rome, et St. Pétersbourg dans ces termes :—

“ À la suite des derniers événements d'Égypte les Gouvernements de la France et de l'Angleterre ont cru devoir se mettre d'accord entre eux pour envoyer à Alexandrie une escadre qui se réunit en ce moment à la Sude. Le but de cette démonstration est de fortifier l'autorité du Khédive et de sauvegarder l'ordre de choses légal en Égypte que l'Europe a reconnu et au maintien duquel elle est intéressée. Afin de ne pas compliquer la situation les deux Gouvernements ont cru devoir inviter leurs Ambassadeurs à Constantinople à recommander à la Porte de s'abstenir de toute intervention et de toute ingérence en Égypte, se réservant, d'ailleurs, de faire plus tard à la Porte d'autres propositions s'il y avait lieu. Nous serions heureux que le Gouvernement auprès duquel vous êtes accrédité voulût bien envoyer des instructions dans le même sens à son Ambassadeur à Constantinople.”

Je vous prie de faire tous vos efforts pour joindre Lord Granville aujourd'hui et lui donner connaissance de ce télégramme. Vous me télégraphierez aussitôt, afin que je puisse envoyer des instructions en conséquence à nos Agents.

Mr. Cookson to Earl Granville.—(Received May 14, 8 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Palermo, May 13, 1882, 9-45 P.M.

UGHT I to return to my post?
Shall be here till to-morrow.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 106.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 14, 1882, 11-15 A.M.

IF you think it judicious, concert with your French colleague to send for Arabi, and tell him, if order is disturbed, he will find England and France, Europe and Turkey against him, and he will be held personally responsible; but if he remains loyal to the Khedive his acts and person will be favourably regarded.

I have repeated above to Paris for concurrence.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 138.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 14, 1882, 11-15 A.M.

I HAVE sent following this morning to Sir E. Malet :—

[Repetition of No. 208, to words “ favourably regarded.”]

Request French Government to send similar instructions if they concur.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cookson.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 14, 1882, 1 P.M.

YOURS of yesterday.

You should return to your post at once.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 140.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 14, 1882, 2 P.M.

WITH reference to fifth French proposal, ask M. de Freycinet how French Government propose that French and English control should be exercised over Turkish troops, if use of troops should become necessary, which we hope may not be the case.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 14, 4-50 P.M.)

(No. 125.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 14, 1882, 11-30 A.M.

THE President of the Chamber informed the Ministry last night that the Khedive refused reconciliation. His Excellency, therefore, suggested that the Prime Minister should resign, who replied that he was ready to do so. The other Ministers, however, declared that they would then also retire. Finally, the whole Ministry stated its readiness to resign, but that, in that case, it could no longer guarantee public tranquillity, and that the Khedive must assume this responsibility himself.

The President of the Chamber goes to the Khedive this morning with the above answer. My French colleague and I have suggested to His Highness to temporize, as your Lordship's telegram No. 105 of yesterday had just come, but was not decyphered when we went to the Palace.

No. 213.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 14, 7.30 P.M.)(No. 126.)
(Telegraphic.)*Cairo, May 14, 1882, 5 P.M.*

THE President of the Chamber this morning begged the Khedive to be satisfied with the retirement of the Prime Minister. My French colleague and I, taking into consideration the pending action of the Powers, and the importance of nothing happening to the Khedive in the interval, have recommended His Highness to accept the proposal, which can, however, merely be a temporary solution. Moustapha Fehmy Pasha will probably be named President. We agreed to any one but Arabi.

The President of the Chamber also said to His Highness that, if the fleets arrive the Chamber ought to be convoked. It would then pass a vote of blame on the Government for having brought about foreign interference, and would insist on the retirement from the country of the military leaders.

No. 214.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 14, 6.15 P.M.)(No. 127.)
(Telegraphic.)*Cairo, May 14, 1882, 5.15 P.M.*

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 105 of yesterday.

My French colleague and I think that the political advantage of the arrival of vessels at Alexandria is so great as to outweigh, in consideration, the danger which it might possibly be to Europeans here. Their coming in support of the Khedive, who appears now to have all but the military with him, diminishes the danger.

No. 215.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 14, 7.30 P.M.)(No. 128.)
(Telegraphic.)*Cairo, May 14, 1882, 6 P.M.*

INTERVENTION. Knowing the feeling here, I fear that, if the Sultan's implied co-operation is not secured and made known, if he does not give his countenance at the beginning to the action of the Powers, there is a risk that the Chamber and the army may again coalesce, and offer resistance, which would otherwise, I think, be impossible.

No. 216.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.(No. 532. Extender.)
My Lord,*Foreign Office, May 14, 1882.*

I HAVE this morning instructed Sir E. Malet, by telegraph, if he should think such a course judicious, to concert with his French colleague to send for Arabi Bey, and to tell him that if order is disturbed he will find England and France, Europe, and Turkey against him, and that he will be held personally responsible; but that provided he remains loyal to the Khedive, his acts and person will be favourably regarded.

Your Excellency will request the French Government to send similar instructions to the above to their Agent at Cairo if they concur therein.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 217.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.(No. 533. Extender.)
My Lord,*Foreign Office, May 14, 1882.*

I HAVE to request that your Excellency will ask M. de Freycinet, with reference to the proposal numbered 5 in the French suggestions for a joint course of action in

the present crisis in Egypt, in what manner the French Government propose that French and English control should be exercised over Turkish troops if the use of troops should become a necessity, which Her Majesty's Government hope may not be the case.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 218.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.(No. 534. Extender.)
My Lord,*Foreign Office, May 14, 1882.*

I HAVE already caused to be repeated to your Excellency* Sir E. Malet's telegram† of to-day's date, reporting the opinion held by his French colleague and himself, that the political advantage of the arrival of vessels at Alexandria would be so great as to outweigh in consideration the danger which might possibly accrue therefrom to Europeans in Cairo; Sir E. Malet adding, that their coming in support of the Khedive, who appeared to have all parties but the military with him, diminished the danger.

Your Excellency will be good enough to communicate Sir E. Malet's telegram to M. de Freycinet.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 219.

Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 14, 1882.

WITH reference to the agreement entered into with the French Government, of which I informed your Lordships in my letter of yesterday, I have the honour to request that you will cause instructions to be sent for a light vessel to proceed at once to Suez and to co-operate with the French ship which has been detached on the same duty.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 220.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.(No. 122. Extender.)
Sir,*Foreign Office, May 14, 1882.*

I HAVE to instruct you, if you think such a course judicious, to arrange with the French Agent to send for Arabi Bey, and inform him that if there is a disturbance of order he will find Europe and Turkey, as well as England and France, against him, and will be held personally responsible. If, on the other hand, he remains loyal to the Khedive, his acts and person will be favourably regarded.

I have requested Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris to communicate with the French Government with a view to obtain their concurrence in this instruction.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 221.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 14, 8 P.M.)(No. 42.)
(Telegraphic.)*Paris, May 14, 1882, 4 P.M.*

I HAVE communicated to M. de Freycinet your telegrams Nos. 135 and 136 of yesterday. He instructs the French Ambassador to make the following answer:—

"The three French ships destined for Alexandria have been waiting orders at the Piræus; they will be sent to Suda to join the English squadron.

* In No. 142.

† No. 127.

Again, in the third paragraph are the words "the views at which the British and French Governments have arrived," M. de Freycinet proposed to substitute "décisions" (decisions) for "views."

The object of the changes was, M. Decrais went on to say, to avoid leaving any opening for the Porte to treat the resolutions of the Powers as still liable to discussion.

I promised to submit the proposed changes to your Lordship for consideration, and to inform M. de Freycinet of the instructions which I should receive from you with regard to them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 227.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 15.)

(No. 415. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 14, 1882.

WITH reference to my immediately preceding despatch No. 414 of to-day, I may observe that it may be worthy of consideration whether it be advisable to proceed at this moment with the matter of the modification of the Egyptian Organic Law.

In fact, if I am not mistaken, there are other unsatisfactory parts of that Law besides the specific Article to which the modifications proposed by England and France relate; and it might be as well not to take at this time a step which might tend to confirm, by implication, a Law which otherwise may be swept away altogether by events in Egypt, the occurrence of which does not seem improbable.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 228.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 15.)

(No. 418.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 14, 1882.

I HAVE already reported to your Lordship by telegraph that I communicated this morning to M. de Freycinet the contents of your Lordship's telegrams of yesterday Nos. 135 and 136 respecting the proposed dispatch of British and French ships to Alexandria.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of a paper containing the substance of those telegrams which I left with his Excellency.

He was on his part so good as to allow me to read a telegram from the French Ambassador, giving substantially the same account of your Lordship's views.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 228.

Paper left by Lord Lyons with M. de Freycinet.

IN answer to the communication which has been made to me by M. Tissot, and of which M. de Freycinet has communicated the terms to you, I authorize you to communicate to his Excellency the views of Her Majesty's Government as follows:—

1. Her Majesty's Government concur in M. de Freycinet's proposal to order ships of war to Alexandria, and one French and one English small vessel to Suez.

Instructions have been sent by the Board of Admiralty for three ships of war to be at once in readiness to proceed to Alexandria, but, having regard to the answer sent by Sir E. Malet as to his and the French Agent's opinion that the appearance of the ships would be likely to place British and French subjects in danger, the vessels have been directed to proceed to Suda Bay, Crete, to await orders.

2. Her Majesty's Government will telegraph to the British Ambassador at Constantinople to request the Porte to abstain from all intervention or interference in Egypt,

but they think it desirable to instruct his Excellency to intimate in guarded language that it is not improbable that further propositions may be made hereafter to the Porte.

3. Her Majesty's Government will at once send the instructions proposed by the French Government to Her Majesty's Representatives at Rome, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Vienna. Her Majesty's Government would, however, wish to suggest to the French Government whether, in view of the very large force which it is proposed should be dispatched to Alexandria by England and France, it might not be as well, if not inconsistent with the other objects which M. de Freycinet has in view, that the other Powers, including Turkey, should be invited to have their flags represented.

4. It is, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, undoubtedly the bounden duty of the two Governments to support the Khedive under present circumstances, and they gladly welcome the loyal co-operation tendered by the French Government.

5. Her Majesty's Government concur in M. de Freycinet's view as to the case in which Turkish forces were summoned to Egypt by England and France, and operated there under English and French control, for an object and on conditions which France and England should have themselves defined.

6. Her Majesty's Government also entirely agree that if after the arrival of their ships at Alexandria the French and English Governments should consider it advisable that troops should be landed, they should have recourse neither to English nor to French troops, but should call for Turkish troops on the conditions above specified.

7. Her Majesty's Government accept, moreover, the proposal that the Consul-General shall be instructed to recognize as legal no other authority than that of Tewfik Pasha, and not to enter into relations with any other *de facto* Government except for the purpose of securing the safety of their countrymen.

8. Her Majesty's Government are ready to defer to objections of the French Government to the missions of the three Generals at the present moment.

I have agreed with the French Ambassador to defer making any communications to other Powers until to-morrow, on which day I hope to receive the answer of the French Government to the observations contained in the present telegram.

Foreign Office, May 13, 1882.

No. 229.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 107.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 15, 1882, 1 A.M.

AN Anglo-French squadron is assembling at Suda, and will soon enter Alexandria. We reserve to ourselves to employ such other means as we may deem necessary to make order respected, and to maintain the authority of the Khedive. You will concert with your French colleague in order to make such use of this telegram as circumstances may appear to you to call for.

No. 230.

Earl Granville to Her Majesty's Representatives at Berlin, Vienna, Rome, and St. Petersburg.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 15, 1882, 1.5 A.M.

IN consequence of the last events in Egypt, the French and English Governments have thought it right to agree to send to Alexandria a squadron which is at this moment assembling at Suda. The object of this demonstration is to strengthen the authority of the Khedive, and to safeguard the legal state of things in Egypt which has been recognized by Europe, and in the maintenance of which Europe is interested. In order not to complicate the situation, the two Governments have thought it right to instruct their Ambassadors at Constantinople to recommend the Porte to abstain from all intervention and all interference in Egypt, reserving to themselves, however, to make later further propositions to the Porte in case of need. We should be glad that the Government to which you are accredited should send instructions in the same sense to its Ambassador at Constantinople.

No. 240.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, May 15, 1882, 5.15 P.M.*
 WITH reference to my telegram No. 148, containing instructions sent to English Admiral, tell French Government that English Admiral will arrive at Suda Bay to-morrow, and suggest that instructions should be given to French Admiral to await his arrival, in order that they may proceed together to Alexandria.

No. 241.

Mr. Ford to Earl Granville.—(Received May 15, 5 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Athens, May 15, 1882, 2.30 P.M.*
 THE following vessels have left the Piræus:—French iron-clad "Lagalissoniere" (sic), French corvette "Forbin," French aviso "Auspice," for Alexandria. Russian sloop "Zebianka," destination unknown. Her Majesty's ship "Bittern" for Suda Bay, Candia. "Monarch" for Corfu.

No. 242.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received May 15, 6 P.M.)

(No. 29.) *Berlin, May 15, 1882, 4.34 P.M.*
 (Telegraphic.)
 YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 56 of this morning.
 I have communicated the substance of your Lordship's telegram just received to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who has already received a similar communication from German Ambassador in London.
 His Excellency said he would submit it to Prince Bismarck as soon as possible.

No. 243.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

E
 (No. 240.) *Foreign Office, May 15, 1882.*
 Sir,
 THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and read to me a telegram from his Government of the tenour reported in Mr. Wyndham's telegram No. 90 of yesterday's date, affirming the desire of the Porte for the maintenance of the *status quo* of order and of tranquillity in Egypt, alluding to the difficulties which have arisen between the Khedive and his Ministers, promising to inform the Powers if these difficulties should become more serious, expressing the regret with which the Turkish Government had learned the intention of England and France to send fleets into Egyptian waters, claiming the right of the Sultan, as the Sovereign of Egypt, to send troops or squadrons to that country, if such a measure became necessary, but stating that at present there did not appear to be any occasion for it.
 I told Musurus Pasha that in deciding to send an English and French fleet to Alexandria we had no desire to derogate from the sovereign rights of the Sultan, but that the circumstances were pressing, and immediate action was necessary. Our desire was to maintain the *status quo*, and the other Powers had recognized our preponderating interests in Egypt.

I said that any hasty or independent action on the part of the Porte at this moment could only have a prejudicial effect on the situation, and might possibly interfere with the execution of the favourable intentions we had towards Turkey in case of further eventualities. Her Majesty's Government and that of France had therefore instructed their Representatives at Constantinople to express a hope that the Porte would refrain from any intervention or interference.

I am, &c.
 (Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 244.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 535. Extender.) *Foreign Office, May 15, 1882.*
 My Lord,
 I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram of yesterday, dated at 4 P.M., recording your communication to M. de Freycinet of my two telegrams of the 13th instant on the subject of the French proposals for a joint action, and the steps taken thereupon by Her Majesty's Government, and containing the further explanations and proposals of the French Government in regard to the course to be pursued.

M. Tissot has made a similar communication to me as that which your Excellency reports from M. de Freycinet, and I have telegraphed accordingly to Cairo, Constantinople, and Her Majesty's Representatives at the other four capitals.

I have told the French Ambassador that Mr. Gladstone agrees with me in regretting that the other Powers have not been invited to co-operate.

Her Majesty's Government think this a mistake, but, as the French Government held absolutely to it, and as they have gone so far to meet the views of Her Majesty's Government, they have concurred in the course taken.

I also requested M. Tissot to inform his Government of Sir E. Malet's telegram as to the desirability of Turkish co-operation.

I am, &c.
 (Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 245.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 536. Extender.) *Foreign Office, May 15, 1882.*
 My Lord,
 I HAVE to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government agree in the opinion expressed by M. de Freycinet, as reported in your telegram No. 44 of to-day, that the English and French squadrons should proceed at once to Alexandria.
 I am, &c.
 (Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 246.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 538. Extender.) *Foreign Office, May 15, 1882.*
 My Lord,
 I HAVE to state to your Excellency that the following are the instructions which have been sent to the British Admiral in regard to a joint co-operation of the naval forces of the two countries in the present crisis in Egypt:—
 "Communicate with the British Consul-General on arrival at Alexandria, and in concert with him propose to co-operate with naval forces of France to support Khedive and protect British subjects and Europeans, landing force, if required, for latter object, such force not to leave protection of ship's guns without instructions from home. You may, in concert with French, send a ship to Port Saïd if necessary to protect British subjects. Report all proceedings to the Admiralty."

I am, &c.
 (Signed) GRANVILLE

No. 247.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 539. Extender.) *Foreign Office, May 15, 1882.*
 My Lord,
 I REQUEST that your Excellency will inform the French Government of the instructions which have been given to the English Admiral, as recorded in my despatch No. 538 of this day, and that you will state to the French Government that Her Majesty's

Government would be glad to be favoured with a corresponding communication of the instructions issued to the French Naval Commander.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 248.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 540. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 15, 1882.

YOUR Excellency will be good enough to inform the French Government, with reference to my despatch No. 538 of this day, recording the instructions which have been sent to the British Admiral, that he will arrive at Suda Bay to-morrow; and you will suggest that instructions should be given to the French Admiral to await his arrival, in order that the two Commanders may proceed together to Alexandria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 249.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 540 A. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 15, 1882.

WHILE the French Ambassador was with me yesterday evening I showed to him a telegram which I had just received from Sir E. Malet, in which he expressed his apprehensions that, if the Sultan's implied co-operation in the measures about to be taken by France and England were not secured and made known, and if His Majesty did not from the commencement give his countenance to the action of the Powers, there might be a coalition between the Chamber and the army, and resistance might be offered which would otherwise, in Sir E. Malet's opinion, be impossible.

I begged M. Tissot to make M. de Freycinet acquainted with the contents of this telegram. I said that I took note of the strong antipathy felt in France to the idea of Turkish intervention in any shape, but that, after all, success was the argument by which an Opposition might best be confuted, and that it seemed to me worth while to make some sacrifices in the present instance to render it certain, when the contrary result might entail inconveniences far more serious.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 250.

Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 15, 1882.

I AM directed by Earl Granville to request that you will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that a telegram was received yesterday from Her Majesty's Agent at Cairo stating that he and the French Agent had come to the conclusion that the political advantage of the arrival of vessels at Alexandria would be so great as to outweigh in consideration the danger which it might possibly bring to the European residents.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 251.

Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 15, 1882.

I AM directed by Earl Granville to request that you will lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the accompanying telegram from Her Majesty's

Minister at Athens, from which it appears that three French vessels have left the Piræus direct for Alexandria.*

I am to state that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris has been instructed to inquire whether this is the case, as M. de Freycinet told him on the 14th that the French vessels would be ordered to Suda Bay to join the English squadron.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 252.

Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 15, 1882.

THE French Government having now proposed, and Her Majesty's Government having concurred, that the English and French squadrons should proceed at once to Alexandria, I am directed by Earl Granville to request that you will move the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to give instructions by telegraph to the English Admiral accordingly.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 253.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 15, 9 P.M.)

(No. 129.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 15, 1882, 6:30 P.M.

MOUSTAPHA FEHMY absolutely declined to become President of the Council, The Ministry declares that it will only retire at the desire of the Chamber.

The President of the Chamber states that it is impossible to change the Ministry while the military power is entirely invested in Arabi Pasha. The departure of the fleet for Alexandria has been announced by public telegrams.

Under the above circumstances, my French colleague and I have acquainted His Highness with the contents of your Lordship's telegram No. 107 of yesterday, and we have told His Highness that it is absolutely necessary that there should be a Government with which we can treat. As His Highness is powerless to obtain any other Ministry than that which exists, he will re-enter into relations with it, stating that in face of the serious news which we have given him personal questions must be set aside, and the Government must enter into negotiations to avoid the danger which menaces the country.

No. 254.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 15, 10 P.M.)

(No. 130.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 15, 1882, 6:45 P.M.

MY French colleague and I communicated this morning to Arabi Pasha the contents of your Lordship's telegram No. 106 of yesterday. He replied that as long as he was Minister he would guarantee public order and the safety of the Khedive. Speaking of possible intervention, he said at another moment that he would guarantee public safety until the fleet arrived.

He denied that he or the Ministry had harboured the design of deposing the Khedive. We made him distinctly understand that he would be held personally responsible.

Since it has become known that the fleet is coming, the President of the Council has again assured the French Consul that tranquillity at Cairo will be maintained.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

(No. 216. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 3, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 211 of the 1st instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that Moustapha Pasha Fehmy, Minister for Foreign Affairs, came to me yesterday afternoon and stated that the sentence of the court-martial had been published by mistake as the Khedive had not yet confirmed it, and that the version given was incorrect, that the real version contained no mention of the plot as being against Arabi Pasha, and that the last part recommended the conduct of the ex-Khedive to the consideration of his Highness, but made no allusion to the question of suppressing his allowance.

I replied to his Excellency that the sentence published had been communicated to the Agent of Havas by the Government Bureau of the press; that I knew for certain that it was correct, and that his present statement could only mean that the Government, seeing the mistake which had been made in alluding to Arabi Pasha, and the allowance of the Khedive, had altered the paragraphs as it suited them.

His Excellency did not press the point beyond insisting that the official version was as he stated it to be. He proceeded to endeavour to disclaim responsibility on his part, and that of the Government, with regard to the sentence. I replied that at the present moment the whole of the evidence was being read to the Khedive daily in the presence of all the Ministers, and that if they did not deter his Highness from counter-signing the sentence, they would clearly be held responsible. Moreover, that it was notorious that Arabi Pasha, though not a member of the Court, was present at the trial. And his Excellency then affirmed that the trial was public. On this point, also, I was obliged to differ; many persons might have gone in and out of the Court who were not directly concerned in the proceedings, such as officers, and possibly officials, but no strangers were admitted. His Excellency said that the procedure of the Court was that which had been always followed on previous occasions, and that no protests had previously been made. I remarked that when single individuals lost their lives it attracted little attention, but that when a catastrophe occurred involving many lives, public opinion took up the matter and inquired into the cause. I would, I said, not refrain from telling his Excellency that, in the present instance, public opinion held that he and his colleagues were engaged in an act which would take rank amongst the crimes of the century.

It is to be remembered that the sentence of exile to the extreme limits of the Soudan is equivalent to death, as few prisoners ever return from the White Nile. The Khedive has told me that the evidence of the prisoners does not clearly prove more than their intention to petition, and that the design to assassinate is not, in his opinion, proved.

I continue, therefore, to think that the Khedive should refuse to confirm the sentence, and should insist upon a new trial, granting ordinary safeguards to the prisoners.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 256.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

(No. 217. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 4, 1882.

THE sentence of the court-martial, notwithstanding the assertions of Moustapha Pasha Fehmy, Minister for Foreign Affairs, as reported in my despatch No. 216 of the 3rd instant, was in the terms of the document published by Havas' Telegraphic Agency, and inclosed in my despatch No. 211 of the 1st instant. It contained, in addition, a list of over 250 persons mentioned as "suspect," and to be kept under surveillance. The list included Ali Pasha Moubareh and Ismail Pasha Eyoub, Ministers of Public Works, respectively in the Riaz and Chérif Ministries, and other influential Pashas.

These names were, however, subsequently erased, and the Pashas acquitted of suspicion.

The Court was composed of fifteen officers, presided over by Rachid Pasha Husuy, a Circassian General. Among the officers were Toulbeh Pasha, Ali Pasha Fehmy, and

Aba-el-Al Pasha. They are the three military Pashas who have risen into notoriety with Arabi Pasha, and the prisoners are accused of including them among the persons to be assassinated. They ought, consequently, not to have sat as Judges.

No officer on the Court held rank equal to that of Osman Pasha Rifki, ex-Minister of War, one of the condemned.

An English gentleman has to-day informed me that two natives of condition, living close to the barracks where the prisoners are confined, have told him separately (they live in different houses) that they have heard the cries of the prisoners at night, and my informant, who is perfectly trustworthy, says that he has no doubt that the persons who told him of it were speaking the truth. It appears from the depositions that prisoners were asked the same question day after day till they answered in the affirmative. The supposition is, that they did so when they could support their ill-treatment no longer.

The general opinion is that they were tortured, though the fact is strenuously denied by the Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 257.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

(No. 220. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 4, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Khedive summoned the Representatives of Austria, Italy, Russia and Germany to-day, to ask them their advice as to sanctioning the sentence of the court-martial. The German Representative being away for the day was not present. The others, with the exception of the Italian, who recommended His Highness to refuse, declined to give advice without special instructions from their Governments. The Khedive asked them to obtain instructions, and requested the support of their Governments.

I happened to be present by accident at the close of the interview, having gone to the Palace to inform His Highness that the language which I had held to him on the 2nd instant had been approved by Her Majesty's Government.

His Highness told me that he had received a telegram from the Porte, desiring him to delay taking any decision.

Many rumours are afloat as to the course which will be adopted should His Highness refuse to sanction the sentence, and threats of violence are used, but it is certain that if he does his position as Khedive will become precarious, because he will have incurred the distrust of his own people and of the Powers, and the ill-will of the Porte. He will, however, require strong support to keep him firm, and I trust that it will be given.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 258.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

(No. 221. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 4, 1882.

IN my despatch No. 220 of this day's date I mentioned that I had been present accidentally at the end of an interview to which the Khedive had summoned the Representatives of Germany, Austria, Italy, and Russia.

My French colleague has just been to me to say that, having heard that a meeting of the Representatives of the Great Powers had taken place this morning at the Palace, to which he had not been invited, he had been to the Khedive, and had informed him that he considered it an act of "mauvaise procédure" towards France, of which His Highness must take the consequences, that he might wish to eliminate France from his counsels, but that he would find that France would not permit it.

The Khedive had thereupon given to M. Sienkiewicz the true explanation of the incident, saying that, having consulted him and me on the day before yesterday

concerning his action with reference to the sentence of the court-martial, he had thought it prudent to lay the matter before the Representatives of the other Great Powers, and that my presence at the end was purely accidental.

I was able distinctly to confirm this explanation, but M. Sienkiewicz did not appear to be satisfied. The incident is much to be regretted, because at this moment concord between the Representatives of the Powers is important, and it might be weakened if one of them thought that the Khedive had put an intentional slight upon him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 259.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

(No. 224. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 6, 1882.

WITH reference to the instruction contained in your Lordship's telegram No. 88 of the 4th instant, desiring me, in giving expression to my views to the Khedive with regard to his action in connection with the sentence of the court-martial, to act as far as possible in concert with my French colleague, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I have strictly endeavoured to do so, and have been in constant communication with him.

In fact, the divergence between our language has been very slight. We have both recommended the Khedive not to sign, which is the essential point, but whereas I have urged His Highness to insist upon a new trial, my colleague would be content with a compromise commuting the sentence on the prisoners. He is, I think, disinclined to give advice to the Khedive which would bring him into collision with his Ministry, and so lead to complications which might possibly bring about intervention of the Porte, as he frankly states that such an intervention is contrary to French interests.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 260.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

(No. 225. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 6, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Khedive requested me to come to the Palace this morning, and that on my arriving His Highness said to me that he had received an official message from the Porte, stating that it had learnt by a public telegram that several Ottoman subjects had been condemned to degradation of rank and exile to the extreme limits of the Soudan, and that among them was Osman Pasha Rifki, bearing the rank of "Firik" or General, which was conferred by the Sultan, and could only be taken away by His Majesty; that this being contrary to the Firmans, the matter required minute examination, and that the Porte desired that the matter might be referred to it.

His Highness said that he had replied to the effect that the sentence as published was exact; that as soon as he had finished the examination of the trial himself, he would submit the matter to the Porte, whose privileges he would uphold, and that he was ready in this as in all cases to listen to instructions from it.

His Highness proceeded to inform me that he had communicated these two telegrams to his Ministry in the morning, and that they had shown much annoyance at the reply which he had made, and had asked him to withdraw or modify it, on the ground that he was surrendering privileges acquired by the country. His Highness said that he had denied this, and had refused to change his answer in any way, on which they had left.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 261.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

(No. 226. Confidential. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 6, 1882.

THE reply which the Khedive has made to the Porte, consenting to refer the sentence of the court-martial to it, must have the effect of throwing His Highness into the arms of the Porte, and of creating a breach between him and his Ministry. His Highness said to me, with regard to the reproach made to him by his Ministers, that he was sacrificing the rights of Egypt, that he should not be unwilling that Egypt should lose two or three of her privileges, if proper authority could be re-established in the country and an end be put to the misgovernment under which it was at present suffering.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 262.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

(No. 227. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 7, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Ministers last night presented a written petition to the Khedive, asking His Highness to commute the sentence pronounced against the prisoners accused of plotting against the State to simple banishment beyond Egyptian territory, and proposing that they should neither be degraded in rank nor be deprived of their orders, but merely that their names should be erased from the roll of the army.

On receiving this petition His Highness replied that the matter was now in the hands of the Porte, and that he could do nothing further until a reply came.

In acquainting me with the circumstance this morning, the Khedive asked me my opinion as to whether he should receive the petition of the Ministers favourably, or await the reply of the Porte.

I replied that I was not prepared to give an immediate answer, and I subsequently conferred on the subject with my French colleague.

My French colleague and I deemed that the question exceeded our competence, and that we should refer it to our respective Governments.

We might, perhaps, suggest to the Khedive some course which would dispense him from sanctioning the sentence. He might, for instance, simply exercise his prerogative, and decree a commutation of the sentences pronounced, or the action of the Powers might be brought to bear upon the Porte to induce it to send the Khedive instructions in this sense. The latter course would decide, in favour of the Porte, the principle that it has the right to oppose the degradation of high Egyptian functionaries on whom it has conferred rank, a question which can only be decided by the interpretation of the Firmans.

It is at all events now clear that the sentence against the Circassians will not be executed, and that therefore the rights of humanity will be preserved.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 263.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

(No. 228. Confidential. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 7, 1882.

WITH reference to my immediately preceding despatch No. 227 of this day's date, I venture to observe that in considering the form in which the sentence of the court-martial should be dealt with by the Khedive, the bearing of the general situation should be taken into account. It should be remembered that the present Ministry is distinctly hitherto bent upon diminishing the Anglo-French protection, and that, as a matter of

fact, our influence is daily decreasing. It will not be possible for us to regain our ascendancy until the military supremacy which at present weighs upon the country is broken.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs told me this morning, unofficially, that the Government would resist the arrival of Turkish Commissioners by force, and he begged me to use my influence to prevent this complication.

I believe, however, that some complication of an acute nature must supervene before any satisfactory solution of the Egyptian question can be attained, and that it would be wiser to hasten it than to endeavour to retard it, because the longer misgovernment lasts the more difficult it is to remedy the evils which it has caused.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 264.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

(No. 230.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 8, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a copy of a letter addressed to the Controllers-General by one of their inspectors, reporting the latest movements of the Bedouins.

It appears that a strong opposition has been made to the attempt of the Government to deprive them of the privileges and exemptions they have enjoyed since the time of Mohammed Ali.

The Ministry, finding itself already seriously compromised by the Circassian plot, and the feeling aroused by the sentence on the prisoners, has thought it better to adopt conciliatory measures towards the Bedouins, and invited some of the most influential Sheikhs to Cairo.

At the interview promises were made on one side to maintain all the old privileges, and on the other to afford all necessary assistance in case of need. The Bedouins then asked for permission to import a quantity of repeating rifles for the defence of the country.

The letter also states that the patronage extended to the new native National Bank by the richer members of the National party is very lukewarm, and that the subscribed capital at present amounts only to £ E. 25,000.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 264.

M. Boinet to the Controllers-General.

(Confidentielle.)

Messieurs,

Le Caire, le 2 Mai, 1882.

LE Gouvernement, d'accord avec les Notables, avait décidé en principe d'imposer aux Bédouins nomades ou sédentaires des charges que ceux-ci regardaient comme une attente directe aux privilèges dont ils jouissent depuis le règne de Méhémet Aly, et dont ils ont obtenu la confirmation par Iradés des Sultans de Constantinople, ou se flattait de faire rentrer les Bédouins dans le droit commun en les soumettant:—

1. À la corvée pour le curage annuel des canaux ;
2. Au recensement individuel ;
3. À une organisation armée qui rappelle le régime des anciens confins militaires de l'Autriche.

Toutes les propositions faites dans ce sens furent repoussées : le Gouvernement chercha alors à semer la division parmi les tribus Bédouines.

Se voyant menacés dans leur indépendance les principaux Sheikhs s'assemblèrent à Tintah le 8 Avril ; des résolutions très graves furent prises dans cette réunion. Le Gouvernement, alarmé, prépara dans un but d'intimidation l'envoi d'un corps de troupes dans Béhéra et le Charkieh ; l'endroit de cantonnement choisi dans cette dernière province était "Tell-el-Basta," à une heure de Zagazig (voir mes lettres en date du 15, 18, et 19 Avril).

Sur ces entrefaites l'affaire du complot Circassien vint donner de sérieuses préoccupations au Gouvernement. Il entama à ce moment des pourparlers conciliantes

avec les Bédouins, qui n'avaient pas caché leurs sympathies pour l'ancien ordre de choses, et qui n'étaient pas restés inactifs, faisant appel à leurs frères d'au delà le Canal de Suez.

Il y eut encore un conciliabule le 26, à Belbeis, point d'arrivée de la route des caravanes dans la Province de Charkieh. Le Gouvernement fit déclarer alors qu'il abandonnait ses projets et réclama au Caire la présence des Sheikhs Bédouins pour cimenter la paix ; ceux-ci se rendirent à l'invitation le 30, et furent reçus hier par le Khédive, qui les confirma dans leurs immunités, puis, ce matin, ils furent convoqués au Ministère de la Guerre ; là une séance solennelle eut lieu : Arabi Pacha, dans une longue allocution, déclara qu'il n'avait en vue que le bien du pays et la défense de l'Islamisme, contre le Christianisme envahissant, qu'enfin il désirait compter les Bédouins au nombre des plus fidèles adeptes de sa politique.

Sur l'acquiescement de l'Assemblée, Arabi Pacha fit apporter un Coran, sur lequel chacun des Bédouins vint prêter serment en sa présence.

Les Bédouins demandent l'autorisation d'importer pour leur usage personnel (et défense de la patrie) des armes à tir rapide ; cette permission pourrait bien être accordée ; ce serait un moyen d'introduire des officiers dans les tribus sous prétexte d'enseigner le maniement de ces armes nouvelles, compensation à l'insuccès des tentatives pour embrigader les Bédouins.

L'émission des actions de la Banque Nationale Indigène n'a produit seulement à ce jour que £ E. 25,500, Arabi Pacha en tête pour £ E. 1,000. Les gros personnages millionnaires du parti ont souscrit pour des sommes variant de £ E. 500 à £ E. 1,000. Ce n'est pas brillant !

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) A. BOINET.

No. 265.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

(No. 231. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 8, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Mahmoud Pasha Sami, President of the Council, came to me this morning to say that if the Porte should send an order to cancel the sentence of the court-martial on the Circassian prisoners the order would not be obeyed, and that if the Porte sent Commissioners they would not be allowed to land, but would be repulsed by force if necessary. His Excellency observed to me that this would be an act of open revolt against the Sultan, and that he hoped that I would use my good offices towards avoiding such a necessity.

I gave his Excellency no assurances of any kind.

His Excellency protested that he and his Government were animated by the strongest desire to be on friendly terms with foreign Powers, and denied that they had any anti-European tendencies. He deplored the apparent isolation of the Government, and declared that it must be due to falsehoods and unfounded reports concerning them.

I recalled to his Excellency's recollection briefly that the present Government had come into power on the platform of not negotiating with foreign Powers regarding the voting of the Budget, which was a breach of international engagements, and his Excellency said that the Government was at present ready to enter into such negotiations, that the public feeling was so much strained at the time of Chérif Pasha's fall that it was not possible to negotiate, but that time enough had now elapsed for people to view the matter more calmly.

With regard to the court-martial, he declared that the procedure had been strictly in accordance with the law, and that it was not possible for him to cause a new trial to be held, as there was no appeal from the sentence of a court-martial.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

(No. 233. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 9, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Khedive this morning signed a Decree commuting the sentence of the court-martial on the forty officers accused of conspiracy against the State to being simply obliged to leave Egypt without any further penalty, and annulling the remainder of the sentence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

(No. 234. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 9, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I this morning received your Lordship's telegram No. 97 of yesterday, informing me that Her Majesty's Government agreed in the opinion of the French Government, that the Khedive should grant full pardon, by his own prerogative, to the prisoners sentenced by the court-martial for crimes against the State, and saying that I might concert with my French colleague to give this advice to the Khedive.

On referring to M. Sienkiewicz, I found that his instructions, equally received this morning, were not identic with mine, as his Government merely expressed the opinion that the Khedive should commute the sentences without awaiting the answer of the Porte, the rest of the instruction being similar to mine.

We had been summoned to the Palace for 10 o'clock, and, on arriving, found with the Khedive the Representatives of Germany, Austria, Italy, and Russia. The Khedive informed us that, having telegraphed to the Porte that his Ministers recommended him to commute the sentence, he had received a reply desiring him to send all the papers connected with the trial to Constantinople, and His Highness asked our advice, remarking that the process of sending the papers and of waiting for their examination would take a long time, and that, for the sake of the prisoners, he should prefer to finish the matter at once. As none of my colleagues made any reply, I stated, after a pause, that Her Majesty's Government were of opinion that His Highness should make use of his own prerogative in the matter; and my French colleague said that his Government was of the same opinion. His Highness replied that this opinion coincided with his; that he had even debated whether he should not pardon the prisoners absolutely; but that he had decided that this would be unsafe for the prisoners themselves, as he should not be able to protect them when free. I then requested His Highness to take no steps in the matter for the present, as my instructions were not complete. His Highness consented, with some reluctance, to delay, and the meeting broke up; but my French colleague and I remained behind.

I then explained to His Highness that I had asked for a delay because my instructions were not identic with those of M. Sienkiewicz, and I explained to him the difference. The Khedive thereupon assured me that, in the interests of the prisoners themselves, he could not consent to granting a free pardon. He said that, in the town, they would be absolutely unsafe, and that they would be exposed to re-arrest and other persecutions, and that, in addition, if they were suddenly set free, he could not say what, in the state of irritation in which they must be, they might do. He therefore begged me not to press the point. I replied that it was sufficient if His Highness said that he could not consent, but that, in that case, I must request that the punishment be reduced to a minimum; but I said that I still thought that His Highness might wait till tomorrow. He answered that the matter was very urgent in consequence of the telegram from the Porte; that his only excuse for not complying with the order of the Porte to refer the matter to it would be, that he had already dealt with it on his own responsibility.

I trust that I may not have incurred your Lordship's displeasure by not pressing further the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, that a free pardon should be granted. I had on the one hand the assurance of the Khedive, that he would not consent (his

reasons being the interests of the prisoners and the urgency of coming to a decision). On the other hand, I reflected that if your Lordship were aware of these circumstances, and also that my French colleague's instructions were in accordance with the line which the Khedive desired to adopt, there could be little doubt that you would agree; yet the reference to your Lordship and correspondence with Paris on the subject would create loss of time, which, His Highness thought, might seriously embarrass him in his relations with the Porte.

It was then decided that the Khedive should reduce the sentence to nothing but sending the condemned officers out of Egypt without loss of rank and honours, and that the rest of the sentence should be cancelled.

I suggested that, to prevent the supposition that His Highness was acting under pressure from his Government, we should remain with His Highness until the Decree was signed, so that no Minister might approach His Highness until the matter was absolutely settled.

The Decree was accordingly drawn up in Arabic, and sealed by His Highness in our presence. It was then sent to the President of the Council. I have not, up to the moment of closing this despatch, heard how it has been received by the Ministry.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

(No. 237. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 9, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 234 of to-day, and the attitude of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the sentence of the court-martial on the prisoners accused of plotting against the State, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the Khedive has requested me to convey to your Lordship his sincere acknowledgments for the support and assistance which your Lordship has rendered him in the matter.

He at the same time expressed the hope that your Lordship would be so good as to use your good offices at Constantinople to prevent the Sultan from resenting the course which he has taken in exercising his prerogative of commuting the sentences without further reference to the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

(No. 142. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Rome, May 11, 1882.

M. MANCINI called upon me a few evenings ago, and, in the course of conversation, allusion having been made to the present unsettled condition of affairs in Egypt, I asked his Excellency whether he had been, or was still, in communication with any of the other Powers as to the course to be pursued in the event of a state of things arising which might appear to call for some kind of interference; but, although I repeated the question more than once, I did not succeed in obtaining any direct or positive answer to it, and the impression left on my mind by M. Mancini's mode of reply was, that such communications have been taking place.

M. Mancini does not conceal his ill-humour with, and bad opinion of, Arabi Bey and the other Ministers of the Khedive; and he took this opportunity of disclaiming, in the most positive manner, that the pretensions of the ex-Khedive Ismail found any countenance or support on the part of the Italian Government. In regard to this his Excellency alluded to the circumstances which were reported in connection with the recent attempt of Ismail to send one of his Princesses back to Egypt. It had been said, he stated, that she was accompanied by a suite of thirty male attendants in a high position. He (M. Mancini) had therefore, he said, felt bound to investigate this matter, because, although the Italian Government were happy to afford the ex-Khedive an asylum in Italy so long as he did not abuse it by carrying on intrigues against the present order of things

in Egypt, they could not permit him to avail himself of their hospitality for the furtherance of his own personal designs.

The Italian Consul at Alexandria had, his Excellency continued, been desired to go on board the Italian vessel which conveyed the Princess and ascertain the real facts; and it appeared, from a *procès-verbal* which he had drawn up and sent to the Ministry, that of male attendants in the position of those alluded to there was only one, a Secretary of the ex-Khedive, instead of thirty.

In the course of further observations made by his Excellency I gathered that, should a case for intervention (which he would much deplore) arise, he still adheres to the opinion he has always held—as reported in my previous despatches—that the course open to the fewest objections would be to employ a Turkish force, the objects and duration of the expedition being previously accurately defined in a Convention between the Powers and the Porte, and the force itself to be accompanied by Commissioners or Delegates of the Powers, or (I think, he added) of England and France, to see that it was not employed in a manner which had not been already agreed upon with the Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 270.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

(No. 423.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 15, 1882.

M. DECRAIS having called upon me this morning, on behalf of M. de Freycinet, I spoke to him in the terms of your Lordship's telegram No. 140 of yesterday.

I said that Her Majesty's Government hoped that the use of troops in Egypt might not become necessary, but that still, with reference to M. de Freycinet's fifth proposal, they were desirous to learn the views of the French Government as to the manner in which, in the hypothesis stated in that proposal, the French and English control should be exercised over Turkish troops.

I begged M. Decrais to lay the question before M. de Freycinet, and to ask him to make me acquainted with his views on the subject.

M. Decrais promised to do so.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 271.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16, 8 A.M.)

(No. 24.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, May 16, 1882, 1.15 A.M.

I HAVE communicated to Minister for Foreign Affairs, this evening, your Lordship's telegram No. 60 of to-day respecting Egypt. In taking act of it, his Excellency asked me if I knew the number of iron-clads which were being sent, and the respective proportions of English and French; also whether a simple demonstration was intended, or whether a force was to be disembarked in case of need. I replied that I had no further information than that contained in the telegram. With regard to instructions being sent to Italian Ambassador to join in recommending the Porte to abstain from any intervention or interference in Egypt, his Excellency said he [would] communicate with the other Powers before giving an answer.

The French Chargé d'Affaires will make his communication to-morrow. Count Corti has been ordered to return to Constantinople, and will leave to-morrow.

No. 272.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16, 8 A.M.)

(No. 25.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, May 15, 1882, midnight.

IN reply to questions addressed to him in the Chamber to-day respecting position of affairs in Egypt, and the measures which the Government intends taking for the

protection of Italian subjects and interests, M. Mancini stated that the gravity of the situation, the exceptional circumstances surrounding it, the respect due to other friendly Governments, the continual exchange of communications between the Italian and other Cabinets, imposed upon the King's Government the greatest reserve. He could, therefore, not now indicate any time when he could accept an interrogation; the Government was watching events with the greatest vigilance, and, being bound by the European concert, had omitted and would omit nothing to guarantee the security of persons and the legitimate interests of Italian subjects established in Egypt.

No. 273.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16, 8 A.M.)

(No. 45.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 15, 1882, 11.45 P.M.

I COMMUNICATED to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs your telegram No. 147 of to-day, and he informed me in answer that he was requesting the Minister of Marine to send immediately to the three ships which he had assembled at Suda the following orders, that is to say:—

“To proceed to Alexandria as soon as the English ships had received the same order, which could not fail to reach them immediately. On their arrival at Alexandria in company with the English ships, to abstain until further orders from all intervention in political affairs of the country; to abstain equally from all aggression and from every act of war, unless they are attacked or have to protect the safety of their countrymen; and to keep in constant accord with the English squadron.”

I have now received your telegrams Nos. 148, 149, and 150, and I shall communicate them as soon as possible to M. de Freycinet.

No. 274.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16, 11 A.M.)

(No. 131.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 16, 1882.

I HAVE telegraphed the following Circular to Consuls:—

“Inform the authorities that the object of the Anglo-French naval expedition to Alexandria is of a friendly nature, and that no danger is to be apprehended provided public security is maintained, and the negotiations which ensue result in a satisfactory settlement of the questions pending between the Egyptian Government and the Powers.

“Send above instructions to Consular authorities under you.”

No. 275.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16, 11 A.M.)

(No. 132.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 16, 1882, 10.30 A.M.

THE Minister* last night made complete submission to the Khedive. No allusion was made to recent differences. Cairo is tranquil.

No. 276.

Consul Sandwith to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16, 2.20 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Canea, Crete, May 16, 1882, noon.

ENGLISH squadron arrived this morning. French arrived yesterday afternoon.

No. 277.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16, 3 P.M.)(No. 133.)
(Telegraphic.)*Cairo, May 16, 1882, 3.10 P.M.*

THE President of the Council and the Minister of War have visited me separately this morning, and have both given me assurances of the maintenance of public tranquillity on the arrival of the combined squadrons.

No. 278.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.(No. 116.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, May 16, 1882, 3 P.M.*

CIRCULAR to Consuls recorded in your telegram No. 131 of to-day approved.

No. 279.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.(No. 157.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, May 16, 1882, 4 P.M.*

INFORM M. de Freycinet of the purport of Sir E. Malet's telegrams Nos. 131 and 132, repeated to you to-day in my telegrams Nos. 154 and 155.

No. 280.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16, 6 P.M.)(No. 46.)
(Telegraphic.)*Paris, May 16, 1882, 4.50 P.M.*

YOUR telegrams Nos. 148, 149, and 150 of yesterday.

M. de Freycinet has requested the Minister of Marine to send exactly the same instructions to the French squadron.

No. 281.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16, 7 P.M.)(No. 47.)
(Telegraphic.)*Paris, May 16, 1882, 5.30 P.M.*

M. DE FREYCINET has sent to inform me that he has just dispatched the following telegram to the French Agent in Egypt:—

"I fear that the reconciliation which has just been effected will not produce durable results. I should have had more confidence in an act of authority on the part of the Khedive, by which, taking advantage of the presence of the fleets, he should have dismissed the Ministry and reconstituted the Government with men on whom he could rely, as, for example, Chérif Pasha. In this case, I would willingly have acquiesced in a general amnesty in virtue of which the Generals and Colonels implicated in the movement might have preserved their rank, but without any actual commands. Such combination would have indisputably been more dignified, and, if it had succeeded, infinitely more stable. Is it still possible, after what has just occurred? Telegraph your opinion to me immediately. Tell me also what was the urgency which determined you to favour the present arrangement without referring to me for instructions."

No. 282.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 511. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 16, 1882.

I HAVE already caused to be repeated to your Excellency Sir E. Malet's two telegrams of this day, the first recording the Circular which he had addressed to the

Consuls, directing them to inform the authorities of the object of the Anglo-French naval expedition to Alexandria, and the second reporting the submission of the Ministry to the Khedive.

Your Excellency will be good enough to inform M. de Freycinet of the purport of the above two telegrams.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 283.

Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 16, 1882.

I AM directed by Earl Granville to request that you will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that a telegram has been received from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris stating that instructions exactly similar to those sent by their Lordships yesterday to the British squadron at Suda Bay were dispatched by the Minister of Marine to the French squadron.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 284.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16, 11 P.M.)(No. 33.)
(Telegraphic.)*Vienna, May 16, 1882, 6.30 P.M.*

MINISTER for Foreign Affairs takes exception to some expressions used by your Lordship in the House of Lords last night, which, as they have been reported to him, would imply that England and France were acting with the approval of the other Governments in sending ships to Alexandria, and that there was an understanding as to further measures.

He says that till your Lordship's telegram of the 14th was communicated to him he had no knowledge that any such step was contemplated, and he cannot admit it to have been taken with the concurrence of the other Powers, or that the two Governments are acting under a "mandat" given by Europe.

He had willingly left the initiative of proposing measures to England and France, and had expressed a wish to be able to concur in whatever they might suggest, and he had also advised the Sultan to be greatly guided by the advice of the two Powers; but this was a very different thing from giving a *carte blanche*, or from accepting beforehand an action that had not been spoken of.

No. 285.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16, 11.30 P.M.)(No. 32.)
(Telegraphic.)*Vienna, May 16, 1882, 10 P.M.*

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 60 has been communicated to Minister for Foreign Affairs.

He does not think that it will be possible for him to send the Austrian Ambassador at Constantinople instructions such as your Lordship suggests.

It appears to be going very far to expect that the Sultan, who is the Sovereign of Egypt, should alone abstain from the intervention and interference which all the other Governments are invited to concur in.

His wish has been, and is, that the relations between Turkey and Egypt should be maintained in the *status quo*; that, on the one side, the Sultan should not obtain any right that he does not now enjoy of interference in the administration or internal affairs of Egypt; and on the other side, that he should not be deprived of any of the authority or rights which he has hitherto possessed.

His Excellency observed that no English or French subject had suffered in Egypt, whereas subjects of the Sultan, holding high rank from him, had been imprisoned and sentenced to severe punishment, and if, though he hoped it might not occur, the Sultan

were to send ships to Alexandria to protect his interests and those of his subjects, Minister for Foreign Affairs did not see that any one would have a right to object to it.

No. 286.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)

(No. 401. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 11, 1882.

M. DECRAIS, the Director of Political Affairs in the French Foreign Office, came to me this morning from M. de Freycinet, and informed me that his Excellency had telegraphed to the French Agent at Cairo to ask him whether he thought it advisable, in the present conjuncture of affairs, that some French iron-clads should be sent to Alexandria.

M. Decrais told me also that M. de Freycinet had instructed the French Ambassador in London, by telegraph, to communicate, as soon as possible, with your Lordship respecting the very serious news which has arrived from Egypt.

I have forwarded to your Lordship, by telegraph, the substance of this despatch.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 287.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)

(No. 405. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 11, 1882.

WITH reference to my previous despatch No. 401 of this day, I have the honour to report that I have seen M. de Freycinet himself this evening, and that he has requested me to inform your Lordship that he thinks that, unless the opinion of the French and British Representatives should be adverse, it would be advisable that, as a first step, France and England should send at once a respectable number of iron-clads to Alexandria, and should make arrangements beforehand, in order that the English and French ships sent thither may be equal in force, and may arrive simultaneously.

His Excellency continues to express himself strongly against armed intervention on the part of Turkey.

I have made an appointment with him for another interview on the morning of to-morrow.

I have the honour to forward to your Lordship, by telegraph, the substance of this despatch.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 288.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)

(No. 409. Extender.)

My Lord

Paris, May 12, 1882.

IN obedience to the instructions sent to me by your Lordship last night, by telegraph, I have informed M. de Freycinet that, in answer to a request from Sir Edward Malet for instructions on the subject of the attendance of the Controllers at the meetings of the Egyptian Council of Ministers, your Lordship is disposed to send directions that the Controllers should not attend unless summoned; that they should continue to attend if summoned; but that they should simply keep the French and English Agents *au courant* of what passes, for the information of their respective Governments.

In reply to an inquiry from me whether he concurs in these instructions, and will

send similar instructions to the French Agent, M. de Freycinet has informed me that he entirely concurs, and that he sends identical instructions to the French Agent.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 289.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)

(No. 411. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 13, 1882.

M. DECRAIS having come to me this morning from M. de Freycinet to speak to me about the question of sending British and French ships of war to Alexandria, I showed him the telegram No. 121 of yesterday, in which Sir Edward Malet reports to your Lordship that his French colleague and he think that the arrival of an Anglo-French squadron at Alexandria now might be dangerous to the European Colonies.

M. Decrais informed me that a telegram to the same effect, but not quite so positively worded, had been received by M. de Freycinet from the French Agent.

M. Decrais went on to say that M. de Freycinet was himself disposed to think that the apprehensions of the Agents might be somewhat exaggerated, and that his Excellency would be inclined to persist in sending the ships to Alexandria if your Lordship were of the same opinion.

M. Decrais added that it seemed to M. de Freycinet that this naval demonstration might encourage Tewfik Pasha and his supporters, and give strength to the opposition to the illegal proceedings of Araby.

Finally, M. Decrais begged me to inform your Lordship that M. de Freycinet was very anxious to be made acquainted with your Lordship's opinion as soon as possible.

I have had the honour to forward to your Lordship the substance of this despatch by telegraph.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 290.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)

(No. 417. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 14, 1882.

I MADE known to M. de Freycinet this morning the contents of your Lordship's telegrams of last evening, containing your observations upon his Excellency's proposals with regard to sending British and French ships of war to Alexandria, and to communicating on the subject with the Great Powers and with the Porte.

His Excellency had received telegrams to the same effect from M. Tissot, the French Ambassador in London, and he was good enough to state to me the particulars of a telegram in reply which he was preparing for transmission to M. Tissot.

He has since made me acquainted with the substance of the telegram, as it has been actually sent to M. Tissot. It is to the following effect:—

"I have received the telegram by which you inform me that the English Government accepts the proposal of the French Government, and I congratulate myself on this event, which strengthens so happily the understanding between the two countries.

"We send to Suda, to join the English squadron, the three ships which we destined for Alexandria, and which were waiting orders at the Piræus. We also send a ship to Suez.

"We think that the presence of the squadron at Alexandria will have a decided effect, even at Cairo. In fact, it results from the last reports from M. Sienkiewicz that great irresolution prevails among the chiefs of the Movement party. The arrival of the Anglo-French ships at such a moment may produce a sort of disorganization of the revolutionary party, and render the Khedive master of the situation.

"I should think it well to send information to our Agents at Cairo immediately, in the following terms:—

" 'An Anglo-French squadron is assembling at Suda, and will soon enter Alex-

andria. We reserve to ourselves to take such other means as we may deem necessary to make order respected and to maintain the authority of the Khedive. You will come to an understanding with your English [French] colleague, in order to make such use of this telegram as circumstances may appear to you to call for.'

"I propose to telegraph to our Ambassadors at Constantinople in the following terms:—

"In consequence of the last events that have happened in Egypt, the French and English Governments have determined to send to Alexandria a squadron which is at this moment assembling at Suda. In order not to add complication to the state of things, it is of importance that the Turkish Government should abstain from all intervention and all interference in Egypt. I request you to address recommendations to the Porte in this sense. It would be desirable that you should hint to the Sultan, in very moderate terms, that it is not improbable that further proposals may be made to the Porte hereafter. You will come to an understanding about these steps with your English [French] colleague, who will receive similar instructions.'

"I am not of opinion that we should at present invite the other Powers to send ships by the side of ours. It is not, in my judgment, for our interest that we should in this way take an initiative which would deprive the Anglo-French action of the directive character, which Europe herself assigns to it, and appears desirous to leave to it, in Egypt. I propose to telegraph to our Ambassadors at Berlin, Rome, Vienna, and St. Petersburg in the following terms:—

"In consequence of the last events in Egypt, the French and English Governments have thought it right to agree with each other to send to Alexandria a squadron which is at this moment assembling at Suda. The object of this demonstration is to strengthen the authority of the Khedive, and to uphold the legal order of things in Egypt which Europe has recognized, and in the maintenance of which she is interested. In order not to add complication to the state of things the two Governments have thought it right to instruct their Ambassadors at Constantinople to recommend the Porte to abstain from all intervention and all interference in Egypt, but they have at the same time reserved to themselves to make further proposals to the Porte in case of need. We should be glad if the Government to which you are accredited would send instructions in the same sense to its Ambassador at Constantinople.'

"I beg you to do your best to see Lord Granville to-day and communicate this telegram to him. Telegraph to me directly you have done so, in order that I may send instructions in consequence to our Agents."

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 291.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)

(No. 420. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 14, 1882.

IN obedience to the instruction sent to me by your Lordship this morning, by telegraph, I have informed M. de Freycinet that your Lordship has addressed to Sir Edward Malet a telegram to the following effect:—

"Concert with your French colleague, and if you think it judicious send for Araby Pasha, and speak to him as follows:—Tell him that he will find England and France and the rest of Europe and the Porte all opposed to him, and that he will be held personally responsible if order is disturbed, but that, on the other hand, his acts and his person will be favourably regarded if he remains faithful to the Khedive."

In return, M. de Freycinet has been so good as to communicate to me the substance of a telegram which he has sent to-day to the French Ambassador in London.

It is to the following effect:—

"In conformity with Lord Granville's wish, I send to M. Sienkiewicz the following telegram:—

"If you are of opinion that it would be useful, come to an understanding with Sir E. Malet, and say to Araby Pasha that if order is disturbed France and England and all Europe will hold him personally responsible; but that if, on the contrary, he remains obedient to the authority of the Khedive and faithful to his duties, he may reckon on our good-will. Sir E. Malet will receive from Lord Granville a telegram in the same sense.'"

Your Lordship will doubtless observe that no mention of the Porte is made in M. de Freycinet's telegram.

I have had the honour to forward to your Lordship the substance of this despatch by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 292.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)

(No. 422. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 15, 1882,

M. DECRAIS came to me this morning from M. de Freycinet to ask me to represent to your Lordship that, in his Excellency's opinion, it would be advisable that the English and French squadrons should be ordered to Alexandria immediately.

I had just received from your Lordship, with an instruction to communicate it to the French Government, the repetition of Sir Edward Malet's telegram No. 127 of yesterday, stating that, in his own opinion and in that of his French colleague, the political advantage of the appearance of the squadrons at Alexandria would be so great as to outweigh any danger it might possibly be to Europeans in Egypt.

I communicated the contents of this telegram to M. Decrais, and begged him to repeat them to M. de Freycinet.

He promised to do so immediately, and he observed that they could not but confirm M. de Freycinet in the opinion that the ships should be sent at once.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 293.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)

(No. 426. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 15, 1882.

HAVING informed M. de Freycinet that Her Majesty's Government agreed with him that the squadrons should go on to Alexandria immediately, I received from him, by the hands of M. Decrais, a copy of a letter to the Minister of Marine, specifying the instructions to be given to the French squadron at Suda.

I have the honour to inclose a copy herewith.

I have now (some hours since M. Decrais put this paper into my hand) had the honour to receive your Lordship's telegrams Nos. 148, 149, and 150 of to-day, specifying the instructions which Her Majesty's Government have sent to the English Admiral.

I will communicate these instructions to M. de Freycinet as soon as possible.

I have forwarded the substance of this despatch to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 293.

M. de Freycinet to the Minister of Marine.

Le 15 Mai, 1882.

JE vous prie de vouloir bien donner des ordres immédiats pour que les trois navires que vous avez réunis à la Sude se dirigent sur Alexandrie aussitôt que les navires Anglais auront reçu, de leur côté, le même ordre de départ, qui ne peut manquer de leur parvenir d'un instant à l'autre.

Une fois arrivés à Alexandrie, de conserve, bien entendu, avec les navires Anglais, vos navires devront, jusqu'à nouvelles instructions, s'abstenir de toute intervention dans les événements politiques du pays; ils s'abstiendront également de tout acte d'agression

et de tout fait de guerre, à moins qu'ils ne soient attaqués ou qu'ils n'aient à protéger la sécurité de nos nationaux.

Ils devront se maintenir en constant accord avec l'escadre Anglaise.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) C. DE FREYCINET.

No. 294.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)

(No. 430. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 16, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 426 of yesterday, I have the honour to report that I communicated last night to M. de Freycinet the contents of your Lordship's telegrams Nos. 148, 149, and 150, specifying the instructions which Her Majesty's Government had sent to the British Admiral with regard to the squadron to be sent to Suda and Alexandria.

M. Decrais has come to me this afternoon from M. de Freycinet, and informed me that his Excellency has now requested the Minister of Marine to send to the French squadron at Suda instructions exactly the same as those thus sent by Her Majesty's Government to the British Admiral.

I have forwarded the substance of this despatch to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 295.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)

(No. 432. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 16, 1882.

M DECRAIS brought to me this afternoon a copy of a telegram which had, he told me, just been sent by M. de Freycinet to M. Sienkiewicz on the subject of the "replâtrage" of the Egyptian Ministry, which appeared by the last news to have taken place at Cairo.

M. Decrais observed that I should see by the telegram that M. de Freycinet regretted this "replâtrage."

I promised M. Decrais to communicate the telegram to your Lordship as soon as possible, and accordingly I transmitted the substance of it to you immediately by telegraph.

I have now the honour to inclose a copy of it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 295.

M. de Freycinet to M. de Sienkiewicz.

(Télégraphique.)

Paris, le 16 Mai, 1882.

JE crains que la réconciliation qui vient de s'opérer ne produise pas de résultats durables. J'aurais eu plus de confiance dans un acte d'autorité du Khédive profitant de la présence de la flotte pour congédier le Ministère et reconstituer le Gouvernement avec des hommes sur qui il puisse compter, par exemple, avec Chérif Pacha. J'aurais volontiers admis en ce cas, une amnistie générale avec la conservation des grades, mais sans commandements effectifs, pour les Généraux et Colonels impliqués dans le mouvement.

Une telle combinaison, incontestablement plus digne, et, si elle eût réussi, infiniment plus stable, est-elle encore possible, après ce qui vient de se passer? Je vous prie de me télégraphier d'urgence votre sentiment. Dites-moi aussi quels sont les motifs d'urgence qui vous ont déterminé à favoriser l'arrangement actuel sans m'en référer.

No. 296.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received May 17.)

(Confidential.)

Sir,

Admiralty, May 16, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acknowledge the receipt of the letter of the 13th instant from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs communicating the arrangement made between the Governments of France and England for two iron-clads of medium size, three dispatch-boats, and one gun-boat to be sent by each of these Powers to protect European residents at Alexandria during the present critical state of affairs in Egypt, and requesting that the British squadron might be ordered to proceed to Suda Bay, in the Island of Crete, in the first instance.

2. My Lords further desire me to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of yesterday's date conveying a request from Earl Granville that instructions might be given by telegraph to the Commander-in-chief, Mediterranean, for the British special squadron to proceed at once to Alexandria.

3. In compliance with the requests contained in these letters, my Lords sent instructions by telegraph to Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour on the 13th instant to proceed at once with the squadron under his command to Suda Port, Candia, and on the 15th instant further telegrams were sent to him apprising him of the arrangement, above referred to, made with the French Government for the simultaneous appearance at Alexandria of the French and English squadrons, and conveying to him their Lordships' instructions as to his further proceedings on arrival at Alexandria. Copies of the three telegrams are sent herewith.

4. My Lords desire me to request you will state to Earl Granville that Sir Beauchamp Seymour left Corfu with the squadron for Suda Bay on the 14th instant about noon.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 296.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Admiral Sir B. Seymour.

(Secret.)

(Telegraphic.)

Admiralty, May 13, 1882.

PROCEED at once with squadron to Suda Port, Candia.

Inclosure 2 in No. 296.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Admiral Sir B. Seymour.

(Secret.)

Admiralty, May 15, 1882.

FRENCH Admiral with squadron has received orders to proceed to Suda from Piræus. Wait their arrival. It has been arranged that France and England shall each of them send two moderate-sized iron-clads and four small vessels to Alexandria, in two detachments if more convenient. You should go with first detachment, accompanying French Admiral. Your instructions will be telegraphed to Suda. Show them to French Admiral.

Inclosure 3 in No. 296.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Admiral Sir B. Seymour.

(Secret.)

(Telegraphic.)

Admiralty, May 15, 1882.

FOLLOWING are your instructions mentioned in telegram No. 8. Communicate with Consul-General on your arrival at Alexandria, and in concert with him prepare to co-operate with naval force of France to support Viceroy and protect British subjects and Europeans, landing force if required for latter object, such force not to leave protection of ships' guns without instructions from home. You may, in concert with French, send ship to Port Saïd if necessary to protect British subjects. Report all proceedings to Admiralty.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received May 17.)

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, May 16, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you that, in compliance with the request contained in Earl Granville's letter of the 14th instant, telegraphic instructions were sent on the 15th instant to the Senior Naval Officer at Aden for a ship of war to proceed to Suez for the protection of British interests, with orders for her Commanding Officer to communicate with Her Majesty's Consul on arrival at Suez, and to act in concert with the French vessel detached on the same duty.

2. My Lords desire me to request that you will state to Earl Granville that they have received a telegram of this day's date from the Officer Commanding Her Majesty's gun-vessel "Ready," to the effect that he would leave Aden on the 17th instant, and proceed with the greatest dispatch to Suez in execution of the orders referred to above.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

No. 298.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received May 17.)

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, May 17, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the decypher of a telegram dated the 16th instant, from Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, together with a copy of the reply sent to him to-day

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 298.

Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Telegraphic.)

Suda Bay, May 16, 1882.

SHALL I go in "Invincible" at once, taking "Monarch" and two smaller vessels with me, or wait collier? Will "Bacchante" require vessels with her?

French Admiral in iron-clad with two gun-boats here with orders to accompany me.

Inclosure 2 in No. 298.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.

(Telegraphic.)

Admiralty, May 17, 1882.

Proceed with one iron-clad and two small vessels only. Deal with collier as you please. Get coal at Alexandria.

"Bacchante" and "Iris" should leave Piræus 21st instant to join squadron at Suda Bay.

Inclosure 3 in No. 298.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.

(Telegraphic.)

Admiralty, May 17, 1882, 3.15 P.M.

Arrange that second detachment consisting of one iron-clad and two small vessels are ready to leave for Alexandria when orders by telegraph are received.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17, 1 A.M.)

(No. 48.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 16, 1882, 10.45 P.M.

FRENCH Admiral telegraphed from Suda at 11 o'clock this morning that the English Admiral was there, but had not yet received his orders to go on to Alexandria.

No. 300.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17, 11.30 A.M.)

(No. 17.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, May 17, 1882, 9.20 A.M.

IT was only last night that I was able to communicate to M. de Giers the contents of your Lordship's telegram No. 57 of the 3rd [? 15th] instant. His Excellency had already received an exactly similar communication from the French Ambassador. He said he could not decide what instructions would be sent to the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople till an agreement had been come to with the other Powers, from whom as yet no answer had been received.

He thought it would be unwise to disregard the sovereignty of the Porte. He had already received a telegram from M. de Novikoff [? stating] that the Sultan had complained of this having been done, but that no answer would be made to this complaint till the other Powers had been consulted.

M. de Giers had to-day received a telegram from the Russian Agent in Egypt stating that a change had taken place, and that the legal order of things would be restored. If this were so, his Excellency suggested, as his personal opinion, and without knowing the opinion of the other Powers, that the squadron need not proceed to Alexandria until it were absolutely necessary; but might remain at Suda, where its beneficial influence would be almost equally felt.

No. 301.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)

(No. 30.)

(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, May 17, 1882.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 56 of the 15th instant.

I asked Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day whether he had already sent instructions to the German Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople to recommend the Porte to abstain from intervention and interference in Egypt for the present.

Count Hatzfeldt replied that he had not been able to do so because he had not yet received instructions to that effect from Prince Bismarck. Besides which, he thought personally that it would be necessary to wait until the opinion of the other Powers had been made known to the German Government. I said that if the European concert did not at once present and maintain a united front at Constantinople, the Sultan might think himself authorized to take a line of his own, which would only complicate the situation; and I begged of Count Hatzfeldt to support the advice given by our Ambassador at Constantinople as soon as he felt authorized to do [? so].

No. 302.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 64.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 17, 1882, 12.55 P.M.

INFORM Count Kalnoky that he has misconstrued my statement, or what is probable, has not received a correct report.

I said that the policy of England and France maintaining the *status quo* had been declared to the Powers in a Circular, and has been unanimously agreed to.

I also alluded to the proposal to limit the power of the Notables, so as not to destroy international engagements, which was agreed to by the Powers.

With regard to the movement of the ships, I said that the fact of their having been

sent to maintain the policy already described had been communicated to the other Powers. I said nothing of approval of sending the ships.

I said that we gladly admitted the claim of other Powers in case of changes being made.

No. 303.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 161.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 17, 1882, 3.45 P.M.

ASK M. de Freycinet when the second detachment of French ships will arrive at Alexandria.

No. 304.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 119.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 17, 1882, 4.35 P.M.

COUNT KALNOKY having taken exception to some passages in my speech in the House of Lords, which appear to have been misreported, I have telegraphed to Sir H. Elliot that what I said was that policy of England and France in maintaining *status quo* had been declared to the Powers in a Circular, and unanimously agreed to by them; that proposal to limit power of Notables, so as not to destroy international engagements, had been also agreed to by Powers; that fact of ships being sent to maintain above policy had been communicated to other Powers; but that I had not said, as Count Kalnoky seems to have supposed, that other Powers had given previous approval of sending ships; that we gladly admitted the claim of other Powers in case of changes being made.

No. 305.

Consul Sandwith to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17, 6 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Canea, Crete, May 17, 1882, 1 P.M.

"CRUIZER" and "Falcon" arrived this morning.

No. 306.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17, 6.15 P.M.)

(No. 134.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 17, 1882, 2.40 P.M.

MR. W. BLUNT, 10, James Street, has sent the following telegram to a person at the University of El Azhar:—

"Is the National party at present content with Arabi? English Government pretends the contrary; if you allow yourselves to disunite with the army, Europe will annex you."

The telegram was given to the Head of the University, who is the Sheikh-ul-Islam. He had it translated at the Ministry, where it was asserted that it was addressed to him, and he was enjoined to send the following reply, which he did:—

"The differences which exist between the Khedive and the Ministry are smoothed; the nation is content with Arabi."

But, finding the deception which had been practised upon him, the Sheikh complained to the Khedive, who sent me the original telegram, and asked me if there were no means to dissuade Mr. Blunt from the course which he is pursuing.

I can confidently assure your Lordship that the Chamber, the University, and the nation desire to see the end of the military despotism by which they are terrorized.

No. 307.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 262. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 17, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that Mr. W. Blunt, whose address is 10, James Street, has telegraphed as follows to a member of the University of El Azhar:—

"Is the National Party content at present with Araby? English Government pretends the contrary; if you allow yourselves to disunite with the army, Europe will annex you."

This telegram was given to the head of the University, who is the Egyptian Sheikh-ul-Islam. He caused it to be translated at the Ministry, where he was told that it was addressed to him, and he was advised to answer as follows, which he did:—

"The differences which exist between the Khedive and the Ministry are smoothed; the nation is content with Araby."

The Sheikh, however, on discovery of the deception which had been practised upon him, complained to His Highness the Khedive, who forwarded to me the original telegram, and asked me if it were not possible to dissuade Mr. Blunt from the action he was taking.

I can assure your Lordship with confidence that the University, the Chamber, and the nation are anxious for the termination of the military despotism which now terrorises them.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 308.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 545. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 17, 1882.

I HAVE to request that your Excellency will inquire of M. de Freycinet when the second detachment of French ships will arrive at Alexandria.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 309.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 137. Extender.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 17, 1882.

I LEARN from your Excellency's telegram No. 33 of yesterday, that Count Kalnoky has taken exception to some remarks which he understood me to have made in the House of Lords on the 15th instant. It appears that it was reported to him that I had used language implying that England and France, in sending ships to Alexandria, are acting with the approval of the other Powers, and that an understanding exists with them as to further measures. I have to request you to explain that my remarks have either been misconstrued, or, as is more probable, have been incorrectly reported.

What I said was that the policy of England and France as to the maintenance of the *status quo* had been declared to the Powers in a Circular despatch, and had been unanimously agreed to by them, and I alluded to the proposal, that the power of the Notables should be limited, so as not to destroy international engagements, to which the Powers have also agreed. As regards the movements of the ships, I stated that the fact that they were sure to maintain the policy already described had been communicated to the Powers. Nothing was said by me implying that the dispatch of the ships had been approved by the Powers. I stated that the claims of the other Powers to be consulted in case of changes being made was gladly admitted by Her Majesty's Government.

I trust that this explanation will satisfy Count Kalnoky, that my statement accurately described the existing situation.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 310.

Consul Sandwith to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17, 9.30 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Canea, Crete, May 17, 1882, 6.20 P.M.

ADMIRAL left this afternoon for Alexandria in the "Invincible" in company with two gun-boats and French squadron.

No. 311.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received May 18.)

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, May 17, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the decypher of a telegram dated 17th May from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, respecting his intended departure from Suda Bay for Alexandria, and the disposition of the ships under his command in the Eastern Mediterranean.

I am, &c.

(Pro Sec.),

(Signed) HUBERT DORMER.

Inclosure in No. 311.

Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Telegraphic.)

Suda Bay, May 17, 1882, 5.15 P.M.

SHALL leave Suda Bay to-day in "Invincible" iron-clad, together with "Bittern" and "Falcon," in company with the French iron-clad and two gun-vessels.

The "Monarch" iron-clad and the "Condor" are ready to follow.

On the 21st the "Beacon" goes to Athens, the "Bacchante" to Suda Bay. The "Iris" goes to Malta and thence to Alexandria, the other ships of the squadron remaining here.

No. 312.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 65. Secret and Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 18, 1882, 12.15 A.M.

FOLLOWING repetition of telegram No. 105 to Sir E. Malet is repeated for your information:—

"The following proposal," &c., to end of telegram No. 135 to Lord Lyons; adding, "French Government have replied as follows: 'The three French ships, to 'France and England'" (see telegram No. 42 from Lord Lyons).

The two Governments therefore telegraphed to two Consuls-General at Cairo as follows: "An Anglo-French squadron," to "authority of the Khedive" (see telegram No. 107 to Sir E. Malet); and to the Ambassadors at Constantinople as follows: "In consequence of," to "the Porte later" (see telegram No. 127 to Lord Dufferin).

No. 313.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 18, 1.45 P.M.)

(No. 136.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 18, 1882, 11.10 A.M.

ALTHOUGH the squadron has not arrived, the effect of its appearance has been discounted, and all is quiet. A public telegram, stating that the Porte has protested against our sending the ships, has had a bad effect.

Negotiations will be probably successful if it is known that Turkish intervention

must ensue in case the Egyptian Government refuse to come to terms; but if it is supposed that the two Powers and the Porte are not agreed, the result may be most serious. It is therefore desirable that an arrangement with the Porte should be made previous to opening negotiations.

No. 314.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 264. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 18, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that although the Anglo-French squadron has not yet arrived off Alexandria the effect of its appearance has been discounted, and tranquillity reigns in Cairo.

The announcement, however, in a public telegram, that the Porte has protested against our dispatching vessels, has produced a bad effect.

If it is known that, in the event of the Egyptian Government refusing to come to an arrangement, Turkish intervention must follow, negotiations will probably succeed; but if it is thought that the Porte and the two Powers are not in accord, the consequences may be most serious. I venture, therefore, to urge that it is desirable that, before commencing negotiations, an agreement should be come to with the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 315.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 164.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 18, 1882, 5.45 P.M.

WITH reference to opinion expressed by Sir E. Malet in his telegram No. 136 of the 18th, that an arrangement with the Porte should be made before opening negotiations, ask M. de Freycinet whether there is any objection to speaking openly to the Turks, especially as some portion of the facts have come out at Paris.

Inquire of him also what reports he has received from the French Agent.

No. 316.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 550. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 18, 1882.

WITH reference to the opinion expressed by Sir E. Malet in his telegram of to-day's date, which has been already communicated to your Excellency, and which is to the effect that before opening negotiations an arrangement should be made with the Porte, I have to request your Excellency to ask M. de Freycinet whether there is any objection to speaking openly to the Turkish Government, especially as some portion of the facts has already transpired at Paris.

Your Excellency will at the same time inquire what Reports his Excellency has received from the French Agent in Egypt.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 317.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 18, 5.45 P.M.)

(No. 93.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 18, 1882, 3.20 P.M.

THE French Ambassador and I conveyed verbally on Tuesday afternoon to Saïd Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs, the identic communication we were instructed to make by your Lordship's telegram No. 127 of the 15th instant. Last night Saïd Pasha

informed me that the action of the Western Powers had caused the Sultan very great displeasure. He read me a Circular he had addressed by telegram to the Turkish Representatives abroad. He then entreated me to represent to your Lordship that, the Egyptian Ministers having made their submission to the Khedive, the crisis no longer existed, and the proposed naval demonstration was unnecessary. He has made a similar appeal to my French colleague.

I learn on good authority that the irritation of the Sultan is excessive; that he has issued orders for the immediate preparation both of ships of war and of transports, and that there is a question of ordering the fleet in the Mediterranean to Alexandria. I am in hopes that the foregoing line of action will not be persevered in. The Ministers will do their best to dissuade the Sultan from any rash proceeding, but their influence is very limited.

None of the other Ambassadors have as yet received instructions to address the Porte, but the German Chargé d'Affaires has intimated unofficially that it would be unadvisable for the Ottoman Government to complicate the situation.

French Ambassador has suggested that he and I should be authorized to make a joint communication to the Porte in the sense of M. de Freycinet's conversation with the Turkish Ambassador at Paris on the 17th, with the view of rectifying the Sultan's misapprehension as to character and objects of the naval demonstration, and I have informed his Excellency that I am willing to ask your Lordship's permission to do so.

There is some stir in the dockyard this morning. Two iron-clad corvettes have moved to the buoys in the stream. Other iron-clads are being prepared for sea. There are no stores in the arsenal, though they could be procured in Galata in twenty-four hours.

I will send more information on this head to-night.

No. 318.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 143.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 18, 1882.

YOUR telegram No. 93.

You are at liberty to use any of the information you have to calm the apprehensions of the Sultan.

No. 320.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 247. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 18, 1882.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 93 of this day, stating that you had been informed by Saïd Pasha that the action of England and France had caused the Sultan very great displeasure.

Your Excellency is at liberty to use any of the information in your possession which may tend to calm the apprehensions of His Majesty as to the character and objects of the naval demonstration at Alexandria.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 321.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 120.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 18, 1882, 7.35 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 138.

The Porte has felt some objections, which we hope to remove, against the separate action of England and France, but none against the maintenance of the Khedive's authority.

No. 322.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 128. Extender.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 18, 1882.

I HAVE received your telegram No. 138 of to-day, inquiring as to the truth of a report current at Cairo with regard to the action of the Porte.

The Turkish Government has felt some objections, which the British and French Governments hope to remove, against the separate action of England and France, but the Porte has made no objection with regard to the maintenance of the authority of the Khedive.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 323.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 18, 9 P.M.)

(No. 49.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 18, 1882, 7.20 P.M.

M. DE FREYCINET has just told me that, after all, the Minister of Marine has not modified his original instructions to the French Admiral.

He said that the Minister's chief reason was that his knowledge of the port of Alexandria convinced him that any landing of men from the fleet would be extremely dangerous, and made him unwilling to conform to English instructions on this point.

I represented that there were more important discrepancies than this between the English and French instructions, and M. de Freycinet has now requested the Minister to telegraph at once to Alexandria the following orders for Admiral:—

“Consider as null the instructions previously sent, and direct your conduct by the instructions which follow:—

“On arriving at Alexandria you will place yourself in communication with the Consul-General, who will point out to you, in case of need, what you may have to do to give moral support to the Khedive.

“You will abstain, until you receive contrary orders, from every material act of war, unless you are attacked, or have to protect the safety of Europeans.”

No. 324.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 20.)

(No. 442. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 18, 1882.

IN my telegram No. 45 and my despatch No. 426, both of the 15th instant, I recited to your Lordship the instructions which were on the point of being sent to the French Admiral at Suda.

In my telegram No. 46 and my despatch No. 430, both of the following day, I had the honour to report to your Lordship that I had communicated to M. de Freycinet the instructions which Her Majesty's Government had sent to Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, and that his Excellency had sent to inform me that he had requested the Minister of Marine to despatch exactly the same instructions to the French Admiral.

This evening M. de Freycinet, having asked me to come and see him, told me that he had indeed requested Admiral Jauréguiberry, the Minister of Marine, to send instructions exactly the same as those which had been sent by Her Majesty's Government, but that he now found that the Admiral had seen professional objections to doing so, and that, in fact, he had not modified his original instructions to the French squadron.

M. de Freycinet went on to say that Admiral Jauréguiberry's principal objection was to the clause authorizing men to be landed from the ships for the purpose of protecting British subjects and other Europeans. The Admiral was, it appeared, personally well acquainted with the port and town of Alexandria, and he was convinced that an attempt to land and operate on shore with a force no larger than that which the ships could supply, would be extremely hazardous—in short, so full of danger,

and so little likely to succeed, that he declined to take the responsibility of sanctioning it.

I observed that it was not to be supposed that the English Commander-in-chief would engage in any foolhardy expedition, and that he was expressly ordered not to allow any force he might land to leave the protection of the ships' guns without instructions from home. There was, however, I said, a discrepancy on another point between the French and English instructions, which was, I feared, much more likely to lead to practical inconvenience. In fact, the English Admiral was ordered to "support the Khedive," while the French Admiral was directed to "abstain from all intervention in the political affairs of the country." Might not, I asked, this discrepancy lead to a difference in the language, if not in the conduct, of the two Admirals, which would very much diminish the appearance of perfect union between the two Governments, which was all-important?

After some discussion, M. de Freycinet said that neither the French, nor, as he presumed, the English, Government intended to authorize the Admirals to proceed to actual hostilities without further instructions. In order, however, to prevent all risk of the inconvenience I apprehended, he would, he said, at once request the Minister of Marine to dispatch to Alexandria, for the French Admiral on his arrival there, fresh instructions to the following effect:—

"Considérez comme nulles les instructions précédemment envoyées, et conformez votre conduite aux instructions ci-après.

"Une fois arrivé à Alexandrie, vous vous mettez en communication avec le Consul-Général, qui vous indiquera, s'il y a lieu, ce que vous pourrez avoir à faire pour donner un appui moral au Khédive. Vous vous abstenrez, jusqu'à instructions contraires, de tout acte matériel de guerre, à moins que vous ne soyez attaqué ou que vous n'ayez à protéger la sécurité des Européens."

Having summoned M. Decrais, M. de Freycinet requested him to take the draft of these instructions immediately to the Minister of Marine, and beg him to dispatch them at once to Alexandria.

I have had the honour to forward to your Lordship by telegraph the substance of this despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 325.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 18, 9 P.M.)

(No. 50.)
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 18, 1882, 7.45 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 161 of yesterday.

There are two French ships at the Piræus which can sail thence on Tuesday, and which will arrive at Alexandria Thursday or Friday if they do not go to Suda.

If Her Majesty's Government make no contrary communication to the French Government, these two ships will go straight to Alexandria.

There is a third ship, but she will start from Toulon, and will not arrive at Alexandria until later.

If Her Majesty's Government consider that a cruize of the fleets would be advantageous at any particular moment the French would have seven ships disposable, some of which would be large iron-clads which could not get into Alexandria Harbour.

No orders for such a cruiser will be given without previous understanding with Her Majesty's Government.

No. 326.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24.)

(No. 444. Extender.)

Paris, May 18, 1882.

My Lord,

IMMEDIATELY on the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of yesterday (No. 161), I inquired of M. de Freycinet at what time the second detachment of French ships would arrive at Alexandria.

Having taken time to consult the Minister of Marine, his Excellency told me this evening that there were two French ships at the Piræus which might sail from that port on Tuesday, and which would in that case reach Alexandria on Thursday or Friday, provided they went direct without touching at Suda. Unless Her Majesty's Government informed the French Government that they thought this inadvisable, these two ships would, M. de Freycinet went on to say, go straight to Alexandria.

The third ship would, he told me, start from Toulon, and consequently she could not arrive at Alexandria until a little later.

His Excellency proceeded to observe that possibly a cruize ("promenade") of the fleets in force might, in certain contingencies, appear advisable. If Her Majesty's Government should consider that such a cruize of the fleets would be advantageous at any particular moment, the French would be able to dispose of seven ships for the purpose, among which would be large iron-clads drawing too much water to be able to enter the harbour of Alexandria.

M. de Freycinet said, in conclusion, that of course no orders for such a cruize would be given by the French Government without a previous understanding with the Government of Her Majesty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 327.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 18, 9 P.M.)

(No. 26.)
(Telegraphic.)

Rome, May 18, 1882, 7 P.M.

MY Russian colleague informs me that Minister for Foreign Affairs, whom he saw yesterday, told him that the day before the Turkish Ambassador had made to him a communication from his Government to the effect that the state of Egypt was not such as to call for any intervention, but that, were it necessary, it ought to be undertaken by the Porte, who protested against the present action of England and France. M. Mancini said that he had made no reply to the Turkish Ambassador beyond stating that he was in communication with the other Powers.

No. 328.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 151. Confidential. Extender.)

My Lord,

Rome, May 18, 1882.

MY Russian colleague, who called upon me this afternoon, informed me that he had heard from the Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday that the Turkish Ambassador, whom he had seen the day before, had communicated to him a despatch from his Government relative to the expedition of the English and French squadron to Egypt. This despatch was to the effect that the state of affairs in Egypt was not such as to call for any intervention, but that even if it were the intervention ought to be undertaken by the Porte, who protested against the present action of England and France.

Baron Uxkull added that M. Mancini had said he had made no reply to the Turkish Ambassador beyond stating that he was in communication with the other Powers upon the subject referred to.

I have had the honour of acquainting your Lordship with the above information by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 329.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received May 18, 9.30 P.M.)(No. 34. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)*Vienna, May 18, 1882, 7.30 P.M.*

I WROTE a note to the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs last night, telling him [? what] you had really said in the House of Lords, and I have just received an answer, thanking me for it, and saying that it proved that you had not been correctly reported in the telegram he had received.

He adds that he only hopes that there may be no complication of the question by a misunderstanding with the Sultan, though he cannot help doubting whether he will be disposed to accept our advice to abstain from all intervention in Egypt, of which he is the Sovereign, while we are sending our squadrons there, and speaks of further steps to be eventually taken.

He reminds me that what he said confidentially to me two days ago was his personal impression at first sight, and that he is waiting to hear the views of the other Cabinets before pronouncing an opinion upon this matter, which is a question of great interest to Austria only in so far as it may touch and seriously influence the Eastern question in general, which we all wish not to revive if we can help it.

No. 330.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 225. Confidential. Extender.)

Vienna, May 18, 1882.

My Lord,

LAST night, upon receiving your Lordship's telegram conveying the substance of the language you had held upon the Egyptian question in the House of Lords, I at once sent a private note to Count Kálnoky to apprise him of it.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of the answer I have received from him, thanking me for the communication, which, he says, proves that your Lordship had not been correctly reported in the telegram that he had got.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 330.

Count Kálnoky to Sir H. Elliot.

(Private.)

My dear Sir Henry,

May 17, 1882.

MANY thanks for your communication of this morning, which proves that Lord Granville's speech was not correctly reported in the short telegram I had received. All I hope is that there will be no complication of the question by a misunderstanding with Sultan. I cannot help doubting that he will be disposed to simply accept your advice to abstain from all interference in Egypt, whose Sovereign he is, while you are sending a squadron there and speak of further steps to be eventually taken.

I take this occasion to repeat that what I told you confidentially about the subject the other day was rather my personal impression at first sight, and that I am waiting to hear the opinion of the other Cabinets to pronounce upon this question, which is for us only in so far as a question of great interest, as it may touch and seriously influence the Eastern question in general, which we all wish not to revive, if we can help it.

Yours most truly,

(Signed) KÁLNOKY.

No. 331.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 19.)

(No. 439.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 17, 1882.

IN obedience to the instruction contained in your Lordship's telegram No. 157 of yesterday, I have informed M. de Freycinet of the purport of Sir Edward Malet's two telegrams of yesterday, the one reciting the Circular respecting the Anglo-French squadron which he has addressed to the Consuls subordinate to him, and the other reporting the submission of the Egyptian Ministers to the Khedive.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 332.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 19.)

E

(No. 147.)

My Lord,

Rome, May 16, 1882.

I HAD the honour to receive the repetition of your Lordship's telegram No. 60, announcing the decision of the English and French Governments to send a squadron to Egypt, explaining the object of the demonstration, and stating the instructions sent to the Ambassadors at Constantinople, &c., at half-past 7 o'clock last evening, and I immediately wrote to M. Mancini asking for an interview in order to make the above communication, and to ascertain if the Italian Government would send instructions in the same sense to their Ambassador at Constantinople.

I mentioned in my note to M. Mancini that the French Chargé d'Affaires had received a telegram in the same terms, and therefore, if it would suit his Excellency's convenience, we should be happy to wait on him together.

M. Mancini replied that he would receive me at about 10 o'clock last evening, or, with the French Chargé d'Affaires, to-day, between 4 and 5 o'clock.

As I had seen in the papers that your Lordship and Sir Charles Dilke were to make an announcement in Parliament yesterday respecting the course being pursued by the English and French Governments with regard to the present crisis in Egypt, I thought it desirable that the communication to the Italian Government should be made prior to the report of the announcements in Parliament reaching them, and I therefore went at 10 o'clock alone to M. Mancini.

I read to his Excellency your Lordship's telegram, and when I had done so, he observed, in taking act of it, that it appeared to him to contain the announcement of a fact and of a contingent intention. The fact consisted in the expedition of an English and French squadron to Egypt, with the object of strengthening the authority of the Khedive and of safeguarding the legal state of things in Egypt, which had been recognized by Europe, and in the maintenance of which Europe is interested. The intention was, while recommending the Porte to abstain at present from all intervention and interference in Egypt, to make, later on, further propositions to the Porte in the event of there being any necessity for doing so.

His Excellency then asked me if I knew the number of iron-clads of which the squadron was composed, and the respective proportions of English and French ships; also whether a simple demonstration was intended, or whether a force was to be landed in case of certain eventualities occurring, to which questions I replied that I had no further information than that contained in your Lordship's telegram.

I then drew his Excellency's attention to the concluding paragraph of the telegram, and asked whether I might inform your Lordship that the Italian Government would instruct their Ambassador at Constantinople to advise the Porte in the same sense as the English and French Ambassadors had been desired to do.

To this M. Mancini said it was impossible for him to give any answer until he had ascertained the views of the other Powers, with whom he had been in the habit of communicating upon Egyptian affairs. He gave me the impression of feeling a little aggrieved at not having been previously consulted, and, in fact, I understood that he had recently desired General Menabrea to represent to your Lordship that it would be more consistent with the European concert which had been established in regard to the affairs of Egypt that the other Powers should be consulted by England and France before the course they intended to pursue had been actually laid down than that they

should simply be made acquainted with that course after it had been finally decided on. Nevertheless, his Excellency said I might assure your Lordship that the Italian Government would certainly not be the least disposed amongst the European Powers to acquiesce in a line of policy adopted and recommended by Her Majesty's Government.

M. Mancini asked me whether I could give him a copy of your Lordship's telegram. I replied that I had not been authorized to do so, but upon his Excellency stating that he should consider it as given unofficially, I complied with his request.

Upon my again mentioning that the French Chargé d'Affaires had received a telegram in identical terms, M. Mancini authorized me to inform the Marquis de Reverseaux that he considered my communication to be made equally in the name of the French Government, but that if the Marquis wished to see him he would receive him to-day between 4 and 5 o'clock; and the Marquis, to whom I lost no time in imparting this message, has called this morning to inform me that he will go to the Ministry this afternoon at the hour named.

When I arrived at M. Mancini's house he had with him Count Corti, who is under orders to return immediately to Constantinople, and who leaves Rome for this purpose to-night.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 333.

Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, May 19.)

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 17 Mai, 1882.

HIÉR les Ambassadeurs de la Grande-Bretagne et de France sont venus me déclarer au nom de leurs Cabinets respectifs que, par suite des derniers événements de l'Égypte, leurs Gouvernements ont décidé d'envoyer à Alexandrie une escadre qui se réunirait en ce moment dans le Baie Souda. Leurs Excellences ont ajouté qu'elles étaient en même temps chargées de recommander au Gouvernement Impérial de s'abstenir de toute intervention et ingérence en Égypte afin de ne pas compliquer la situation, et qu'une pareille mesure ne devait nullement porter atteinte aux droits de souveraineté de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan sur l'Égypte.

Par ma dépêche télégraphique du 14 Mai, je vous ai exposé les vues et le désir du Gouvernement Impérial en présence de la situation actuelle de l'Égypte. Ces vues et ce désir se résument, je ne saurais assez le répéter, en notre ferme résolution de maintenir le *statu quo* et d'assurer l'ordre et la tranquillité dans cette province.

Partant de là, je considère comme un devoir impérieux pour moi d'énoncer ici en quelques mots les impressions qui ont résulté pour nous de la déclaration précitée des Ambassadeurs et les considérations d'un ordre plus élevé qui se rattachent aux droits et aux intérêts incontestables de l'Empire dans cette occurrence.

Si l'expédition navale décidée par les Gouvernements de la République Française et de la Grande-Bretagne n'a principalement en vue que la protection des intérêts des nationaux Français et Anglais, du moment que l'Égypte fait essentiellement partie de l'Empire Ottoman, c'est à ce dernier seul que le droit des gens et tous les principes internationaux imposent ce devoir et le fonctionnement régulier de l'Administration en Égypte.

Loin de nous la pensée de contester à la France et à l'Angleterre le droit d'exiger que les intérêts de leurs sujets soient sauvegardés; mais ce droit, qu'il me soit permis de le dire, ne saurait aller jusqu'à vouloir prendre elles-mêmes en main cette protection, et à envoyer dans ce but leurs escadres dans les eaux d'une contrée appartenant au Sultan, en face, d'ailleurs, de la détente survenue dans les affaires Égyptiennes. Nous ne voyons aucune raison primordiale de nature à provoquer une résolution aussi grave que celle d'une expédition navale; et, confiant dans la juste et bienveillante appréciation des Puissances, nous n'hésitons pas à ajouter ici que, même dans l'hypothèse de la nécessité d'un envoi de flotte, c'est encore à la Cour Souveraine qu'il appartiendrait uniquement et exclusivement de décider et de mettre à exécution les mesures opportunes, à la suite, bien entendu, d'un accord avec les Grandes Puissances.

Comme corollaire à cette pensée, je dirai également que, du moment que les Cabinets de St. James et de Paris, soucieux à juste titre, comme nous, de la sauve-

garde de la paix générale et du maintien du *statu quo* en Égypte, ont cru devoir constater une telle nécessité, nous nous permettons de croire que, dans leurs sentiments de justice et d'équité impartiale, ils auraient voulu bien convenir avec nous que c'est encore par l'intermédiaire du Gouvernement Ottoman, et rien que par son intermédiaire, que les mesures d'apaisement et de la sauvegarde de ce même *statu quo* Égyptien devraient être concertées et appliquées.

Assurer, d'un côté, que les droits du souveraineté du Sultan ne recevraient aucune atteinte, et nous défendre, de l'autre, toute intervention, toute ingérence dans les affaires d'une province Ottomane, ne serait-ce pas là une contradiction qu'il serait difficile, sinon impossible, de concilier? Et cette contradiction n'aurait elle pas aussi forcément pour résultat de faire évanouir notre prestige en Égypte et de faire méconnaître nos conseils, de léser les droits souverains de Sa Majesté Impériale, d'ouvrir, enfin, un vaste champ aux envahissements subversifs et aux allures de toute sorte dans cette contrée, et ce, au préjudice des populations Égyptiennes qu'il est de notre devoir de protéger, et à l'encontre des sentiments loyaux et désintéressés de la France et de l'Angleterre?

La domination séculaire de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan sur l'Égypte, l'identité des mœurs, des lois, des institutions, et par dessus tout, le droit international, tout concourt à désigner l'action indépendante du Souverain légitime comme étant la seule capable d'écarter les froissements et les rivalités, de concilier tous les intérêts et de faire entendre la voix de la raison et de l'apaisement en Égypte.

Vous ne sauriez donc assez concentrer toute votre attention sur ce qui précède, et déployer tous vos efforts et votre tact habituel pour arriver à faire prévaloir nos raisons et nos droits auprès de son Excellence M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, en lui donnant lecture de la présente dépêche, et copie, s'il le désire, et écarter tout projet d'expédition navale étrangère dans les eaux Égyptiennes.

J'attends avec impatience le résultat favorable de vos démarches.

No. 334.

M. de Freycinet to M. Tissot.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by M. Tissot, May 19.)

(Télégraphique.)

Paris, le 18 Mai, 1882.

JE vous envoie ci-après, à titre d'information, la copie du télégramme que j'ai adressé hier soir au Marquis de Noailles:—

“Je viens d'avoir une assez longue conversation avec Essad Pacha. Je lui ai développé le point de vue indiqué dans mon dernier télégramme. Je me suis appliqué à lui faire comprendre que l'intervention du Sultan en ce moment n'aurait pas de raison d'être puisque tout le monde reconnaissait ses droits et que personne ne voulait toucher au *statu quo*, et qu'elle pourrait avoir de graves inconvénients parce qu'elle ferait naître immédiatement l'idée que quelque chose allait être changé dans l'ordre établi en Égypte. On ne s'expliquerait pas autrement, ai-je dit, l'intervention directe et personnelle du Suzerain. Au contraire, notre présence à Alexandrie s'explique d'elle-même puisqu'il s'agit uniquement de sauvegarder nos intérêts matériels, lesquels n'ont rien à voir avec l'ordre constitutionnel que représente particulièrement le Sultan. J'ai répété que rien, dans ce qui touche le domaine du Sultan, ne serait changé sans que nous en ayons délibéré avec la Porte et les Grandes Puissances. J'ai tenu surtout à écarter de l'esprit d'Essad Pacha toute pensée d'un manque d'égards de notre part vis-à-vis de son Souverain. J'ai protesté que jamais nous n'avions et n'aurions l'intention de blesser la dignité d'Abdul Hamid. Ces considérations m'ont paru impressionner Essad Pacha et il est sorti de mon Cabinet dans des dispositions manifestement plus calmes que celles qu'il avait en entrant.”

Je vous prie de vous inspirer à l'occasion de ces idées dans vos entretiens avec le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères et avec l'Ambassadeur de Turquie.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 19, 12:30 A.M.)

(No. 51.)
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 18, 1882, 8:20 P.M.

THE French Consul-General has asked M. de Freycinet for instructions as to the various detailed demands which he suggests as proper to be made on the arrival of the fleets.

M. de Freycinet proposes, if you agree, to send the following telegram in reply:—

"Do not busy yourself with detailed plans. Confine yourself to affirming that the object of the intervention of the two Governments is to have the authority which belongs to the Khedive restored to him.

"Advise the Khedive to take advantage of any favourable moment—such, for instance, as the arrival of the fleets—to dismiss the present Ministry, and to form a new Cabinet under Chérif Pasha, or any other person inspiring the same confidence.

"You may give it to be understood, if everything passes off well, indulgence will be shown to the officers compromised in the movement, that no injury will be done to their persons or property, and that they may keep their rank."

M. de Freycinet inquires whether you approve this telegram, and will address a like one to Sir E. Malet. He will not send it off until he receives your answer.

No. 336.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 20.)

(No. 446. Extender.)
My Lord,

Paris, May 18, 1882.

M. DE FREYCINET told me this afternoon that the French Agent in Egypt had applied to him for instructions as to various detailed demands which it would, he suggested, be proper for him and his English colleague to make, when the combined squadrons arrived at Alexandria.

M. de Freycinet went on to say that he thought that it would be premature for the Agents to put forward details of the kind immediately, and that their efforts should be directed in the first instance towards obtaining the dismissal of the present Ministry, and the substitution for it of one upon which reliance could be placed.

His Excellency proceeded to recite to me a telegram which he thought of sending to M. Sienkiewicz; and he begged me to communicate it to your Lordship, and to ask you whether you approved of it, and would address a like telegram to Sir Edward Malet.

It ran as follows:—

"Do not busy yourself with detailed plans. Confine yourself to affirming that the object of the intervention of the two Governments is to have the authority which belongs to the Khedive restored to him.

"Advise the Khedive to take advantage of the favourable moment (such, for instance, as the arrival of the fleets) to dismiss the present Ministry, and to form a new Cabinet under Chérif Pasha, or any other person inspiring the same confidence.

"You may give it to be understood that if everything passes off well, indulgence will be shown to the officers compromised in the movement, that no injury will be done to their persons or property, and that they may keep their rank."

I have already had the honour to forward the substance of this despatch to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 337.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 19.)

(No. 94.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 18, 1882, 11:55 P.M.

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs has just informed me, by order of His Majesty, that the Sultan has decided to maintain an attitude of perfect friendliness towards the

Western Powers; and that he is willing to discuss with them any arrangements they may suggest for the more effectual maintenance of the *status quo* in Egypt, upon the understanding that the presence of the mixed fleets at Alexandria is restricted to the shortest possible period.

I observed that before the fleets were withdrawn it would be necessary that securities should be obtained for the free exercise by the Khedive of his normal constitutional powers, untrammelled by the dictature of a military faction, and that some little time might elapse before such a result could be assured; but, once this object was attained, it would be the desire of England and France to withdraw their ships.

I added that I was sure the British Government would fully appreciate the wise and moderate course His Majesty had determined to pursue.

Saïd Pasha then begged me to represent to your Lordship that the presence of the mixed fleet at Alexandria was naturally very galling to His Majesty, and was calculated to diminish his prestige. His Excellency hoped that in return for the willingness thus evinced by the Sultan to acquiesce in the views of the Western Powers, your Lordship would do whatever was necessary to "ménager" his dignity and "amour-propre," which the present naval demonstration could not fail to compromise and wound.

Saïd Pasha also stated, as a further proof of the Sultan's "bon vouloir," that His Majesty would be willing, if the Powers desired it, to assent to change the Khedive, but it would be necessary to keep this intimation secret from the actual Khedive.

I had already informed his Excellency last night that England and France both desired to retain Tewfik Pasha in his present position, and I repeated the statement.

On my telling his Excellency that I understood Ottoman ships of war were being got ready for sea, his Excellency said that orders had been given to this effect, but that they either had been or would be countermanded.

I asked Saïd Pasha if he did not first intend to repeat to the French Ambassador the communication he had made to me. He said that the Sultan's orders had been to speak to me alone.

I insisted upon the necessity of his telling the French Ambassador everything he had told to me, which I imagine he will do.

He further said that the Sultan had told his present Ministers that he threw upon them the responsibility of [? what] was arranged, and that, in return, he would act upon their advice. This his Excellency evidently regarded as a new departure.

No. 338.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received May 19, 11:45 A.M.)

(No. 31. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, May 19, 1882, 10:36 A.M.

MY telegram No. 30 of 17th instant.

I am privately informed that the answers received from St. Petersburg and Vienna are not favourable to our naval demonstration, about which they think they ought to have been previously consulted.

Under these circumstances, the German Government will probably assume an attitude of extreme reserve, and watch coming events before supporting us at Constantinople.

No. 339.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22.)

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(No. 166. Confidential. Extender.)
My Lord,

Berlin, May 19, 1882.

A WELL-INFORMED friend tells me privately (with reference to my despatch No. 164 of the 17th instant) that Count Kálnoky and M. de Giers have taken offence at not having been previously consulted about the proposed naval demonstration at Alexandria, and, in communicating with Prince Bismarck, have asked him to share their view of the measures taken by Her Majesty's Government and that of France.

My informant thought that Count Hatzfeldt would, in consequence, recommend Prince Bismarck, who is ill at Friedrichsruhe, to adopt an attitude of extreme reserve,

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and watch coming events before supporting the present policy of England and France at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

No. 340.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 170.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 19, 1882, 3 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 50 of yesterday.
Propose to French Government that the dispatch of more ships to Alexandria be suspended.

No. 341.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 551. Extender.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 19, 1882.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 50 of the 28th instant, referring to the disposition of the French vessels available to proceed to Alexandria, and containing a reference to a possible cruise of the fleets, and I have to request that your Excellency will propose to the French Government to suspend the dispatch of further ships to Alexandria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 342.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 171.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 19, 1882, 3.15 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 51 of yesterday.
With following addition, "Do not say anything which will prevent ordering them to leave the country, if desired by incoming Ministry," Her Majesty's Government concur in M. de Freycinet's proposed instructions to French and English Agents in Egypt.

Instructions have been telegraphed accordingly to Sir E. Malet. Inform French Government.

No. 343.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 552. Extender.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 19, 1882.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 51 of yesterday's date recording the terms of a telegram which, with the concurrence of Her Majesty's Government, M. de Freycinet proposes to address to the French Consul-General in Cairo for his guidance on the arrival of the fleets, in regard to the demands to be made by the Representatives of the two Powers.

I have to authorize your Excellency to state that Her Majesty's Government concur in the proposed instruction, with the following addition:—

"Do not say anything which will prevent ordering them to leave the country if desired by the incoming Ministry."

Your Excellency will further inform the French Government that instructions have been telegraphed accordingly to Sir E. Malet.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 344.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 124.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 19, 1882, 3.20 P.M.

FRENCH Consul-General having requested instructions as to various detailed demands to be made on arrival of the fleets, French Government and Her Majesty's Government have agreed upon following instructions for you and French Agent:—

"Do not busy yourself with detailed plans. Confine yourself to affirming that the object of the intervention of the two Governments is to have the authority which belongs to the Khedive restored to him.

"Advise the Khedive to take advantage of the favourable moment—such, for instance, as the arrival of the fleets—to dismiss the present Ministry, and to form a new Cabinet under Chérif Pasha, or any other person inspiring the same confidence.

"You may give it to be understood, if everything passes off well, indulgence will be shown to the officers compromised in the movement; that no injury will be done to their persons or property, and that they may keep their rank."

Do not say anything which will prevent ordering them to leave the country if desired by the incoming Ministry.

French Government have been informed that the above last paragraph has been added to your instructions.

No. 345.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 129. Extender.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, May 19, 1882.

THE French Consul-General at Cairo has asked M. de Freycinet for instructions as to the various detailed demands which he suggests as proper to be made on the arrival of the fleets at Alexandria, and the two Governments have agreed to telegraph instructions to their Representatives to the following effect:—

"Do not busy yourself with detailed plans. Confine yourself to affirming that the object of the intervention of the two Governments is to have the authority which belongs to the Khedive restored to him.

"Advise the Khedive to take advantage of the favourable moment—such, for instance, as the arrival of the fleets, to dismiss the present Ministry, and to form a new Cabinet under Chérif Pasha or any other person inspiring the same confidence.

"You may give it to be understood, if everything passes off well, that indulgence will be shown to the officers compromised in the movement, that no injury will be done to their persons or property, and that they may keep their rank."

I have to request you, in acting upon this instruction, to be careful not to say anything which will prevent the individuals referred to from being ordered to leave the country if desired by the incoming Ministry.

I have informed the French Government that I have added this proviso to your instruction.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 346.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 146.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 19, 1882, 3.40 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 94 of yesterday: Egypt.

Express in warm and suitable terms our appreciation of the friendly action of the Sultan.

We continue to be strongly against any change of the Khedive.

We do not wish to keep the fleet a day longer at Alexandria than is necessary to fully restore his authority.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 246. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 19, 1882.

BY your telegram No. 94 of yesterday you inform me that the Sultan has declared his intention of maintaining a perfectly friendly attitude towards England and France as regards their present action in Egypt, and his willingness to discuss any arrangements they may suggest for the more effectual maintenance of the *status quo* in that country, on the understanding that the fleets should remain at Alexandria as short a time as possible.

I have to request your Excellency to convey to His Majesty, in suitable terms, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, the assurance of their appreciation of his friendly action, and of their desire not to keep the fleet a day longer at Alexandria than is necessary fully to restore the authority of the Khedive, whom they are strongly in favour of retaining in his present position.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 174.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 19, 1882, 3.45 P.M.

INFORM French Government of substance of Lord Dufferin's telegram No. 94 of yesterday, respecting Sultan's friendly assurances, and of the reply of Her Majesty's Government, No. 146 of to-day.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 557. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 19, 1882.

YOUR Excellency will be good enough to inform the French Government of the substance of Lord Dufferin's despatch No. 94 of yesterday, which has already been repeated to you, in regard to the Sultan's friendly assurances, and of the reply of Her Majesty's Government contained in my telegram No. 146 to his Excellency of to-day's date.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 19, 3.50 P.M.)

(No. 96.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 19, 1882, 3 P.M.

IT is very important that the other European Powers should encourage the Porte to adhere to the moderate line of conduct it seems disposed to follow. Any advice of a contrary nature would be most mischievous. It would also be advantageous if your Lordship authorize me to return a conciliatory reply to the message brought to me from the Sultan by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, as reported in my telegram No. 94 of yesterday.

An assurance that the fleets would remain only so long as was necessary to insure the re-establishment of the authority of the Khedive and of a normal Government in Egypt, and no longer, would strengthen the hands of the Porte in counselling prudence.

Mr. Ford to Earl Granville.—(Received May 19, 4 P.M.)

(No. 14.)

(Telegraphic.)

Athens, May 19, 1882, 11.5 A.M.

THE iron-clad "King George," and the steam-corvette "Hellas" were dispatched last evening to Alexandria.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 19, 4.20 P.M.)

(No. 52.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 19, 1882, 2.30 P.M.

M. DE FREYCINET desires to ask your Lordship whether you do not think that the moment is come for France and England to address an identic note to the Powers to explain their action and their intentions with regard to Egypt.

In his opinion the substance should be—

That when the two Powers determined to send their squadrons, there appeared to be imminent danger of civil war in Egypt, and of injury to the interests of all Europe, and to the persons and property of Europeans;

That it appeared then that there was not a moment to be lost;

That a certain degree of calm has now returned;

That the two Powers have sent their squadrons simply to support the authority of the Khedive to maintain the state of things established by the Firmans, and to protect European interests;

That they have not the least intention to make any change in the *status quo*;

That they do not purpose to land troops or to resort to a military occupation of the country.

M. de Freycinet is anxious to learn speedily whether your Lordship agrees to sending such identic note.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24.)

(No. 448. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 19, 1882.

M. DE FREYCINET has informed me that the intelligence he has received as to the disposition of the several Great Powers leads him to think that, from not distinctly understanding the circumstances attending the dispatch of English and French squadrons to Alexandria, they may to a certain extent have taken umbrage at it. He has, in consequence, begged me to ask your Lordship whether you do not think that the time is come for France and England to make an identic communication to them in order to explain the action and intentions of the two Governments with regard to Egypt; and he has requested me to represent to you that he is very anxious to learn as speedily as possible whether your Lordship is willing to make such a communication.

M. de Freycinet has given me, in the following terms, a sketch of what, in his opinion, might be the substance of the communication, namely:—

That when the two Powers determined to send their squadrons, there appeared to be imminent danger of civil war in Egypt, and of injury to the interests of all Europe, and to the persons and property of Europeans;

That it appeared then that there was not a moment to be lost;

That a certain degree of calm has now returned;

That the two Powers have sent their squadrons simply to support the authority of the Khedive, to maintain the state of things established by the Firmans, and to protect European interests;

That they have not the least intention to make any change in the *status quo*;

That they do not purpose to land troops, or to resort to a military occupation of the country.

I have already had the honour to transmit the substance of this despatch to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 354.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 19, 4 P.M.)

(No. 53.)
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 19, 1882, 2:35 P.M.

MY telegram No. 49 of yesterday.
The Political Director informs me that the instructions to the French Admiral were sent off unaltered at 8 o'clock this morning by the Minister of Marine to Alexandria, where the Admiral will find them on his arrival—probably to-morrow.

No. 355.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24.)

(No. 450. Extender.)

Paris, May 19, 1882.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my telegram No. 49 and to my despatch No. 442, both of yesterday, I have the honour to report that M. Decrais has called at the Embassy to inform me that the instructions for the French Admiral were sent off unaltered by the Minister of Marine at 8 o'clock this morning to Alexandria, so that the Admiral will find them when he arrives there, which will probably be to-morrow.

I have already sent this information to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 356.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received May 19, 5 P.M.)

(No. 32.)
(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, May 19, 1882, 3:55 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's No. 56 of the 15th instant.

Minister for Foreign Affairs tells me that Prince Bismarck, finding that Austria and Russia object to send instructions to their Ambassadors at Constantinople in the sense suggested by Her Majesty's Government, he does not feel at liberty to separate the action of Germany from that of Austria and Russia in regard to the sovereign rights over Egypt.

At the same time, he thinks that the object for which the fleets were sent to Alexandria has already been attained.

No. 357.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 168. Extender.)

Berlin, May 19, 1882.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's No. 195 of the 15th instant, and to my Nos. 164 and 166 of the 17th and 19th instant, I asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day whether he had received an answer from Friedrichsruhe to your Lordship's communication of the 15th instant, and whether he had been authorized to send the desired instructions to the German Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople to recommend the Porte to abstain from all intervention and interference in Egypt, so as not to complicate the situation for the present.

His Excellency said, in reply, that Prince Bismarck, on learning that the Governments of Austria and Russia felt some hesitation in the matter, had not thought him-

self at liberty to separate the action of Germany from that of Austria and Russia in regard to recommending the Sultan to abstain from all interference in Egypt. In the mean time the object for which the fleets were to be sent to Alexandria, his Excellency observed, seemed to have been already attained.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPHILL.

No. 358.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 19, 6 P.M.)

(No. 54.)
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 19, 1882, 4 P.M.

MY telegram No. 51 of yesterday.

M. de Freycinet, having consulted the Council of Ministers respecting the instructions to the Agents in Egypt, now proposes the text of which the following is a literal translation:—

"You should abstain, for the present, from entering into the details of combinations. Avoid making allusion to any particular measure, especially as regards the army, the opposition of which would be excited by anything which had the appearance of being directed against it. Your action, for the moment, ought to be limited, in accord with Sir E. Malet, to the three following points:—

"1. To declaring that the two Governments of France and England intervene to maintain the *status quo*, and, consequently, to restore to the Khedive the authority which belongs to him, and without which the *status quo* is incessantly threatened.

"2. To advising the Khedive to take advantage of the favourable moment, on the arrival of the ships or afterwards, to call for the resignation of his Ministers, and to form a new Ministry, at the head of which should be placed Chérif Pasha, or another personage offering equivalent guarantees.

"3. To letting it be understood that, if everything passes off well and tranquilly, indulgence will be shown, no prosecution will be made, the persons, the property, and the rank of Arabi Bey and his friends will be respected, and, in a word, the change of Ministry will not have any character of vengeance or reprisals.

"When once this change of Ministry has been effected, we will occupy ourselves with detailed measures to secure our interests for the future.

"If, for some reason which I cannot foresee, this plan should be deemed impracticable, you will, after conferring with Sir E. Malet, report to me your practical proposals."

M. de Freycinet is anxious to know, as soon as possible, whether your Lordship is willing to adopt this text, and to send instructions in conformity with it to Sir E. Malet.

No. 359.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 20.)

(No. 452. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 19, 1882.

IN my telegram No. 51 and my despatch No. 446, both of yesterday, I had the honour to forward to your Lordship the substance of instructions which M. de Freycinet thought it would be desirable to send to the British and French Agents in Egypt.

M. Decrais came to me this morning and told me that the text of the proposed instructions had now been settled by M. de Freycinet, after consultation with the Council of Ministers, and that, by his Excellency's desire, he had brought me a copy.

He added that M. de Freycinet would be very much obliged if I would communicate this text without delay to your Lordship, and say that he was very anxious to learn as soon as possible whether your Lordship was willing to adopt it and to send instructions in conformity with it to Sir E. Malet.

Accordingly I transmitted a translation to your Lordship immediately by

telegraph, and I inclose herewith a copy of it in French, as it was given to me by M. Decrais.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 359.

Draft of Instructions to British and French Agents in Egypt.

VOUS devez vous abstenir, quant à présent, d'entrer dans le détail des combinaisons. Évitez de faire allusion à aucune mesure particulière, notamment en ce qui touche l'armée, dont l'opposition serait excitée par tout ce qui semblerait dérangé contre elle. Votre action doit se borner pour le moment, d'accord avec M. Malet, aux trois points suivants :—

1. Déclarer que les deux Gouvernements de France et d'Angleterre interviennent pour maintenir le *statu quo* et par suite pour faire restituer au Khédive l'autorité qui lui appartient et sans laquelle le *statu quo* est incessamment menacé.

2. Engager le Khédive à profiter du moment favorable à l'arrivée des escadres ou après, pour réclamer la démission de ses Ministres et former un nouveau Ministère à la tête duquel serait placé Chérif Pasha, ou un autre personnage offrant des garanties équivalentes.

3. Laisser entendre que si tout se passe bien et tranquillement on usera d'indulgence. On n'exercera aucune poursuite. On respectera les personnes, les biens, et les grades d'Arabi Pasha et de ses amis. En un mot, le changement de Cabinet n'aura aucun caractère de vengeance ou de représailles.

Une fois ce changement opéré, nous nous occuperions des mesures de détail tendant à sauvegarder nos intérêts dans l'avenir.

Si, pour une raison que je ne puis prévoir, ce plan était jugé inexécutable, vous voudriez bien, après en avoir conféré avec M. Malet, me faire part de vos propositions pratiques.

No. 360.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 19, 7 P.M.)

(No. 141.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 19, 1882, 5.40 P.M.

THE Khedive informed my French colleague and me this morning that he had told his Minister of War that all warlike preparations are contrary to His Highness' orders. The Minister professed obedience, but pushes on preparations actively.

The first step in arriving at a settlement can only be the retirement of the present Ministry and the surrender of the military chiefs, which could very likely be attained if their lives, rank, and property are guaranteed; but they should undertake to leave Egypt for at least a year. This obtained, and a Chérif Ministry in power, there would be no difficulty with regard to the rest; but, if the Porte is hostile to the action of England and France, there will be resistance here. According to agreement between the two Powers, such a resistance is to be suppressed by Turkish troops; but the fact of its not being known here that the Porte will intervene is likely to necessitate the very intervention which both England and France desire to avoid, and which most likely Turkey wishes to bring about.

No. 361.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 272. Extender.)

Cairo, May 19, 1882.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that this morning the Khedive told M. Sienkiewicz and me that he had informed his Minister of War that all military preparations were in contravention of His Highness' orders.

Araby Pasha professed his obedience, but continues actively to push on his preparations.

In order to arrive at a settlement, the first step must necessarily be the resignation of the Ministry now in power and the surrender of the military leaders, which could probably be compassed if their persons, rank, and property are guaranteed, but they should be obliged to quit Egypt for a year at least.

If this were obtained and a Ministry were formed under Chérif Pasha there would be little difficulty with the remaining questions, but if the Porte shows itself hostile to the action of the two Powers, resistance will be shown here. According to the compact between England and France, Turkish troops are to suppress such resistance, but the fact of its not being generally known here that the Sultan will intervene may probably make that very intervention necessary which both of the two Powers are anxious to avert, and which Turkey wishes most likely to force on.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 362.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 570.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 19, 1882.

THE French Ambassador communicated to me to-day a telegraphic despatch which he had received from M. de Freycinet to the following effect :—

"I have just had a conversation with Essad Pasha, and have further explained to him the point touched upon in my last telegram. I endeavoured to make him understand that there was no ground at present for the Sultan's intervention in Egypt, as the whole world recognized his rights, and no one desired to interfere with the *status quo*; and that it might have serious drawbacks, as it would give rise to an idea that some change was about to take place in the order of things established in Egypt. This was the way, I said, in which the direct and personal intervention of the Suzerain ('l'intervention directe et personnelle du Suzerain') would be explained. On the other hand, our presence at Alexandria explains itself, because there is only a question of safeguarding our material interests which have no connection with the constitutional order of things especially represented by the Sultan. I repeated that nothing affecting the domain of the Sultan would be changed without our having discussed the point with the Porte and the Great Powers. I took especial pains to remove from Essad Pasha's mind any idea of a want of consideration on our part towards his Sovereign. I protested that we had never had, and never should have, an intention of wounding the dignity of Abdul Hamid. These observations appeared to me to impress Essad Pasha, and he left me evidently in a calmer frame of mind than when he came."

I thanked M. Tissot for this communication, and said that Musurus Pasha had given me to-day a copy of a telegram from the Porte, dated the 17th instant, protesting against the action of the English and French Governments in sending their squadrons to Alexandria and claiming that the Porte was the only Power which could be justified in having recourse to such a measure.

I had observed to Musurus Pasha, in reply, that I had listened with great attention to the despatch, but that I was happy to say I had received a telegram dated midnight, the 18th, from which it appeared that the Minister for Foreign Affairs had informed Lord Dufferin, by order of the Sultan, that His Imperial Majesty had decided to maintain an attitude of perfect friendliness towards the Western Powers, and was willing to discuss with them any arrangements they might suggest for the maintenance of the *status quo* in Egypt, upon the understanding that the presence of the two fleets at Alexandria was restricted to the shortest possible period.

I added that Lord Dufferin had been instructed to express, in warm and suitable terms, the appreciation by Her Majesty's Government of the friendly action of the Sultan, and had to say that they continued to be strongly opposed to any change of Khedive, and did not wish to keep the fleet at Alexandria a day longer than was necessary to restore His Highness' authority.

The Turkish Ambassador might assure the Porte of the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government to avoid anything which could appear to derogate from the dignity and rights of the Sultan.

I remarked to M. Tissot, in conclusion, that Her Majesty's Government were

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ready to join the French Government in any mode of procedure which they could suggest which would tend to further reassure the Sultan.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 363.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 19, 10 P.M.)

(No. 55.)
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 19, 1882, 6.10 P.M.

M. DE FREYCINET agrees to your proposal to suspend the dispatch of more ships to Alexandria, but wishes to learn the reasons which lead Her Majesty's Government to make the proposal.

No. 364.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24.)

(No. 456. Extender.)

Paris, May 19, 1882.

My Lord,

IN execution of the instruction conveyed to me by your Lordship's telegram No. 170 of yesterday, I said to M. de Freycinet this afternoon that I was directed by your Lordship to propose to the French Government that the dispatch of additional French and English ships of war to Alexandria should be suspended.

M. de Freycinet agreed to the proposal at once, and said that he would immediately ask the Minister of Marine to give orders in accordance with it.

He expressed a wish to be made acquainted with the reasons of Her Majesty's Government for making the proposal.

I have forwarded the substance of this despatch to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 365.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 19, 10 P.M.)

(No. 56.)
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 19, 1882, 6.35 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 164 of yesterday, Most Confidential.

M. de Freycinet has very strong objections, political and personal, to speaking openly at Constantinople or elsewhere of the agreement to call for Turkish troops in case military intervention in Egypt should be unavoidable.

In answer to Turkish Circular, he has sent an instruction to the French Ambassador at Constantinople to tell the Sultan that if any act which belonged to the competence of the Sovereign became necessary, it is to the Sultan we should have recourse.

I send you a copy of the instruction by the messenger of this evening. M. de Freycinet says he cannot go beyond it.

No. 366.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24.)

(No. 458. Most Confidential. Extender.)

Paris, May 19, 1882.

My Lord,

IN pursuance of the instruction conveyed to me by your Lordship's telegram No. 164 of yesterday, I asked M. de Freycinet this evening whether he saw any objection to speaking openly to the Porte of the whole agreement between France and England with regard to Egypt.

M. de Freycinet answered that, in his opinion, there were very strong objections to speaking openly at this moment, either at Constantinople or elsewhere, of the agree-

ment to call in Turkish troops, in case military intervention in Egypt should prove to be unavoidable.

In the first place a premature announcement of this agreement would, he said, so damage his own position in the French Chambers as to deprive him of the power necessary to enable him to give effect to it.

He had agreed that Turkish troops under the control of France and England should be employed rather than French and English, if the employment of troops should be absolutely unavoidable; but he regarded this as a measure to be resorted to at the last extremity, and not before he could show the Chambers that the last extremity had come, and that no less objectionable course remained open.

M. de Freycinet went on to say that in answer to the Turkish Circular he had authorized the French Ambassador at Constantinople to tell the Sultan that if any act which fell within the competence of the Sovereign became necessary, it was of course to the Sultan that the French Government would have recourse. This was, his Excellency said, in conclusion, quite as far as he could go.

M. de Freycinet was so good as to give me a full copy of his answer to the Turkish Circular, and I will inclose one to your Lordship to-day in a despatch immediately following this.

I have already had the honour to send the substance of this despatch to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 367.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 141.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 19, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 137 of the 17th instant, I have to acquaint your Excellency that Count Karolyi has since informed me that it was owing to him that the misunderstanding had arisen at Vienna with regard to the language used by me in the House of Lords on the 15th instant, when explaining the steps taken by the English and French Governments in view of the state of affairs in Egypt.

He said that the Attaché who attended the House had not been able to give an exact account of what had passed, and that he had therefore telegraphed the only available report, which was in the "Globe;" but the next day he had telegraphed the Times' report, and had pointed out the errors in the first report.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 368.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 20.)

(No. 434. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 16, 1882.

AT the suggestion of M. de Freycinet I have to-night had the honour to inform your Lordship by telegraph that in a telegram from the French Admiral, dated at Suda at 11 o'clock this morning, it is stated that the English Admiral had arrived there, but that orders to go on to Alexandria had not yet reached him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 369.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 20.)

E
(No. 459.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 19, 1882.

M. DE FREYCINET told me this evening that the Ottoman Ambassador here had communicated to him a Circular from the Porte protesting against the dispatch of the French and English ships to Alexandria.

M. de Freycinet said that he had used language calculated to remove the misapprehension and calm the irritation which seemed to prevail at the Porte, and that he had sent by telegraph instructions to the French Ambassador at Constantinople to use the same language.

He was so good as to give me a copy of the telegram, and I do myself the honour to forward a copy to your Lordship herewith.

Your Lordship will see that M. de Freycinet says in it that if an act falling within the competence of the Sultan became necessary, it would naturally be to the Sultan that recourse would be had; and again, that if the question went beyond the protection of fellow-countrymen, and the safeguard of special interests, the co-operation of the Sultan would be necessarily brought into play.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 369.

M. de Freycinet to the Marquis de Noailles.

(Télégraphique.)

Paris, le 19 Mai, 1882.

ESSAD PACHA vient de me donner communication d'une Circulaire, en date du 17, par laquelle la Porte proteste contre la démonstration navale Anglo-Française, qu'elle considère comme attentatoire aux droits de suzeraineté du Sultan. Je lui ai répété les arguments que je vous ai déjà fait connaître. J'ai insisté sur ce que nous n'avions nullement l'intention d'accomplir des actes dépassant notre compétence, comme d'effectuer des opérations militaires en Égypte, et d'en occuper le territoire. Nous n'avons pas davantage la pensée de toucher au *statu quo* constitutionnel. Si un acte rentrant dans la compétence du Souverain, ai-je dit, devenait nécessaire, c'est au Sultan naturellement que nous aurions recours; nous lui demanderions de s'unir à nous et de résoudre la difficulté d'un commun accord. Nous n'agissons seuls actuellement que parce que nos seuls intérêts, les intérêts des Européens, sont en cause, les intérêts des Musulmans et ces droits du Sultan n'ont pas été menacés par le désordre; on ne s'expliquerait donc pas que la Porte vint les protéger. En un mot, j'ai tâché de lui faire comprendre que si la question s'élargissait, par suite des événements, et dépassait les proportions d'une protection des nationaux ou d'une sauvegarde de nos intérêts spéciaux, la coopération du Sultan se trouverait nécessairement amenée. J'espère que ces franches explications calmeront des susceptibilités qui ne reposent que sur un malentendu, et je vous autorise à faire entendre le même langage aux Ministres du Sultan.

No. 370.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 20.)

E
(No. 149.)

Rome, May 17, 1882.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a paragraph, having the appearance of an official announcement, in this morning's "Popolo Romano," of which a translation is likewise transmitted, relative to the reported departure of an Italian squadron for Egypt.

I ought to have mentioned, in my despatch No. 147 of yesterday, that in consequence of the reports referred to, I asked M. Mancini, in my interview of the previous evening, whether the Italian Government contemplated sending any ships to Alexandria, and that his Excellency had replied that no decision had yet been taken on this subject, and I understood that this decision would in a great measure depend upon his communications with the other Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 370.

Extract from the "Popolo Romano" of May 17, 1882.

(Translation.)

OUR SQUADRON.—Some journals have announced that our naval squadron of evolution had departed from the waters of Gaeta bound for Alexandria.

The news is exact in part only. The two divisions of the squadron have indeed left the Gulf of Gaeta, but are at present bound to Messina, where the first division arrived on Monday, and was provisioned yesterday, embarking 80,000 rations.

The second division, which provisioned itself at Naples on the 15th day (of the month) proceeded yesterday for Messina, and will have, at the moment in which we write, probably joined the first.

The squadron is awaiting orders which may be rendered perchance useless through the reconciliation which the "Telegraph" announces to have taken place between the Khedive and his Ministry, a reconciliation which would be comic were it not comprehended that there is below it the able hand of English diplomacy.

No. 371.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received May 20.)

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, May 20, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the decypher of a telegram dated the 20th instant, from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, reporting arrival of combined French and English squadrons at Alexandria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure in No. 371.

Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Paraphrase of Telegram.)

Alexandria, May 20, 1882.

SQUADRONS in company arrived at daylight at Alexandria.

All is tranquil here for the moment.

No. 372.

Consul Sandwith to Earl Granville.—(Received May 20, 10.45 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Canea, Crete, May 20, 1882, 8.50 A.M.

GUN-BOAT "Condor" arrived yesterday and left for Alexandria.

No. 373.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 130.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 20, 1882.

CONSIDER the instructions proposed by M. de Freycinet, and recorded in Lord Lyons' telegram No. 54 of yesterday, as addressed to you by Her Majesty's Government, with the proviso which I added to my instructions to you (telegram No. 124 of yesterday), in which French Government have concurred.

No. 374.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 20, 12.15 P.M.)(No. 57.)
(Telegraphic.)*Paris, May 20, 1882, 10.30 A.M.*

FRENCH Agent has reported to M. de Freycinet that there is a question of the Khedive's leaving Cairo for Alexandria.

M. de Freycinet would be very much obliged if your Lordship would telegraph to Sir E. Malet to unite with his French colleague in energetically opposing the Khedive's departure.

His Excellency thinks that it would have the worst effect upon the Khedive's position and prestige.

He is also himself very strongly averse to the Khedive's being in close vicinity to Turkish ships of war, if the Sultan should send any to Alexandria.

No. 375.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24.)

(No. 462. Extender.)

Paris, May 20, 1882.

My Lord,

M. DE FREYCINET informs me that it appears from reports which he has received from M. Sienkiewicz that a plan for the Khedive's retiring from the capital to Alexandria has been taken into consideration at Cairo.

M. de Freycinet thinks that such a step would have fatal effects on the reputation and on the position of Tewfik Pasha.

His Excellency is also of opinion that if the Sultan should send Turkish ships to Alexandria, it would be far from desirable that Tewfik Pasha should be in close vicinity to those ships.

He desires me to inform your Lordship that he should be very much obliged if you would send Sir Edward Malet, by telegraph, an instruction to unite with his French colleague in opposing energetically the departure of the Khedive from Cairo.

I have had the honour to forward to your Lordship, by telegraph, the substance of this despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 376.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 20, 1.20 P.M.)(No. 58.)
(Telegraphic.)*Paris, May 20, 1882, 12.25 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 170* of yesterday.

M. de Freycinet informs me that he has communicated to the French Agent at Cairo your "very opportune" reservation as to Arabi and his friends being ordered to leave Egypt.

No. 377.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24.)

(No. 464. Extender.)

Paris, May 20, 1882.

My Lord,

IN obedience to the instruction contained in your Lordship's telegram of yesterday (No. 171), I informed M. de Freycinet last evening that Her Majesty's Government concurred in the instructions to the British Agents which he had proposed the day before, but thought it desirable to make to them the following addition, referring of course to Arabi Pasha and his compeers:—

* Qy. No. 171.

"Do not say anything to prevent ordering them to leave the country, if this be desired by the incoming Ministry."

I also let M. de Freycinet know that your Lordship had already telegraphed the instruction to Sir E. Malet with the above addition; and I explained that your Lordship had of course used the terms which M. de Freycinet had stated to me the day before, as you could not have received the telegram in which I had communicated to you the slightly modified text which was settled in the Council of Ministers yesterday morning.

As I have already had the honour to report to your Lordship by telegraph, M. de Freycinet has informed me this morning that he has transmitted to the French Agent at Cairo the addition made by your Lordship, which he characterizes as "very opportune."

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 378.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.(No. 177.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, May 20, 1882, 3.20 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 52 of yesterday.

Her Majesty's Government agree in first three points of M. de Freycinet's proposed identic note.

And for the last three points Her Majesty's Government propose to substitute:—

That the Powers have sent their squadrons to maintain the *status quo* and the sovereignty of the Sultan, the authority of the Khedive, and the protection of European interests.

That they have never proposed to land French or British troops, or to resort to a military occupation of the country.

No. 379.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 568. Extender.)

Foreign Office, May 20, 1882.

My Lord,

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 52 of yesterday, recording M. de Freycinet's opinion that the time has arrived when France and England should address an identic note to the Powers, explaining their actions and intentions with regard to Egypt; and M. de Freycinet suggests the substance of the proposed communication.

Your Excellency will be good enough to inform M. de Freycinet that Her Majesty's Government agree in the first three points of the proposed note.

For the last three points Her Majesty's Government would, however, propose to substitute—

"That the Powers have sent their squadrons to maintain the *status quo* and the sovereignty of the Sultan, the authority of the Khedive, and the protection of European interests.

"That they have never proposed to land French or British troops, or to resort to a military occupation of the country."

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 380.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.(No. 178.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, May 20, 1882, 3.45 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 55 of yesterday.

The reasons for proposing to suspend further dispatch of ships to Alexandria are that the physical force at Alexandria is quite sufficient.

That the knowledge that there are six more vessels ready to join those at Alexandria has almost as great a moral effect as their arrival.

That the spontaneous suspension of sending further forces for the present will appear a conciliatory step to the Powers who have been somewhat startled at the suddenness of the operation without consultation with them.

No. 381.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 569. Extender.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 20, 1882.

IN your Excellency's telegram No. 55 of yesterday, in recording M. de Freycinet's concurrence in the proposal of Her Majesty's Government to suspend the dispatch of any further ships to Alexandria, you state that his Excellency would be glad to know the reasons which led Her Majesty's Government to make that proposal.

Your Excellency will be good enough to state to M. de Freycinet in reply—1st, that the physical force at Alexandria is, in their opinion, quite sufficient to meet the present contingency; 2nd, that the knowledge that there are to be more vessels ready to join those at Alexandria has almost as great a moral effect as would be produced by their arrival; and, 3rd, that the spontaneous suspension of sending further forces for the present will appear a conciliatory step to the Powers, who have been somewhat startled at the suddenness of the operation without previous consultation with them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 382.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 179.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 20, 1882, 3.55 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 54 of yesterday.

Her Majesty's Government concur in instructions proposed to Agents in Egypt, with proviso which I informed you I had added to previous instructions, and to which your telegram No. 58 of to-day states French Government agree.

I have telegraphed accordingly to Sir E. Malet.

No. 383.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 571. Extender.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 20, 1882.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 54 of yesterday, forwarding the text of the instructions proposed to be sent to the English and French Agents in Egypt, which have been agreed upon after consultation with the Council of Ministers, and which, in their original form, were reported in your Excellency's telegram No. 51 of the 18th instant.

Your Excellency will be good enough to inform M. de Freycinet that Her Majesty's Government concur in the instructions as now proposed, with the proviso, which, as stated to your Excellency in my telegram No. 171 of the 18th instant, I had stipulated should be added thereto, and to which your Excellency states the French Government have agreed.*

I have to add that I have telegraphed accordingly to Sir E. Malet.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

* Telegram No. 58.

No. 384.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 180.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 20, 1882, 4.15 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 57 of to-day.

Her Majesty's Government concur in advice to Khedive not to leave Cairo, and have instructed Sir E. Malet accordingly.

No. 385.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 574. Extender.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 20, 1882.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 57 of this day's date, reporting your communication with M. de Freycinet on the subject of a telegram received by his Excellency from the French Representative at Cairo, from which it would appear that the question had been mooted of the Khedive leaving Cairo for Alexandria.

Your Excellency will inform M. de Freycinet that Her Majesty's Government concur in the necessity of the Khedive being advised not to leave Cairo, and that they have instructed Sir E. Malet accordingly.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 386.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 20, 4.30 P.M.)

(No. 59.)
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 20, 1882, 2.15 P.M.

MY telegram No. 52 of yesterday.

The following is the text of an identic telegram which M. de Freycinet proposes that the English and French Governments shall send to their Ambassadors at Berlin, Vienna, Rome, St. Petersburg, and Constantinople:—

"As my telegram of instant has informed you, the two Governments of France and England have sent a squadron to Alexandria. The events which gave rise to this determination were so sudden, and the danger which seemed to menace our countrymen so pressing, that time was absolutely wanting for us to come to a previous understanding with the other Powers. Since then a reconciliation has taken place at Cairo, but besides that it does not appear durable, the news of it did not reach us until our ships were already on their way.

"No one can have mistaken the character and the object of this demonstration: the declarations made to the British and French Parliaments have prevented all doubt in this respect. We have gone to Egypt not to make a selfish and exclusive policy prevail, but to secure, without distinction of nationality, the interests in that country of the several European Powers. We do not propose to effect any military operation or any occupation of territory, nor do we aim at modifying the order of things established by the Firmans and recognized by Europe. We intend, when once calm has been re-established and the future secured by certain changes of persons and by some indispensable measures of order, to leave Egypt to herself, and to recall our squadrons. If, contrary to our expectation, the situation becomes more serious, and a pacific solution cannot be obtained, we shall propose that the Powers and Turkey shall deliberate on the employment of the means which circumstances may call for. In a word, nothing will be done which can trouble the *status quo* or encroach upon the prerogatives of the Sultan, without Europe and the Porte itself having come to an agreement with us. To act otherwise would be to abuse the confidence which the Cabinets have placed in us, and to defraud the mandate with which we find ourselves invested.

"I beg you to read this telegram to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and to leave him a copy if he desires it."

If your Lordship concur in this telegram, M. de Freycinet will be ready to dispatch it; but it will be desirable that, before it is actually dispatched, either from London or

Paris, an explicit understanding should be come to as to the date which should be put to it and the day on which it shall be sent off from both places.

I send you the French text by post this evening.

No. 387.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 133.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 20, 1882, 4.30 P.M.

HER Majesty's Government concur in advice which French Government recommended should be given to Khedive not to leave Cairo for Alexandria, as reported in Lord Lyons' telegram No. 57 of to-day, and you are instructed accordingly.

No. 388.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 131. Extender.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, May 20, 1882.

IT has been reported to the French Government that there is a question of the Khedive leaving Cairo for Alexandria. Her Majesty's Government concur with the Government of France that such a step would have the worst effect upon the Khedive's position and prestige, and they desire that you should unite with your French colleague in strongly opposing such an idea on the part of His Highness.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 389.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 20, 4.50 P.M.)

(No. 142. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 20, 1882, 1.45 P.M.

THE Khedive has sent me a message asking me to beg your Lordship to induce the Porte to send to him a telegram approving of his entering into negotiations with us for the restoration of his authority and the maintenance of the *status quo*. He wished for it as a lever to act on the Deputies, and dissipate the idea, which is now taking root with them and the military, that the Sultan opposes the action of the Powers. The Khedive has not made a similar request to my French colleague.

If the Porte could be induced to telegraph to the Khedive in the sense of the first paragraph of Lord Dufferin's telegram to your Lordship No. 94 of the 18th instant,* it would, I think, answer the purpose.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

No. 390.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 273. Secret. Extender.)
My Lord,

Cairo, May 20, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that His Highness the Khedive has sent me a message asking me to beg your Lordship to persuade the Porte to telegraph to him its approval of his negotiating with the Representatives of England and France for the confirmation of his authority and the maintenance of the *status quo*.

* First paragraph of Lord Dufferin's telegram No. 94 runs as follows:—
"The Minister for Foreign Affairs has just informed me, by order of His Majesty, that the Sultan has decided to maintain an attitude of perfect friendliness towards the Western Powers, and that he is willing to discuss with them any arrangements they may suggest for the more effectual maintenance of the *status quo* in Egypt, upon the understanding that the presence of the mixed fleets at Alexandria is restricted to the shortest possible period."

His Highness is anxious for such a telegram to use as a lever on the Deputies, and to dissipate the idea which is now gaining ground with the Chamber and the Military Party, that the Sultan is opposed to the action of England and France. His Highness has not made a request of a similar nature to the above to the French Representative.

If your Lordship could induce the Porte to telegraph to the Khedive in the sense of the first paragraph of Lord Dufferin's telegram No. 94 to your Lordship of the 18th instant, "The Minister for Foreign Affairs has just informed me, by order of His Majesty, that the Sultan has decided to maintain an attitude of perfect friendliness towards the Western Powers," I venture to think that it would effect the desired object.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 391.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 572.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 20, 1882.

HER Majesty's Government are ready to adopt the alteration which, according to your Excellency's despatch No. 414 of the 14th instant, M. de Freycinet proposes to make in my draft of a note to the Ottoman Ambassadors in Paris and London respecting the proposed modification of the Egyptian Organic Law, namely, to substitute "settled" for "prepared," and "decisions" for "views."

The observations in your despatch No. 415, Confidential, of the same date, as to the advantage of postponing for the present any action in regard to the Organic Law, appears to have much weight, and I have to request your Excellency to state to M. de Freycinet that Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that it would be hopeless to attempt to enter into a discussion of the revision of the Budget Articles with the Egyptian Government until the present crisis is passed or a new Ministry is formed, and that the communications to the Porte on the subject had better also be delayed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 392.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 249.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 20, 1882.

THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and showed me a telegram from the Porte pressing for an answer to the Circular despatch of the 17th instant which his Excellency had communicated to me yesterday.

I told Musurus Pasha that I had little to add to what I had requested him to telegraph to his Government yesterday afternoon. But I begged him to assure the Porte that if any act became necessary involving an exercise of the sovereign power, it was to the Sultan that we should apply.

I added that I would answer the Turkish Circular of the 17th instant in a despatch to Lord Dufferin.

His Excellency asked me if the English and French squadrons had not already arrived at Alexandria.

I answered in the affirmative. I said that six vessels had arrived, three English and three French. It had been intended that six more should follow, but under present circumstances the two Governments had suspended the orders to these latter vessels. I told his Excellency that he was at liberty to inform the Porte of this decision.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 393.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.(No. 204. Confidential.)
My Lord,*Foreign Office, May 20, 1882,*

THE German Ambassador called upon me this morning, and I took the opportunity of stating to him the substance of our communications with the Porte, as contained in Lord Dufferin's two telegrams Nos. 93 and 94 of the 18th instant, and in my reply No. 146 of yesterday's date.

I also informed Count Münster of my conversation with the French and Turkish Ambassadors yesterday, as recounted in my despatch to Lord Lyons of that date.

Of all these papers your Excellency will receive copies at the same time as this despatch.

I remarked to Count Münster that M. de Freycinet entertained strong objections to making any public avowal of an intention to resort in case of need to Turkish troops for the enforcement of order in Egypt. His objections seemed to be grounded on the fear of his Parliamentary position at home being prejudiced by such an avowal, and it appeared to me that it was not our interest, nor that of other Governments, that his position should be weakened or shaken if it could be avoided.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 394.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.(No. 205. Very Confidential.)
My Lord,*Foreign Office, May 20, 1882.*

THE German Ambassador told me in confidence this morning that Prince Lobanow had within the last few days invited M. Tissot and Count Herbert Bismarck to meet one another at breakfast, and that in Count Herbert Bismarck's presence he had subjected the French Ambassador to a cross-examination on the policy of France in regard to Egypt.

When interrogated of the admissibility of Turkish intervention, M. Tissot at first denied that there was any intention of employing a Turkish force, but at last on being pressed he declared himself as personally opposed to it, speaking merely his own opinion.

It was Count Bismarck's impression that Prince Lobanow had invited him for the purpose of witnessing the interview.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 395.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.(No. 132.)
Sir,*Foreign Office, May 20, 1882.*

HER Majesty's Government approve the language which, as reported in your despatch No. 216 of the 3rd instant, you held on the previous day to the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs, with regard to the proceedings and sentences passed by the court-martial.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 396.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.(No. 134.)
Sir,*Foreign Office, May 20, 1882.*

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 234 of the 9th instant, relative to the interview which, in company with the French Agent and Consul-

General and the Representatives of the other Great Powers, you had with the Khedive upon the manner in which His Highness should deal with the sentences of the court-martial submitted for his confirmation, and, further, giving an account of the subsequent interview which you and your French colleague had alone with His Highness with regard to this matter.

Her Majesty's Government approve the advice given by you to the Khedive. You will find, in Lord Lyons' despatch No. 398 of the 10th instant, the explanation of the circumstances which caused a difference in the wording of the instructions to yourself and the French Agent.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 397.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 20, 10.30 P.M.)

(No. 143.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 20, 1882, 5.30 P.M.

MY telegram No. 142 of to-day.

The Khedive has made a request to my French colleague in the same sense. My colleague approves the idea, and telegraphs accordingly to his Government.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

No. 398.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 277. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 20, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that His Highness the Khedive has made a similar request to the one recorded in my despatch No. 273, Secret, of this day's date to my French colleague, M. Sienkiewicz, who approves the idea and will telegraph to his Government accordingly.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 399.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 20, 10.30 P.M.)

(No. 144.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 20, 1882, 6.30 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 124 of yesterday.

My French colleague and I have considered instructions together. The Khedive has no power to form a new Ministry until the military supremacy is broken. No one would accept office until that is done.

We therefore intend to come to an arrangement with the President of the Council and Arabi Pasha on the following terms: that they and the three other military Pashas, Toulba, Abdul Al, and Ali Fehmy, should leave the country and not return except by permission of the Khedive, we guaranteeing to them their rank, pay, and property. We shall endeavour to maintain this negotiation secret.

M. Monge, the French Consul, who knows Arabic thoroughly, will be the intermediary.

No. 400.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 278. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 20, 1882.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 124 of yesterday, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that M. Sienkiewicz and I have consulted together regarding our instructions,

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Until the supremacy of the Military Party is broken the Khedive is powerless to form a new Ministry. No one will accept the task until this is effected.

We intend therefore to propose the following terms to the President of the Council and to Araby Pasha: That they should quit Egypt together with the three other military Pashas, Toulbeh, Abdul Al, and Ali Fehmy, and that they should not return without the Khedive's sanction, in return for which we should guarantee them their property, rank, and pay.

We shall endeavour to maintain secrecy in these negotiations, in which M. Monge, the French Consul, who thoroughly knows Arabic, will act as intermediary.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 401.

E Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received May 21.)
(No. 167.)

My Lord, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1882.

I HAD the honour to receive the repetition of your Lordship's telegram No. 57 of the 15th instant at midnight of that day, and as M. de Giers went early on the morning of the 16th instant to Peterhoff to wait upon the Emperor, as he does every week, I was unable to see his Excellency till late in the evening of that day.

I then communicated to him the contents of your Lordship's telegrams, and expressed to him the desire of Her Majesty's Government that the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople should be instructed to recommend to the Sublime Porte to abstain from all intervention and interference in Egypt for the present. M. de Giers informed me that he had received a precisely similar communication from my French colleague, that he had submitted it to the Emperor, and had been directed by His Majesty to instruct the Russian Representatives to the three other Powers to inquire what the intentions of their respective Governments were with respect to this communication. He had complied with His Majesty's orders, but had not yet received an answer from any one of them. It was, therefore, impossible as yet to decide upon the nature of the instructions which should be sent to the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople.

But, in the meantime, his Excellency expressed the opinion that the recommendation to the Porte not to interfere nor intervene in the affairs of Egypt, combined with the dispatch of an Anglo-French squadron to Alexandria, was a little peremptory, and might be interpreted into an inroad upon the rights of sovereignty which it is recognized by all the Powers belong to the Sultan. He thought that it would be wise, and he was convinced that it was the desire of Her Majesty's Government, as much as that of Russia, not to disregard ("méconnaître") those rights, nor to do anything which might wound the feelings of the Sultan upon a point with respect to which he was especially sensitive.

M. de Giers stated that he had already received a telegram from M. Novikoff, informing him that the Sultan had complained that His Majesty's rights of sovereignty had been invaded by the conduct of France and England with regard to Egypt, and had asked for the moral support of Russia in resisting such aggressions. No reply had yet been made to this telegram, nor would there be until the Russian Government should have ascertained the views of the other three Powers upon the subject.

His Excellency further informed me that he had yesterday received a telegram from the Russian Agent in Egypt, informing him that there had been a great change in the political aspect, and that there was now a fair prospect of the restoration of tranquillity, and of the legal order of things.

He therefore suggested, but only as his personal opinion, and without having as yet ascertained the views of the other three Powers, if this should turn out to be the case, whether it might not be wiser that the Anglo-French squadron should not proceed to Alexandria, but should remain at Suda. There it would be sufficiently near to exercise a beneficial influence, and, in case of need, to reach Alexandria in a very short time, whilst it would not excite those feelings of animosity amongst the native Egyptians to which its actual presence might give rise.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

No. 402.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 21.)

(No. 466.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 20, 1882.

WITH reference to my telegrams Nos. 52 and 59 of yesterday and to-day, I have the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship the French text of the telegram on the affairs of Egypt which M. de Freycinet proposes that the Governments of France and England shall send to their Ambassadors at Berlin, Rome, Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Constantinople.

M. de Freycinet sent it to me this morning, and informed me that if I should be able to let him know that your Lordship assents to it he will be ready to send it off immediately.

In order that the telegram, if your Lordship agree to send it, may reach the several English and French Ambassadors simultaneously, it seems desirable that it should not be dispatched either from Paris or London until the two Governments have come explicitly to an understanding as to the date which shall be put to it, and as to the day on which it shall be sent off from both capitals.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 402.

Draft of Identic Telegram to the Ambassadors of France and England at Berlin, Vienna, Rome, St. Petersburg, and Constantinople.

AINSI que mon télégramme du courant vous en a informé, les deux Gouvernements de France et d'Angleterre ont envoyé une escadre à Alexandrie. Les événements qui ont motivé cette détermination ont été si brusques, le danger qui semblait menacer nos nationaux si pressant, que le temps nous a matériellement manqué pour nous concerter au préalable avec les autres Puissances. Depuis lors une réconciliation s'est faite au Caire, mais outre qu'elle ne semble pas de longue durée, la nouvelle nous en est parvenue après que nos navires étaient déjà en marche.

Personne n'a pu se méprendre sur le caractère et le but de cette démonstration; les déclarations faites aux Parlements de Paris et de Londres ont prévenu tout doute à cet égard. Nous sommes allés en Égypte, non pour prévaloir une politique égoïste et exclusive, mais pour sauvegarder, sans distinction de nationalités, les intérêts des diverses Puissances Européennes engagées dans ce pays. Nous ne projetons aucune opération militaire ni aucune occupation de territoire; nous ne visons pas davantage à modifier l'ordre de choses établi par les Firmans reconnus de l'Europe. Nous entendons, une fois le calme rétabli et l'avenir assuré par certains changements de personnes et par quelques mesures d'ordre indispensables, laisser l'Égypte à elle-même et ramener nos escadres. Si, contre notre attente, la situation s'aggravait et un dénouement pacifique ne pouvait être obtenu, nous provoquerions une délibération des Puissances et de la Turquie sur l'emploi des moyens que réclameraient les circonstances. En un mot, rien ne se fera pouvant troubler le *statu quo*, ou empiéter sur les prérogatives du Sultan, sans que l'Europe et la Porte elle-même ne soient mises d'accord avec nous. Agir autrement serait tromper la confiance que les Cabinets ont mise en nous et altérer le mandat dont nous nous trouvons investis.

Je vous prie de lire la présente dépêche à M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères et de lui en laisser copie s'il le désire.

No. 403.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 21.)

(No. 467.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 20, 1882.

IN execution of the instruction conveyed to me by your Lordship's telegram of yesterday (No. 174), I recited to M. Decrais this morning the substance of the Earl of Dufferin's telegram of the day before respecting the Sultan's assurances with regard to the Egyptian question, and also the substance of the answer to it sent by telegraph by Her Majesty's Government.

M. Decrais promised to make the contents of these telegrams known to M. de Freycinet.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 404.

Consul Sandwith to Earl Granville.—(Received May 21.)

(Telegraphic.) *Canea, Crete, May 20, 1882, 3.50 P.M.*
GUN-BOAT "Cygnet" arrived to-day.

No. 405.

Mr. Ford to Earl Granville.—(Received May 21, 11.30 A.M.)

(No. 15.) *Athens, May 21, 1882, 9.50 A.M.*
(Telegraphic.) THE "Bacchante," with the Royal Princes on board, and the "Iris" left early this morning for Suda Bay, Candia.

No. 406.

*Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.**

(No. 62.) *Foreign Office, May 21, 1882, noon.*
(Telegraphic.) THREE English and three French ships arrived yesterday at Alexandria; two Governments have given orders to suspend sending the rest of the fleets.

No. 407.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 160. Extender.) *Foreign Office, May 21, 1882.*
Sir, HER Majesty's Government have received information that three English and three French ships arrived yesterday at Alexandria.
The Governments of the two countries have given orders to suspend sending the remainder of the fleets.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 408.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Thornton.

(No. 161. Extender.) *Foreign Office, May 21, 1882.*
Sir, I HAVE to inform your Excellency that three British and three French ships arrived yesterday at Alexandria, and that orders have been given by Her Majesty's Government, after agreement with the French Government, to suspend the departure of the rest of the combined fleet now assembled at Suda Bay.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

* Also to Sir A. Paget (No. 67), Sir E. Thornton (No. 64), and Sir H. Elliot (No. 70).

No. 409.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 21, 4.30 P.M.)

(No. 60.)
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 21, 1882, noon.
YOUR telegrams Nos. 177 and 181, my telegram No. 59, and my despatch No. 466, all of yesterday, respecting the proposed identic telegram to the Powers and the Porte.

M. de Freycinet learns that the Powers are conferring about the answer to be made to our first telegram announcing the despatch of the squadrons to Alexandria, and this makes him extremely anxious to get off the new telegram to-day, if possible, or, at latest, to-morrow. I have told him that you agree generally to the telegram as sketched out by him to me the day before yesterday, but that I have not heard from you since you received the text which he communicated to me yesterday. In order to avoid confusion, I have not mentioned to him the modifications suggested by you in the sketch because they do not exactly suit with the full text.

I, however, observed to him that in the text the words "changes of persons" are ambiguous, and might be held to include a change of Khedive. He proposes to substitute "Ministers" for "persons."

I little doubt that he would agree to any changes of the text you thought desirable, if I were authorized to inform him that on his doing so you would send off the telegram.

No. 410.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24.)

(No. 470. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 21, 1882.

I HAD last evening the honour to receive the telegrams which your Lordship did me the honour to send me yesterday, in answer to the telegram of the day before, in which I had reported to you a sketch, communicated verbally to me by M. de Freycinet, of an identic representation on the affairs of Egypt, which he thought it would be desirable to address to the Four Great Powers and to the Porte.

Since sending off the telegrams referred to, your Lordship will have received my telegram No. 59 and my despatch No. 466 of yesterday, in which I transmitted to you a full draft which I received on that day from M. de Freycinet of an identic instruction on the subject, to be addressed to the British and French Ambassadors at Berlin, Rome, Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Constantinople.

I told M. de Freycinet this morning that your Lordship agreed generally to the representation as sketched out by him to me two days before, but that, of course, I had not heard from you since the full draft had reached you.

In order to avoid confusion, I did not mention to him the modifications suggested by your Lordship in the sketch, as they did not exactly fit in with the wording of the full draft.

I did, however, point out to him, on my own account, that the words "changes of persons," as they appeared in the draft, were ambiguous, and might be held to include a change of Khedive. He said that the ambiguity might be avoided by saying "Ministers" instead of "persons."

His Excellency told me that it appeared that the Powers were at this moment conferring with one another upon the answer to be made to our first telegram announcing the dispatch of the squadrons to Alexandria. This, he said, made him extremely anxious to get the identic telegram off as soon as possible, in order that the further explanations it contained might be in the hands of the Powers before they finally decided upon their answer.

I have had the honour to transmit to your Lordship by telegraph the substance of this despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.(No. 182.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, May 21, 1882, midnight.*

YOUR telegram No. 59.

Her Majesty's Government agree to the draft note as proposed by French Government down to the words "several European Powers." They propose that the note should then run according to my telegram No. 177 of yesterday, but have no objection to add: "We intend, when once calm has been restored and the future secured, to leave Egypt to herself, and to recall our squadrons."

"If, contrary to our expectations, a pacific solution cannot be obtained, we will communicate with the Powers and with Turkey on the measures which have appeared to us and to France to be the best."

When the draft is settled, you should settle with M. de Freycinet as to the hour at which the identic telegrams should be sent from Paris and London.

No. 412.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.(No. 580. Extender.)
My Lord,*Foreign Office, May 21, 1882.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 59 of yesterday, recording the text of the identic telegram which M. de Freycinet proposes shall be sent by the English and French Governments to their Ambassadors at Berlin, Vienna, Rome, St. Petersburg, and Constantinople, explanatory of the course taken by the two Governments in sending a joint squadron to Alexandria.

Your Excellency will be good enough to inform M. de Freycinet that Her Majesty's Government agree to the draft note, as proposed by the French Government, down to the words "several European Powers."

They propose that the note should then run according to my telegram No. 177 of yesterday, but have no objection to add, "we intend, when once calm has been restored, and the future secured, to leave Egypt to herself, and to recall our squadrons."

"If, contrary to our expectations, a pacific solution cannot be obtained, we will communicate with the Powers and with Turkey on the measures which have appeared to us and to France to be the best."

When the draft is settled, your Excellency should arrange with M. de Freycinet as to the hour at which the identic telegrams should be sent from Paris and London.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 413.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 21, 11.30 P.M.)(No. 148.)
(Telegraphic.)*Cairo, May 21, 1882, 5.20 P.M.*

ADMIRAL SIR B. SEYMOUR, on board Her Majesty's ship "Invincible," with the "Bittern" and the "Falcon," arrived at Alexandria yesterday.

Admiral Conrad, on board "La Galissonnière," with the "Forbin" and the "Aspic," arrived at the same time.

No. 414.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22.)(No. 243.)
My Lord,*Cairo, May 11, 1882.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a copy of a translation of the original sentence of the court-martial on the Circassians accused of plotting against the State.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Sentence of Court-martial.

(Traduction.)

COMME il a été reconnu que ces complots, conspirations, révoltes, et perturbations n'avaient d'autre but que la ruine du pays et du Gouvernement, ainsi que l'assassinat des âmes nobles, au moyen d'une entente faite à ce sujet entre les susdits individus pour perpétrer ce crime et provoquer une révolte; de manière que le grand d'entre eux excitait le petit et l'instiguait à pousser les autres et les encourageait à semer les troubles et les intrigues pour atteindre leur but funeste, en faisant allusion à Son Altesse le Khédive et à quelques-uns des hauts fonctionnaires pour réaliser leurs mauvaises intentions: d'autant plus que le haut fonctionnaire qui a eu la hardiesse de procéder à de pareils actes, de ne faire aucun cas du Gouvernement qui lui a accordé de hauts grades et l'a comblé de ses bienfaits, et d'intriguer auprès des subalternes pour suivre son exemple;—tout cela constitue de grands crimes et prouve qu'ils n'ont ni honneur, ni qualités, ni confiance: par conséquent, le Conseil a jugé convenable, pour leur faire subir une peine exemplaire, que les quarante officiers, dont les noms sont mentionnés plus haut, soient tous dégradés et dépossédés des privilèges militaires, ainsi que des décorations dont ils sont honorés.

D'ailleurs, Omar Rahmi et Ibrahim Khalil, employés civils, seront privés de leurs droits civils, et ces derniers, avec les quarante officiers susmentionnés, seront déportés perpétuellement à l'extrémité lointaine du Soudan, et pour ne pas trouver l'occasion de se réunir dans un même endroit, afin qu'ils ne puissent faire d'autres révoltes, il a été décidé, en outre, qu'ils soient dispersés dans les localités séparées, à condition que les localités où ils habiterait ne seraient situées ni dans les centres du Gouvernement, ni dans les chefs-lieux des Moudirichs, ni sur les côtes.

Pour ce qui concerne Mohammed Ratib Pacha, qui est le promoteur principal de cette intrigue, et ayant su que le Gouvernement a découvert son projet et va procéder à son arrestation, il a pris la fuite pour se rendre en Europe.

Le Conseil de Guerre a jugé convenable de rayer son nom du cadre de l'armée en le dégradant de ses honneurs, grades, décorations dont il est porteur, et de lui défendre l'entrée en Égypte. Et s'il y rentre, il sera arrêté et exilé à perpétuité au Soudan, et sera traité sur le même pied que ses complices, &c., et cela conformément à l'Article 359 de la Loi Intérieure et à l'Article 155 de la Loi relative à la citadelle et à la caserne.

Attendu que l'origine de cette révolte n'était qu'Ismaïl Pacha, l'ex-Khédive, au moyen de ses correspondances dans l'espoir de retourner en Égypte ou de la rendre à un état plus pire que celui de son règne, d'autant plus qu'il est assisté dans ses projets par l'abondance de sa liste civile, qui lui est allouée par le Gouvernement; que l'esprit de justice ne permet pas qu'un Gouvernement se charge de lui payer de numéraires au moyen desquels il fait des démarches pour le ruiner; et comme l'examen de la question relative à la suppression de sa liste civile qui le favorise à atteindre son but, qui est préjudiciable au Gouvernement, dépend exclusivement du Conseil des Ministres et de Son Altesse le Khédive, nous leur laissons donc le soin de prendre des mesures à ce sujet;

Comme la perturbation et les intrigues provenaient des communications et correspondances échangées entre l'Égypte et l'ex-Khédive, et que de pareils faits ne seraient pas tolérables, il appartient donc à qui de droit de faire cesser cet état de choses. Quant aux individus civils, ils seront renvoyés par devant les Tribunaux locaux, attendu qu'ils ont déclaré qu'il y avait dans la maison de son Excellence Kosrew Pacha un Grand Conseil composé d'Européens et autres pour délibérer sur la question des partis, et qu'un d'eux nommé Hadji Fanti se serait engagé de faire venir des Grecs pour les faire introduire dans ce complot;

Quant à leurs Excellences Ali Pacha Chérif, Ibrahim Pacha Sonari, Daoud Pacha Falthi, Sami Pacha, Youssuf Pacha Kamal, Youssuf Pacha Chouhir, Ahmed Pacha Rafaat, Osman Pacha Nedjib, Chesmé Pacha, Ismaïl Pacha Eyoub, Ali Pacha Moubarek, Mahmoud Bey Taher, Mohamed Bey Nezib, Mohamed Bey Sharki, et Hussein Bey Karchoulti Zadeh, dont les noms sont mentionnés dans l'enquête, ils ont été justifiés par les déclarations contradictoires des individus qui ont cité ces noms, tout en jetant l'un sur l'autre, d'autant plus qu'ils n'ont pu produire aucune preuve pour avoir vu l'un de ces hauts fonctionnaires dans une de ces réunions ou dans un de ces partis, ni avoir entendu directement n'importe quelle chose de leur part;

Il a été constaté de ce qui vient d'être dit que le but principal des perturbateurs d'avoir cité les noms susmentionnés n'est que pour semer les intrigues et jeter les

troubles afin de satisfaire aux désirs des malveillants pour agrandir et fortifier les partis en citant les noms de ces Pachas ;

Pour cette raison le Conseil a cru devoir justifier ces hauts fonctionnaires dans cette affaire, de ne pas les rendre responsables et de ne pas les interroger à ce sujet, vu la non-participation. Et comme il a été reconnu des vérifications faites et des déclarations données que les partis ne se sont pas bornés seulement aux individus qui ont été l'objet des condamnations précitées, mais encore à d'autres dont le nombre s'élève à 300 individus, et qu'il est nécessaire de connaître tous les noms des autres complices et d'arrêter au fur et à mesure tout ce qui sera connu pour subir le jugement requis sur le crime dont il est coupable ; par conséquent le Conseil a jugé opportun de confier personnellement au Préfet de Police au Caire le soin de prendre toutes les mesures politiques et administratives, pour faire lui-même toutes les recherches nécessaires, ou de déléguer également un homme de confiance de sa part pour le reste des complices compris dans ces partis, le plus promptement possible.

Toute personne arrêtée de ces complices sera envoyée au Ministère de la Guerre pour procéder à son jugement, afin de prévenir toute perturbation et d'obstruer le chemin aux méchants.

Quant aux armes qui ont été saisies avec quelques-uns des auteurs du complot, ainsi que les munitions, elles seront envoyées aux dépôts militaires.

(Suivent les noms des 13 membres du Conseil de Guerre.)

No. 415.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 356. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, May 13, 1882.

IMMEDIATELY on the receipt yesterday of your Lordship's telegraphic instructions I drew up a Memorandum, copy of which is herewith inclosed, expressing the hope that the Government of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan would not show any resentment towards the Khedive for having acted as he has with regard to the court-martial sentences on certain officers of high rank.

I instructed Sir Alfred Sandison to place it into the hands of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, but, in the event of his failing to find his Excellency—it being Friday, the day on which Public Offices are closed—to proceed to the Palace, and to endeavour to have the expression of your Lordship's hopes conveyed privately to the Sultan. Saïd Pasha was not at the Porte, consequently, Sir Alfred went on to Yildiz Kiosk, where he saw Munir Bey, who at once submitted the substance of my communication to His Majesty, who expressed his thanks for it, but referred me for an answer to his Minister.

On leaving Yildiz Kiosk Sir Alfred met Saïd Pasha, acquainted him with the views of Her Majesty's Government, and handed him my Memorandum. His Excellency begged him to call to-day for an answer ; "but," he observed, "of what use is it sending any Decree when there is no Khedive."

There is a very strong feeling amongst the Palace and other officials at the present moment against Arabi Pasha, and it is thought that the moment has arrived when Turkish troops should be sent to Egypt to restore order and discipline in the army. But the Porte is afraid to take such a step, lest it should find itself in opposition to France and England ; with very slight encouragement from England, however, it would, I believe, be ready to do so without taking France into account.

Turkey wishes, I think, to detach England from France, and act with her either alone, or with her and the other Powers, as regards Egypt—the further interference of France in North African affairs being naturally looked upon by her with fear and suspicion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HUGH WYNDHAM.

Inclosure in No. 415.

Pro-memorid.

THE Khedive stated to Sir E. Malet that for the prisoners' sake he could not consent to a free pardon, as the consequence of such an act would be that they would be either rearrested or otherwise pursued. Sir E. Malet accordingly accepted His Highness' refusal to grant free pardon, and he accepted the Decree as it had been issued, and which he considers to be the best decision in the interests of the officers sentenced and of Tewfik Pasha himself.

Such being the case, Her Majesty's Government have instructed Mr. Wyndham, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, to express the hope that the Government of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan will not resent the course taken by His Highness the Khedive with regard to the sentences of the court-martial.

May 12, 1882.

No. 416.

Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 356 A. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, May 15, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that Saïd Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs, called last night upon all the Representatives of the Great Powers. His Excellency reached my house about midnight, and informed me that the Porte had that evening sent telegraphic instructions to its Ambassadors to communicate its views on the present state of affairs in Egypt to the Governments to which they are accredited, and he explained to me their nature, which I endeavoured to convey to your Lordship as accurately as possible by telegraph this morning.

The Porte, his Excellency stated, wished to see the maintenance of general peace, and the preservation of order, and the *status quo* in Egypt, with regard to which country, he said, its policy was most moderate. That if the state of affairs there became more serious it would inform the Powers, hoping that, in consideration of its pacific sentiments, they would lend it their support ("concoirs"), meaning by that moral support, and his Excellency laid particular stress upon the word "moral." He then said that the coldness which had arisen between the Khedive and his Ministers, and the present state of tension between them, arose only from the imprisonment of certain personages.

That as Egypt formed essentially an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, the Porte had learnt with much regret the news of the intention of France and England to send fleets to Egyptian waters ; that if such a necessity were to arise, the Sultan being the Sovereign it would be for His Imperial Majesty's Government alone to send ships and troops there ; but as at present there was no need for it to do so, it could not see the reason why the Governments of other Powers should adopt such a measure.

I expressed my thanks to his Excellency, and said that I was without instructions, but that I would hasten to lay the communication he had been so good as to make to me before Her Majesty's Government.

I then asked Saïd Pasha since when matters had taken a turn apparently so much for the better in Egypt ; to which he replied that within the last two or three days the position of the Khedive had become much stronger, that the Chamber was indignant at being convened without the authority of His Highness, that a part of the army and many officers now sided with him, that Arabi Pasha and his followers were losing ground daily, and that it was reported that they either had retired or were likely to retire to a fortress, taking the prisoners with them as hostages.

I then observed to his Excellency that I believed Her Majesty's Government were anxious, like that of His Imperial Majesty, to maintain the present Khedive, in support of which idea I reminded him of the hope I had but recently expressed on the part of your Lordship that the Porte would not resent His Highness' action with regard to the court-martial sentences, to which he said that on that point our respective Governments appeared to be agreed.

I next questioned him as to how he had learnt the news of an intention on the part of England to send ships to Alexandria, as no information of the sort had

reached me, although rumours as to such a possibility had done so with regard to France. His Excellency answered that rumours to the above effect had reached the Porte.

The principal object of Saïd Pasha's communication, which he hopes will be favourably received by your Lordship, appears to be to get the Powers to agree that no intervention by force of arms, other than Turkish, should take place in Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HUGH WYNDHAM.

No. 417.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 162. Extender.)

My Lord,

Berlin, May 15, 1882.

ON receiving your Lordship's telegram of this morning, I called on the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and told his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government had agreed with that of France, in consequence of the last events, to send a squadron to Egypt, which would previously assemble at Suda Bay, and then proceed to Alexandria.

I said that the object of the demonstration was to strengthen the Khedive's authority, and to safeguard the legal state of things in Egypt recognized by Europe, and in the maintenance of which Europe was interested.

The Governments of England and France, I said, in order to avoid complications, had instructed their Ambassadors at Constantinople to recommend the Porte to abstain from all interference in Egypt, reserving, however, to themselves, in case of need later on, to make further propositions to the Porte.

Her Majesty's Government would be glad, I said, if the German Government would send instructions in the same sense to the German Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople.

Count Hatzfeldt, while reserving his opinion, said he would submit your Lordship's communication as soon as possible to Prince Bismarck, who is at Friedrichsruhe.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

No. 418.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 164. Extender.)

My Lord,

Berlin, May 17, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 162 of the 15th instant, I have the honour to state that I asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day whether his Excellency had already been able to meet the wishes of Her Majesty's Government in regard to recommending the Porte, through the Imperial Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, with a view to preventing complications, to abstain from intervention and interference in Egypt for the present.

Count Hatzfeldt replied that he had not been able to do so, because he had not yet received instructions to that effect from Prince Bismarck.

He was also personally of opinion that it would be necessary to wait until the opinion of the other Powers had been made known to the German Government.

I said that I most sincerely hoped his Excellency would soon feel authorized to support the advice given to the Porte by the Governments of England and France, because the Sultan, if the European concert did not present and maintain an united front at Constantinople, might be induced to follow a line of his own, which would only complicate the situation in Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

No. 419.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22.)

E
(No. 169. Secret.)

My Lord,

Berlin, May 20, 1882.

DR. BUSCH, who represents Count Hatzfeldt at the Foreign Office during his Excellency's absence, has told me, privately and confidentially, that although Prince Bismarck had not felt at liberty to separate himself officially and depart from the attitude assumed by Count Kálnoky and M. de Giers in regard to sending instructions to their Representatives at Constantinople, his Highness had nevertheless instructed him to speak privately to the Turkish Ambassador, Sadoullah Pasha, in the sense desired by your Lordship, and that he had already done so, and recommended him to advise his Government not to exaggerate the supposed effect and consequences of the policy and good intentions of England and France.

I begged of Dr. Busch to thank Prince Bismarck for this private message, which he requested me to keep secret for the present.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

No. 420.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 219. Confidential. Extender.)

My Lord,

Vienna, May 16, 1882.

I INFORMED your Lordship by telegraph that I had communicated to Count Kálnoky the telegram which I received yesterday, and that his Excellency did not think that it would be possible for him to give the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Constantinople the instructions suggested, to recommend the Sultan to abstain from all intervention and interference in Egypt.

He said that he was, of course, only expressing his own personal impressions, and without having exchanged with the other Governments the communications which would be necessary, but it certainly appeared to him, when all the other Governments of Europe were invited to concur in an intervention or interference in the affairs of Egypt, it would be going very far to ask that the Sultan, who is the Sovereign of the country, should alone be expected to abstain from taking part in it.

Count Kálnoky repeated that, as he had frequently said, his wish was, and still is, that the relations between Turkey and Egypt should be maintained on the basis which had been fixed and which has hitherto subsisted; that, on the one side, the Sultan should not acquire any right that he does not now enjoy of interfering in the administration or internal affairs of Egypt, and that, on the other side, he should not be deprived of any of the authority and rights which he has hitherto possessed.

His Excellency went on to observe that no English or French subject had suffered during the crisis in Egypt, whereas Turkish subjects holding high rank from the Sultan had been imprisoned and condemned to severe punishment; and if, though he sincerely hoped it might not occur, the Sultan were determined to send ships to Alexandria to protect his legitimate interests and those of his subjects, he could not see that any one would have a right to object to it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 421.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 221. Extender.)

My Lord,

Vienna, May 16, 1882.

WHEN I saw Count Kálnoky to-day, he said that a report had been received of some observations made by your Lordship in the House of Lords last night which seemed to imply that England and France were acting with the approval of the other

Governments in sending their iron-clads to Alexandria, and also that an understanding had been come to with regard to further proceedings which might become necessary.

He stated that, if your Lordship's words had been correctly reported, he felt obliged to take exception to them, as it was not till yesterday, when your telegram of the 14th instant was communicated to him, that he was made aware of the step about to be taken.

He could not, therefore, admit either that it was adopted with the knowledge and concurrence of the other Powers, or that England and France, in the decision they had come to, could in any respect be regarded as the mandataires of Europe.

He had, he said, willingly left to our two Governments the initiative of concerting the measures to be taken with regard to Egypt, and he had expressed the wish and the hope of being able to concur in whatever they might agree to suggest, and he had also advised the Sultan to be greatly guided by the advice that he might receive from us; but this was a very different thing from an engagement to accept beforehand any action that might be decided upon, respecting which no communication had been made to the Imperial Government.

Count Kálnoky was most anxious that he should not be supposed to feel any jealousy of the leading part in settling the affairs of Egypt being taken by England and France, whose superior interests there he had always acknowledged, but Austria had likewise her interests in the matter, and had a right to be consulted in what was a European question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 422.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 222. Confidential.)

Vienna, May 17, 1882.

My Lord,

I LEARN from my French colleague that the language held to him by Count Kálnoky respecting Egypt was precisely similar to that which I have reported him to have used to myself.

He appears, perhaps, to have dwelt rather more strongly upon the inconveniences and dangers which he apprehended from the step taken by the two Governments, and he also remarked to Count Duchatel that while Austria, Germany, and Russia regarded the Egyptian question with great calmness, this was far from being the case with the Italian Government, which felt very strongly on the subject.

I am unable to say how far Count Duchatel's language represents the opinions which he believes to be entertained by his Government; but they appear to me to be rather extreme, and they would certainly be resented by the Imperial Government, if—which at present I have no reason to suppose—he were to express himself to them as he did to me.

In the course of our conversation he said that he could not think Count Kálnoky justified in saying that the dispatch of our ships to Alexandria had taken place without the approval of the other Powers, as they had all consented that the measures to be taken with regard to Egypt were to be decided by England and France, and that no form of action could ever be arrived at if it were necessary to get all the Powers to agree to one.

I said that, while Her Majesty's Government had always claimed for England and France the right of taking a leading part in the affairs of Egypt, I had never understood them to contend that the other Powers did not retain their own liberty of action, and that your Lordship had always been most anxious that there should be a European understanding upon what was admittedly a European question, although one in which we were more immediately affected; and I could not therefore agree with what I understood to be the contention of my colleague, that the other Powers had engaged themselves to fall in with whatever our two Governments might propose, though our efforts must be directed to inducing them to do so.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 423.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 230. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Vienna, May 19, 1882.

I CALLED on Count Kálnoky this afternoon, and asked him whether he had come to any conclusion as to instructing the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Constantinople to join in recommending the Sultan to abstain from intervention or interference in Egypt.

He replied that he was not yet in possession of the views of the other Cabinets, and was, therefore, still unable to state more than his own general impression, with which I was already acquainted.

His fear was that the Sultan might take the proposed suggestion in bad part, and that the Egyptian question, in which by itself Austria was only remotely interested, might develop into a general Turkish or Eastern question, in which she was more interested than any other Power.

I observed to Count Kálnoky that in what he had just said he gave the strongest argument in favour of his holding at Constantinople the same language as had been adopted by England and France; for while the Sultan might refuse to be guided by the advice of two Powers if the others stood aloof, he would probably acquiesce in it if unanimously recommended. By being over backward for fear of hurting the Sultan's susceptibility he would be increasing the very danger that he dreaded.

He said that the accounts he received of the Sultan's frame of mind in regard to this question gave him no ground for confidence that he would listen to the advice proposed, even if all the Powers concurred in giving it.

His Excellency alluded to the report that if the appearance of the fleets was not sufficient to obtain the results desired, the Sultan would be invited to send a gendarmerie to Egypt, and he asked me what this meant.

I said that although I was not authorized to do so I would tell him that the report was so far correct that it had been agreed that if, after the arrival of the ships at Alexandria, the presence of troops was considered necessary, a Turkish force should be invited to Egypt to operate under English and French control.

Count Kálnoky said he was too well aware of the repugnance of the French Government to admit of a Turkish intervention under any form not to know that your Lordship had succeeded in obtaining from them a concession almost greater than could be expected, but the question would remain whether the Sultan would consent to the Control, although it was undoubtedly necessary that, if he sends troops to Egypt, he must be tied down in the closest possible manner.

Count Kálnoky concluded by saying that if he should be unable to join in the advice that has been given to the Sultan, he hopes that no doubt will be entertained of his own sincere wish that it may be accepted, and he would certainly say nothing at Constantinople calculated to lead to its rejection.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 424.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 231.)

My Lord,

Vienna, May 19, 1882.

THE messenger from Constantinople this afternoon brought me under flying seal the recorder of Mr. Wyndham's telegram to your Lordship, No. 90, reporting the substance of a Circular telegram which was stated to have been forwarded by the Porte to the Turkish Representatives to the Six Powers.

I asked Count Kálnoky to-day about this Circular, and he said that although the fact of its dispatch had been notified to him, he had not yet received it, and he supposed that it must have been sent by post.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 425.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 471.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 21, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 467 of yesterday, I have the honour to report that I spoke to M. de Freycinet this morning of the assurances respecting the Egyptian question which the Sultan had sent to the Earl of Dufferin, and that I repeated to him myself the substance of Lord Dufferin's telegram on the subject, and of your Lordship's answer to it.

M. de Freycinet expressed his concurrence in the answer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 426.

Saïd Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, May 22.)

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 21 Mai, 1882.

REÇU télégramme du 19 Mai.

Je vous prie d'exprimer à Lord Granville toute notre satisfaction pour les assurances réitérées de sa Seigneurie concernant la sauvegarde des droits de souveraineté de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan sur l'Égypte.

Je crois en même temps devoir relever certaines inexactitudes qui se sont glissées dans les déclarations que le Chef du Foreign Office a fait à votre Excellence.

En effet, au lieu de la phrase :

"Que le séjour des bâtiments de guerre à Alexandrie serait aussi court que possible," &c.

J'ai dit :

"Que les bâtiments de guerre n'aillent pas à Alexandrie," &c.

De même dans la phrase :

"Lord Dufferin parle dans son télégramme d'une offre faite de changer le Khédive," &c. Il faut remplacer les mots "d'une offre" par ceux "d'une insinuation."

Je vous prie de saisir la première occasion pour redresser ces erreurs, d'ailleurs, peu importants, auprès de sa Seigneurie.

No. 427.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 145.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 21, 1882, 5 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 130 and mine No. 144, both of yesterday.

My French colleague and I submit the following project of action for approval :—

"Seeing that the Khedive cannot form a new Ministry until the military supremacy has been broken, we suggest that we should officially demand that the President of the Council, the Minister of War, and the three Generals mentioned in my telegram No. 144 should undertake to quit Egypt for one year, maintaining their rank, pay, and property, and that the Khedive should proclaim a general amnesty. The demand might be prefaced by the declaration forming the first point in our instructions."

No. 428.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 279. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 21, 1882.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 130, and my telegram to your Lordship No. 144, both of yesterday's date, I have the honour to submit to your Lordship's consideration the following mode of action which my French colleague and I venture to propose :

Seeing that until the military supremacy has been overthrown the Khedive is powerless to form a new Ministry, we suggest that we should make an official demand that the President of the Council and the Minister of War, together with the three military Pashas, Toulbeh, Abdul Al, and Ali Fehmy, should engage to quit Egypt for one year without loss of property, rank, or pay, and that a general amnesty should be proclaimed by the Khedive. I would venture to suggest that we might preface the demand by the declaration forming the first point in our instructions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 429.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 146.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 21, 1882, 5.10 P.M.

MY telegram No. 144 of yesterday.

The endeavour to come to an agreement through M. Monge has been abandoned through that gentleman's unwillingness to undertake the negotiation.

No. 430.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 280. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 21, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 278 of yesterday, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, owing to M. Monge's unwillingness to undertake the negotiation, the endeavour to come to an agreement with the President of the Council and Araby Pasha regarding their resignation has been abandoned.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 431.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 147.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 21, 1882, 5.15 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 133 of yesterday.

I should be glad if a certain liberty of action could be allowed to me with regard to advising the Khedive not to leave Cairo. It is a very heavy responsibility for us to take, if, in the case of danger to his person being imminent, we prevent him from leaving.

I have never been able to agree entirely with my French colleague on this subject, and, though I would not separate myself from him on the point, I am anxious that we should not both be bound by a hard and fast instruction.

No. 432.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 281. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 21, 1882.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 133 of yesterday, I venture to submit that I should be grateful if your Lordship would allow me a certain liberty of action in the question of advising the Khedive to continue in Cairo. If we prevent His Highness from leaving in a case of imminent danger to his person, we incur a heavy responsibility.

It is a point on which I have never been able wholly to agree with the French Representative; and although I would not separate myself from him in giving advice

on the subject, I am anxious that we should not both be bound by an absolute instruction.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 433.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 138.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 22, 1882, 1 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 146.

If there is any chance of success, and no other mode, and unless there is any reason to the contrary, why should not you and your French colleague undertake the negotiations yourselves?

No. 434.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 135. Extender.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, May 22, 1882.

IN your telegram No. 146 of yesterday you inform me that the endeavour to come to an agreement with the President of the Council and Arabi Pasha through the medium of M. Monge, the French Consul, has been abandoned, owing to M. Monge's unwillingness to undertake the negotiation.

Her Majesty's Government see no objection to such negotiations being carried on by you and your French colleague personally, failing any other mode of preceeding, and provided such a course offered some prospect of success, and that you had no reason to consider it as open to objection.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 435.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22, 1.5 P.M.)

(No. 27.)
(Telegraphic.)

Rome, May 22, 1882, 10.30 A.M.

FRENCH Chargé d'Affaires showed me yesterday afternoon a telegram from his Government stating that rapidity of events had prevented England and France concerting with the other Powers relative to the course to be pursued in Egypt, and giving further explanations respecting the motives for sending the combined squadrons.

He is desired to read this telegram to Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and to leave him a copy of it, but to consult me, in order that an identic communication may be made.

I have waited arrival of messenger this morning before telegraphing above, but no instructions have reached me.

Mancini leaves early this afternoon for Milan.

No. 436.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 139.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 22, 1882, 1.10 P.M.

DO nothing to countenance the Khedive in taking the fatal step of leaving Cairo.

No. 437.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 139. Extender.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, May 22, 1882.

IN your telegram No. 147 of yesterday you ask to be allowed a certain latitude with regard to the advice which I had instructed you to give to the Khedive that he should not leave Cairo for Alexandria.

In the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the departure of His Highness from Cairo at the present moment would be fatal to his interests, and they desire that you should not in any way countenance such a proceeding on his part.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 438.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 184. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 22, 1882, 1.25 P.M.

MY telegram No. 183, repeating Malet's No. 144.

Her Majesty's Government concur in proposed arrangement respecting Arabi Bey, President of the Council, and others, if French Government also agree.

No. 439.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 581. Secret. Extender.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 22, 1882.

I HAVE already caused to be repeated to your Excellency this day Sir E. Malet's telegram of the 20th instant, referring to the necessity, as a preliminary step, and before any progress can be made towards the construction of a new Ministry, of breaking up the existing military supremacy in Egypt; with which object it is proposed by Sir E. Malet and his French colleague to come to an arrangement with the President of the Council and with Arabi Pasha that they and three other military Pashas, Taulber, Abdul Ab, and Ali Fehmy, should leave the country, and not return except by permission of the Khedive, the English and French Agents to guarantee to them their rank, pay, and property.

It is further proposed that M. Monge, the French Consul, who is stated to be intimately acquainted with Arabic, should be the intermediary in this negotiation.

Your Excellency will be good enough to inform the French Government that Her Majesty's Government concur in the arrangement proposed, provided that it meets with their approval also.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 440.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 140. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 22, 1882, 1.55 P.M.

THE French Government are nervous lest the conditional consent they have given to Turkish intervention may be publicly announced at Cairo or Constantinople, and produce an explosion of public feeling at Paris.

This would complicate matters.

A satisfactory settlement without Turkish intervention would be the great success.

We are glad to see that you and your French colleague are promoting it.

No. 441.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.(No. 137. Secret. Extender.)
Sir,*Foreign Office, May 22, 1882.*

WITH reference to the suggestion contained in your telegram No. 141 of the 19th instant, as to the advisability of the Egyptian Government being made aware of the fact that the Porte will intervene, if necessary, to restore order in that country, I have to state that the French Government are afraid that their conditional assent to such a step, if publicly announced at Cairo or Constantinople, might produce an explosion of public feeling at Paris. The effect of this would be to complicate matters. Her Majesty's Government are glad to see that you and the French Agent are striving to effect a settlement without Turkish intervention, as this, if successful, will, in their opinion, be the most satisfactory solution of the difficulty.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 442.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22, 3.50 P.M.)(No. 33. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)*Berlin, May 22, 1882, 3.25 P.M.*

MY despatch No. 169, Secret, of the 20th instant.

The Turkish Ambassador, in private conversation, confirms the advice the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs told me, confidentially, he had been instructed to give him, which is quite in the sense desired by Her Majesty's Government and that of France in telegram No. 56 of the 15th instant.

No. 443.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)(No. 178. Confidential. Extender.)
My Lord,*Berlin, May 22, 1882.*

I LEARN on reliable authority that the Turkish Ambassador has, in private conversation, mentioned the advice given to him in Prince Bismarck's name by the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and fully confirmed what Dr. Busch told me he had been instructed to say, as reported in my despatch No. 169, Secret, of the 20th instant.

Prince Bismarck has therefore, notwithstanding Count Hatzfeldt's reserve, virtually advised the Porte in regard to Egypt and the naval demonstration in the sense desired by Her Majesty's Government and that of France in their Circular telegram of the 15th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AMPTHILL.

No. 444.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.(No. 68.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, May 22, 1882, 4.5 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 27.

It is advisable that the communications should be simultaneous and identic. We have not yet settled the exact wording with the French Government.

No. 445.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22, 4.15 P.M.)(No. 149. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)*Cairo, May 22, 1882, 2.15 P.M.*

THE Khedive received last night the following official telegram from the Porte:—

"The two Powers, as well as the four Powers, have repeatedly assured His Majesty that they will respect his sovereign rights.

"The despatch of ships to Alexandria is merely a visit such as occurs yearly. Neither we nor the four Powers were informed by the two Powers of their departure. Consequently the arrival of these ships at Alexandria does not disquiet us, since they will leave in a few days.

"In the eventuality of propositions being made, the Powers should make thme directly to the Porte. In that case, the Porte will assuredly maintain its rights, and, as we have full confidence in your devotion and loyalty, we are sure that you will respect the Firmans."

The Khedive said to my French colleague and me that if the Porte does not take means of letting it be known that it acquiesces in the action of the two Powers, the Chamber will forsake His Highness and unite with the army. He again, therefore, prays that the Porte may be induced to declare itself. His Highness also told us that Arabi had declared that he would not resign except by decision of the Chamber.

I can but repeat what I have ventured to foreshadow from the outset, that unless the Porte is known to support the negotiation its [? itself] armed intervention will become a necessity.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 446.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)(No. 282. Confidential. Extender.)
My Lord,*Cairo, May 22, 1882.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that last night the Khedive received the following official telegram from the Porte:—

"His Majesty has been repeatedly assured by England and France, as well as by the Four Powers, that his sovereign rights will be respected.

"The mission of the squadrons to Alexandria is merely such a visit as takes place every year. Neither the Porte nor the Four Powers had notice given them of this mission; consequently, its arrival at Alexandria does not alarm us, since it will shortly depart. In the event of negotiations, the Powers should make their propositions directly to the Porte, which, in that case, will certainly uphold its rights; and as we place full trust in your loyalty and devotion, we are confident that you will act in conformity with the Firmans."

The Khedive informed M. Sienkiewicz and me that unless the Porte takes measures to declare its acquiescence in the action of England and France, the Chamber is likely to forsake His Highness, and again to make common cause with the Military Party.

His Highness, therefore, reiterates his request that the Porte may be persuaded to declare its action. He also informed us that the Minister of War had refused to resign otherwise than by a decision of the Chamber of Deputies.

Under these circumstances, I venture to repeat, what I have ventured to foreshadow from the commencement, that the armed intervention of the Porte will become necessary unless it is known that it approves our negotiations.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 447.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.(No. 161. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, May 22, 1882, 5.45 P.M.*

WITH reference to Sir E. Malet's Secret telegram No. 142, try and induce the Sultan to telegraph to the Khedive in the sense of the first paragraph of your telegram No. 94 of 18th instant.

No. 448.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22, 6.35 P.M.)(No. 150.)
(Telegraphic.)*Cairo, May 22, 1882, 5.30 P.M.*

SULTAN PASHA has, in the name of the Deputies, entered upon negotiations to induce the Ministry to resign and Arabi to leave the country. His demand also includes the retirement to the provinces of the other military ringleaders.

He has asked me particularly whether, in the action of the two Powers, there is no infringement of the sovereignty of the Porte. I replied that it was the intention of the two Governments now, as heretofore, to respect the sovereignty of the Porte, and to infringe it in no way whatever. I said that if he succeeded in breaking the military despotism, the object of the Powers, which was to restore the authority of the Khedive and maintain the *status quo*, would be attained. He suggests Chérif Pasha as President of the Council.

He added that if he failed with the Ministers he should ask the Khedive to convoke the Chamber, and obtain the fall of the Ministry by an immediate vote.

No. 449.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 283. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 22, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the President of the Chamber has entered into negotiations, in the name of the Deputies, to induce the present Ministry to resign, and the Minister of War to leave Egypt. He also demands the retirement of the other military ringleaders to the provinces.

His Excellency has particularly questioned me as to whether there is any infringement of the Porte's sovereign rights in the action of England and France. I have answered that the intention of the two Governments is now, as hitherto, to respect these rights, and in no way to infringe them. I added that if his Excellency succeeded in overthrowing the military supremacy, the aim of England and France, which was to restore the Khedive's authority and to maintain the *status quo*, would be fulfilled. He proposed Chérif Pasha as future President of the Council, and added that if his proposals were repulsed by the Ministry, he should request the Khedive to convoke the Chamber, and should, by an immediate vote, bring about the fall of the Ministry.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 450.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22, 6.45 P.M.)(No. 61.)
(Telegraphic.)*Paris, May 22, 1882, 5 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 182 of to-day.

M. de Freycinet proposes following changes:—

After "several European Powers," add "and to maintain the authority of the

Khedive, such as it has been established by the Firmans of the Sultan recognized by Europe."

Strike out from "have sent their" down to "interests."

For "we will communicate with the Powers," say "we will concert with the Powers."

For "have appeared," say "shall have appeared."

I write by post.

No. 451.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.(No. 192.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, May 22, 1882, 10.30 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 61.

Her Majesty's Government concur in alterations proposed by M. de Freycinet.

Tell him identic note will be telegraphed to British Embassies to-morrow afternoon at 2.

No. 452.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 582. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 22, 1882.

IN your Excellency's telegram of to-day you state that M. de Freycinet proposes the following changes in the draft instruction as amendments on those suggested in my telegram No. 182 of yesterday, namely, after "several European Powers," to add, "and to maintain the authority of the Khedive, such as it has been established by the Firmans of the Sultans recognized by Europe:" to strike out from "have sent their" down to "interests."

For "we will communicate with the Powers" to substitute "we will concert with the Powers;" and, finally, for "have appeared" to substitute "shall have appeared."

Your Excellency will be good enough to inform M. de Freycinet that Her Majesty's Government concur in the alterations thus proposed by him, and that an identic note will be telegraphed to the British Embassies at the Five Courts to-morrow afternoon at 2 o'clock.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 453.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 584.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 22, 1882.

THE French Ambassador called upon me to-day and said that he had received instructions to speak to me on a matter which was of some delicacy.

M. de Freycinet had reason to believe that the relations between Sir E. Malet and his French colleague were not on so cordial a footing as was to be desired. This intelligence had caused his Excellency much anxiety, as he felt that it would be impossible that the two Governments should act together with that frank co-operation which was so essential unless their Agents were also in perfect accord.

I remarked that I was not aware to what M. de Freycinet could be alluding. Neither in his despatches nor in his private letters did Sir E. Malet give any indication of a divergence with his French colleague, or show any symptoms of that struggle for influence which so often led to difficulties in the intercourse of Consular officers of inferior rank. Sir E. Malet had been trained as a diplomatist in important positions, and could be relied upon to carry out implicitly the instructions of his Government, and to maintain the most complete and friendly understanding with his French colleague. I could not, therefore, but think that some mistake must have arisen, and I should be glad to know in what particular Sir E. Malet had failed to carry out

instructions, which had constantly been repeated to him, to maintain the most cordial relations with M. Sienkiewicz.

M. Tissot replied that he was given to understand that there were various matters upon which Sir E. Malet had shown that he differed from his colleague.

I said that I was only aware of two, and the difference of opinion had not been of a serious character. Sir E. Malet had thought it better that some elasticity should be allowed to the Agents in regard to the advice to be given to the Khedive, should he contemplate leaving Cairo for Alexandria. On this point he had not been able to agree entirely with his French colleague, though he would not separate himself from him in regard to it. Sir E. Malet's view was that it would be a very heavy responsibility for the Agents to take if, in case of danger to the person of the Khedive being imminent, they prevented His Highness from leaving, and he was anxious that the two Agents should not be bound by a hard and fast instruction. I had telegraphed to Sir E. Malet this morning, in reply, that he was to do nothing to countenance the Khedive in the fatal step of leaving Cairo.

The other matter upon which there appeared to have been some difference of opinion, though it is not clear that any difference existed, was with regard to the employment of M. Monge, the French Consul at Cairo, to negotiate for the withdrawal from Egypt of Arabi Pasha and some of his supporters. Sir E. Malet had been instructed, unless there was any reason to the contrary, that he and M. Sienkiewicz might undertake the negotiation themselves.

I told M. Tissot that I had informed your Excellency of both these instructions, which you had doubtless communicated to the French Government. So far, therefore, as I could see, the concert between the two Governments and their Agents continued complete.

M. Tissot alluded to Sir E. Malet having prevented the Khedive from making a satisfactory arrangement, and having insisted on his referring to the Sultan. I said I knew nothing of this, and expressed my disbelief.

I would, I said, intimate to Sir E. Malet the imperative necessity and value of preserving united action, and my belief that he was acting fully in this sense, and I trusted that M. de Freycinet would do the same as regards M. Sienkiewicz.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 454.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 251 A.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 22, 1882.

THE Turkish Ambassador informed me to-day that he had received a telegram from Constantinople assuring him of the anxiety of Turkey to act with Her Majesty's Government and to maintain the most friendly attitude towards England.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 455.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 256. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 22, 1882.

I INFORMED your Excellency, in my despatch No. 249 of the 20th instant, of the language I held to Musurus Pasha on that day with regard to the Porte's Circular of the 17th instant, and I have now to state to you, with reference to the observations made by Said Pasha on the step taken by the Governments of England and France in ordering ships of war to Alexandria, that Her Majesty's Government had no intention of adopting any measures which would interfere with the rights of the Sultan, such as carrying on military operations in Egypt, or occupying the country, neither had they any idea of altering the constitutional *status quo*.

If any action requiring the exercise of the Sovereign's authority should become necessary, the two Governments would naturally have recourse to the Sultan, and would ask him to join with them in settling the difficulty by a common agreement.

England and France have on this occasion acted alone, because only their interests and the interests of Europeans were in danger. Neither the interests of the Mussulman population nor the rights of the Sultan were threatened, and there seemed, therefore, to be no reason for the Porte taking steps to protect them.

If events were to force us to enlarge the sphere of our action, and it became necessary to carry it beyond the protection of Europeans and the maintenance of our special interests, we should necessarily resort to the co-operation of the Sultan.

Your Excellency will speak in this sense to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, and I trust that these explanations may have the effect of calming the Porte's susceptibilities, which have evidently been aroused by a misunderstanding of the motives of the two Governments. The French Ambassador has been instructed to use similar language.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 456.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 138.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 22, 1882.

IN your despatch No. 199 of the 25th ultimo, you informed me that you had represented to the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs the injustice of allowing any further delay in the proceedings of the Commission instituted to inquire into the administration of the Customs by Mr. Caillard.

Her Majesty's Government attach great importance to the maintenance of Mr. Caillard in his post, and I have to instruct you to take the earliest opportunity of bringing the matter to the notice of the Khedive, and of pressing His Highness to give explicit orders that the inquiry should be brought to an immediate conclusion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 457.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 239. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 10, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that at 6 o'clock yesterday evening the Khedive again summoned the Representatives of the Great Powers, and informed them that the President of the Council had insisted that the Decree should be changed to condemning the prisoners to be struck off the rolls.

His Highness stated that upon his refusing, the President had threatened him, had spoken slightly of any assistance he could receive from the foreign Representatives, and had remarked that if he persisted in his refusal there would be a general massacre of foreigners.

M. Sienkiewicz and I, at the request of our colleagues, then visited the President of the Council.

We told him that on the previous day he had begged for our influence to avert a Turkish intervention in the question of the court-martial; that we had that morning rendered his Excellency the service which he had asked for by advising the Khedive to issue the Decree; and that we were surprised to hear that, in return for our good offices, he had menaced our fellow-countrymen, had spoken insultingly of our power to protect the Khedive, and had threatened him.

Therefore, we had now come to ask him officially, in our own names and those of our colleagues, if any danger was to be expected in the event of the Khedive's refusing to change the Decree, so that we might inform our respective Governments.

The President denied that he had threatened the Khedive, or had made use of the language attributed to him. He declared that the alteration of the Decree was a request which it was open to the Khedive to accept or to reject.

On our asking what the consequences would be of a rejection, his Excellency replied that it was impossible for him to say, beyond that the question would be submitted to the Council.

It was not possible, he finally declared, to work with a Khedive who paid so little attention in his statements to accuracy, and that he should resign the Presidency of the Council, but that, after that, he would not be responsible for the consequences.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 458.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 240. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 10, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, in company with the Representatives of France, Austria, and Germany, I to-day asked the President of the Council to describe to us the present situation.

His Excellency answered that since the Khedive and his Ministers could not agree, and it was not possible for the Ministry to resign, it had convoked the Chamber of Notables to meet immediately in order to lay the case before it; that the Ministry meanwhile guaranteed the personal safety of the Khedive and public security.

The Chamber is convoked by the Ministry alone, without the authority of the Khedive having been even requested.

The complaint against His Highness is that he has acted in a way to diminish the autonomy of Egypt, and, on many occasions, without consulting his Ministers.

My colleagues and I feel assured that it is intended to depose the Khedive if the Chamber will lend itself to the step.

The President said that in three days the Chamber might be assembled, and that he did not intend to hold any further communication with His Highness until the difference between them had been decided by the Chamber.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 459.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 241. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 10, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the situation has become most serious since the relations have been broken off between the Khedive and his Ministers.

The guarantee given by the Ministers of the safety of the Khedive and of Europeans can hardly be relied upon as a solid one.

I am, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 460.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 242. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 11, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to submit to your Lordship that measures should be taken as promptly as possible to assure the communication of the Suez Canal in case intervention be decided upon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 461.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 244. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 11, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Khedive has officially told my French colleague and me this morning that the Ministry has convoked the Chamber in defiance of his authority and of the 9th Article of the Organic Law.

His Highness' Decree with regard to the court-martial has been returned to him, but this may be on the ground of informality, since the President of the Council declares that it ought to have been written on the sentence of the Court itself, and forwarded to the Minister of War, whereas it had been written on separate paper and sent to the Minister of the Interior. The Khedive has done this to-day without in any way altering the wording of the Decree. I beg your Lordship to be so good as to instruct me as to what attitude I should observe towards the Ministry.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 462.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 245. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 11, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to request instructions from your Lordship as to whether the Controllers-General should continue to assist at the sittings of the Council. The French Representative asks for the same instructions from his Government. An answer is urgent.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 463.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 246. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 11, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the President of the Council said yesterday, in speaking of the safety of Europeans, that it was also guaranteed in the event of an intervention by the Porte alone.

The Delegates are coming in, and they at once proceed to the house of Arabi Pasha. It is reported that the Chamber will meet on Saturday, and will immediately pronounce the deposition of the Khedive, and sentence the whole family of Mohamed Ali to exile, appointing the President of the Council Governor-General of Egypt by the National will.

It is superfluous to remark that the Chamber, acting under terror of the military, which is at present extreme, is no exponent of the real National will.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 464.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 247. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 12, 1882.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 100 of yesterday, repeating telegram No. 38 of same date from Lord Lyons, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that my French colleague and I are of opinion that the arrival of iron-clads at Alexandria at the present moment might be dangerous for the European colonies

here; that in case intervention be decided upon, a powerful naval demonstration would be useful as a forerunner, but it would then be necessary that we should be informed early enough to allow Europeans to leave Cairo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 465.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 248. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 12, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Sultan Pasha, the President of the Chamber, returned last night on the convocation of the Chamber by the Ministry, and that his Excellency informed me this morning that, unless legally convoked by the Khedive, the Chamber will not meet.

He confessed that it had acted under pressure from Arabi Pasha in overthrowing Chérif Pasha, and said that the same Deputies who had then insisted on that course, on finding that they had been deceived, were now anxious to overturn the present Ministry.

He stated that he was desirous to consult with me daily on the course to follow. I cannot rely implicitly on his remaining firm, as he gave me similar assurances of not acting under pressure from the military before the Chamber met in December.

I am anxious to draw your Lordship's special attention to the importance of the voluntary statement made to me on this occasion by his Excellency, that the fall of Chérif Pasha was the result of pressure brought to bear upon the Representatives by Arabi.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 466.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 249. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 12, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 242 of the 11th instant, and to your Lordship's telegram No. 102 of this day's date, I have the honour to report that the danger which I apprehend to the Suez Canal is that on the first alarm that intervention has been decided upon, undertaken, or countenanced by England, ships will be sunk in it.

Such an eventuality could probably be prevented by the Canal being guarded by gun-boats.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 467.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 250.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 13, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 199 of the 25th ultimo, I have the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a copy of a letter and its inclosures which I have received from Mr. Caillard, the Director of the Customs Administration, with reference to the proceedings of the Commission of Inquiry lately appointed to inquire into alleged abuses in that Administration.

Mr. Caillard accuses the Commission of prejudice and of a foregone determination to break up the present system. He declares that it has already exceeded its powers by entering into the examination of fresh complaints brought on since its inauguration; that these complaints are brought by men of notoriously bad character, and that the accusers are permitted to question them, and to call for documentary evidence

in a manner both vexatious and insulting to himself and to the Government he represents.

On these grounds Mr. Caillard has determined to refuse to give any further information to the Commission, and the result has been that the Commission has suspended its labours.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure 1 in No. 467.

Mr. Caillard to Sir E. Malet.

My dear Sir Edward,

Alexandria, May 10, 1882.

I INCLOSE copies in duplicate of a letter with its appendices I have to-day addressed to the Minister of Finance, in reference to the proceedings of the "Commission d'Enquête."

I have stated nothing in this letter that I am not prepared to prove, and I trust that you will find the reasons given justify the course I have taken.

I remain, &c.
(Signed) A. CAILLARD.

P.S.—I have forwarded copies of these papers to the Control and to the Commissioners of the Public Debt.

A. C.

Inclosure 2 in No. 467.

Mr. Caillard to Aly Pasha Sadik.

M. le Ministre,

Alexandrie, le 10 Mai, 1882.

PAR la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser en langue Arabe le 29 dernier, vous m'informiez qu'à la suite des plaintes formulées par un certain Moussa Torungia et des articles que certains journaux avaient publiés contre la Douane, le Gouvernement avait décidé d'instituer une Commission d'Enquête, avec mission de rechercher la vérité sur les prétendus faits à la charge de l'Administration actuelle de la Douane.

Cette Commission fonctionne depuis environ un mois et malgré que dès le principe j'ai pu constater qu'elle élargissait sans nécessité le cercle de ses investigations qui, à mon avis, devait se restreindre à éclaircir les points formulés dans l'origine de la plainte, je n'ai pas néanmoins manqué de me mettre toujours à sa disposition en lui fournissant tous les renseignements qu'elle a cru devoir me demander, voulant démontrer par là mon désir de me soumettre à l'ordre du Ministère et n'ayant qu'un but, celui d'édifier le Gouvernement sur la fausseté des accusations que des personnes intéressées cherchaient à faire accréditer contre mon administration.

Malheureusement je ne tardais pas à m'apercevoir que l'esprit de conciliation dont je faisais preuve, loin d'être apprécié, ne servait qu'à encourager les auteurs de ces attaques injustifiables qui rencontraient une complaisance suspecte auprès de plusieurs membres de la Commission. C'est ainsi qu'on en est arrivé insensiblement à mettre ma personnalité en cause, et que la Commission, se faisant le porte-voix de Torungia et consorts, n'a pas hésité à mettre en doute ma bonne foi, et de m'accuser d'avoir méconnu les ordres du Ministère et même les règlements qui régissent la Douane.

La Commission a fait plus, elle s'est inspirée des rancunes que des anciens employés licenciés de la Douane pour fraude avaient contre certains de leurs anciens camarades dans le service des Douanes, et elle a demandé au Ministère le renvoi de ces employés, motivant ce renvoi sur des faits déjà anciens pour lesquels j'avais cru, après mûr examen et m'inspirant des circonstances, me contenter de leur infliger soit des réprimandes, soit de simples peines disciplinaires.

Mais là ne s'arrête pas la nomenclature des faits irréguliers commis par une Commission dont la majorité des membres m'est notoirement hostile.

La Commission s'arrogeant un droit qui ne lui appartient pas s'est érigée en une espèce de Tribunal Correctionnel où l'Administration des Douanes figure en qualité de prévenu et tous les employés licenciés pour fraude ou insubordination; toutes les

personnes d'une mauvaise foi notoire ayant à leur charge des délits prouvés de contrebande au préjudice de la Douane elle-même sont admises comme témoins à charge. Et c'est sur la dénonciation de pareils témoins plus que suspects que, sans avoir égard ni à la dignité d'un fonctionnaire du Gouvernement ni à sa propre dignité, que la Commission s'adresse à moi pour lui fournir les explications les plus étendues et souvent les plus contradictoires sur la gestion des Douanes non seulement depuis l'époque de mon entrée à la tête du service, mais aussi depuis des époques reculées quoique une Commission d'Enquête autrement compétente se soit déjà livrée à cette tâche en 1879, et ait présenté au Gouvernement un Rapport très complet à ce sujet.

Mais la Commission ne se contente pas d'outrepasser ainsi les pouvoirs qui lui ont été conférés et c'est suivant les moyens qu'elle met en œuvre qui dénotent de sa part le parti pris le plus absolu ainsi que l'animosité la moins déguisée.

Ainsi les employés qui ont le malheur d'être visés par les accusations de Torungia et ses compères sont appelés à la Commission et sont interrogés en présence de celui-ci, qui est admis à leur poser les questions les plus vexatoires avec une outrecuidance que le défaut d'éducation et de tout sens moral peut seul autoriser.

Sur un simple caprice de Torungia les employés, quel que soit leur grade, sont obligés de se présenter devant la Commission et leurs registres et papiers sont saisis comme s'il s'agissait de vulgaires criminels. Les documents de toute sorte sont alors confiés à Torungia pour y puiser les éléments à de nouvelles accusations.

Ai-je besoin de faire ressortir tous les inconvénients de ce système, qui consiste à laisser entre les mains d'une personne déjà convaincue d'avoir perpétré une fraude au détriment de la Douane, des documents tels que les déclarations qui forment la base des perceptions, et comment expliquer cette complaisance de la Commission envers un individu dont la triste notoriété devrait lui inspirer les plus justes défiances !

Je dois citer encore deux faits entre plusieurs qui démontreront à votre Excellence que je ne puis raisonnablement laisser le soin de juger mes actes à une Commission composée d'éléments aussi radicalement hostiles à l'Administration actuelle. Un employé subalterne appelé devant la Commission a été sommé d'avouer s'il n'avait pas reçu de moi des ordres pour laisser passer des objets en contrebande.

Un autre employé a reçu la confiance d'un membre du bureau de la Commission, qu'il était irrévocablement arrêté entre lui et un des principaux membres de cette Commission que celle-ci ne terminerait pas sa tâche avant d'amener la chute de l'Administration actuelle.

D'ailleurs, le but que poursuivent certains membres de cette Commission n'est un mystère pour personne dans toute la ville, et notamment à la Douane ; ce but est de renverser à tout prix l'Administration actuelle. Aussi la situation qui m'est faite est-elle intolérable. Déjà la composition de la Commission, formée en grande partie de fonctionnaires d'un grade inférieur au mien, avait fortement ébranlé mon autorité. La marche poursuivie par elle depuis son fonctionnement était de nature à l'amoindrir encore ; de manière qu'aujourd'hui je ne puis plus compter de la part du personnel ni sur la discipline ni sur la régularité si nécessaires dans une Administration, où il est pourtant indispensable de les voir régner plus que partout ailleurs, si l'on ne veut perdre tout le fruit d'un système de contrôle longuement étudié, et établi dans le but de sauvegarder la perception régulière des droits.

Aujourd'hui on croit se faire un véritable mérite de résister aux ordres émanant des employés supérieurs si ces employés sont vus d'un œil défavorable par Torungia et consorts, que l'on considère, à juste titre, comme les inspirateurs de la Commission, et tous les jours des employés viennent déposer que Torungia leur a demandé de lui donner des baksheeh s'ils ne voulaient tomber en disgrâce ; leur assurant, par contre, toute la bienveillance de la Commission s'ils voulaient s'exécuter.

C'est pourquoi, Excellence, et dans le but de sauvegarder et ma dignité et ma responsabilité envers le Gouvernement, je crois devoir protester énergiquement contre les agissements de la Commission, et, en ce qui me regarde personnellement, et vu le parti pris évident dont elle a fait preuve, je crois être dans mon droit en lui refusant toute compétence.

L'institution d'une Commission d'Enquête sur la Douane a été motivée par les plaintes de Torungia soi-disant au nom du commerce. Or, le commerce représenté par les principales maisons respectables du pays, aussitôt qu'il a eu connaissance de la démarche de cet individu, m'a adressé spontanément la lettre dont je transmets ci-joint copie à votre Excellence, et où il est constaté que le commerce loyal n'a qu'à se louer de la présente Administration, et qu'il désavoue toute association avec les démarches de Torungia.

Quant aux intérêts du Trésor, la meilleure preuve qu'ils n'ont pas été négligés sous m'a gestion c'est la plus value de près de 40 pour cent obtenue sur les revenus depuis que je me trouve à la tête de l'Administration.

En résumé je prends la liberté de déclarer à votre Excellence que je ne me refuserai pas à l'investigation la plus minutieuse pour les faits que le Sieur Torungia et consorts exposeraient comme y étant directement intéressés, mais je ne puis admettre que ce soit sur la dénonciation de pareils individus qu'une enquête se fasse sur tout le service Douanier.

Si le Gouvernement du Khédive désire être édifié sur la manière dont j'ai géré l'Administration, je me tiens prêt à répondre devant une enquête administrative composée en entier d'hommes compétents et dont l'impartialité ne saurait être mise en question, tels que ceux qui composaient l'enquête de 1879.

J'ai eu l'honneur de servir le Gouvernement de ce pays pendant sept années à la tête successivement de trois des Administrations les plus importantes, et si à la fin de ces services mon honneur ou ma capacité comme Administrateur doit être mise en question, le Gouvernement ne me blâmera pas, je suis convaincu, si je refuse de les défendre devant la Commission actuelle, pour les raisons déjà citées.

Veillez, &c.
Le Directeur-Général,
(Signé) A. CAILLARD.

Inclosure 3 in No. 467.

Circular addressed by the Director-General of Customs, in the month of March 1882, to the Egyptian Ministers and Deputies.

(Traduction de l'Arabe.)

Le Ministère des Finances communiqua à cette Administration, par lettre en date du 31 Décembre dernier, deux requêtes qui lui étaient adressées par un certain Moussa Torungia, contenant des attaques contre la gestion de la Douane.

Le Ministère en me faisant cette communication me demandait de lui fournir les renseignements nécessaires pour servir de réfutation aux assertions contenues dans les susdites requêtes.

Je m'empressai de me conformer à cette demande, et à la date du 11 Janvier dernier je lui adressai un Rapport dans lequel j'ai consigné tous les faits propres à rétablir la vérité sur les imputations dirigées contre la Douane.

J'avais tout lieu de croire cet incident vidé lorsque des informations me parvinrent d'après lesquelles cet individu poursuivait un plan de désagrément systématique contre l'Administration, et que, abandonnant ses affaires habituelles à Alexandrie, il se trouvait au Caire occupé à importuner Députés et Ministres de ses allégations malveillantes et de ses récits mensongers, où l'Administration des Douanes était représentée sous les couleurs les plus sombres.

En présence de cette situation, et voulant éclairer les honorables personnes auxquelles cet individu pourrait s'adresser et induire en erreur, j'ai cru de mon devoir de vous adresser la présente pour vous faire connaître le caractère et les antécédents de cet individu.

Le Sieur Torungia exerce la profession de Courtier en Douane pour retirer les marchandises des négociants. Il est notoire que les gens de cette profession sont intéressés à voir régner le désordre et la corruption dans toutes les branches de la Douane pour en tirer profit si possible ; or, le zèle que démontrerait un individu de cette sorte, soi-disant dans l'intérêt du Gouvernement, semblerait tout au moins suspect, surtout si, comme je vous le démontre, ce même individu a prouvé déjà que ce n'est point par excès de scrupules de conscience qu'il se laisse guider. Comme preuve à l'appui de cette appréciation je prends la liberté de mettre sous vos yeux le récit d'une tentative de fraude commise au préjudice de la Douane précisément par celui qui s'érige aujourd'hui en défenseur des intérêts du Trésor.

Le 22 Mai, 1880, le Sieur Moussa Torungia recevait d'Europe une caisse de soieries qu'il voulut soustraire à la visite de la Douane en essayant de l'introduire clandestinement en ville. La vigilance des employés ne lui permit pas de perpétrer cette fraude, et il fut appréhendé au moment où il allait réussir dans ses desseins.

La Commission Douanière appelée à statuer sur cette tentative de fraude se prononça pour la confiscation de la caisse au profit du Trésor.

L'arrêt de la Commission fut dûment signifié au Sieur Torungia par l'entremise
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du Consulat d'Espagne dont il relève ; mais je reçus bientôt la visite de M. le Consul d'Espagne qui vint me prier au nom de la famille du délinquant qui, me dit-il, était dans un état de dénûment et de misère complets et qui, si la mesure infligée par la Commission était mise à exécution, serait ruinée sans retour, d'user, si possible, d'indulgence en substituant à la rigueur de la confiscation une amende, et il ajouta que s'il ne s'agissait que de Torungia, dont les antécédents fâcheux lui sont connus, il n'aurait pas fait pareille démarche, mais que c'était dans un sentiment de commisération pour sa famille qu'il intercédait.

Prenant en considération cette démarche personnelle de M. le Consul d'Espagne, j'usais de la faculté qui m'est octroyée par les règlements, et je consentis à commuer la peine prononcée par la Commission Douanière ; sur quoi le Sieur Torungia m'adressa la lettre dont vous trouverez traduction textuelle ci-après.

Je crois vous avoir surabondamment édifié par cet exposé sur le véritable caractère de l'individu qui nous occupe ; je dois ajouter qu'il n'y a point de doute qu'il n'agisse en cette circonstance que comme le porte-voix de certains employés infidèles renvoyés du service après avoir été convaincus de concussion, et qui, partant, ont intérêt à renverser l'Administration actuelle, qui leur ferme pour toujours les portes de la Douane. S'il n'en était point ainsi comment s'expliquerait-on que cet individu ait abandonné depuis quelque temps sa profession, qui est son seul gagne-pain, pour se consacrer exclusivement à faire les démarches dont il a été parlé plus haut, et qui doivent nécessairement l'entraîner à des dépenses au-dessus des moyens d'un homme de sa condition.

Une autre raison qui démontre également que le Sieur Torungia est un simple instrument au service des individus déjà cités, c'est qu'en faisant le rapprochement des termes de ses requêtes au Ministère, avec le texte d'une dépêche qui avait été adressée par les employés renvoyés du service au Conseil des Ministres, on trouve les mêmes phrases et les termes identiques répétés des deux côtés ; ce qui indique qu'ils proviennent de la même source, et dénotent clairement le but intéressé de leurs auteurs.

Lettre de M. Torungia dont l'original est en Italien.

M. le Consul d'Espagne m'a communiqué la décision de la Commission Douanière relative à ma caisse de soieries.

La Commission s'est prononcée pour la confiscation, vu la tentative faite de soustraire la dite caisse à la visite réglementaire de la Douane.

Je viens, par la présente, M. le Directeur-Général, reconnaître mes torts dans cette circonstance.

Ainsi, c'est à votre seule générosité que je m'adresse, vous priant de prendre en considération que je suis un père de famille, et qu'une peine de cette nature équivaldrait pour moi à la ruine.

Je vous supplie, en conséquence, de vouloir bien substituer à la rigueur de la confiscation le paiement d'une amende, que je laisse à votre bonté le soin de fixer.

En vous remerciant d'avance, je vous prie, &c.

(Signé) MOÏSE TORUNGIA.

Alexandrie, le 2 Juin, 1880.

No. 468.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 251. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 13, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the President of the Chamber and the Deputies ostensibly take the part of the Khedive, but they have requested His Highness to pardon and to be reconciled with his Ministers. The Khedive has refused.

His Highness remains firm, and will not be reconciled to a Ministry which has defied him openly, threatened himself and his family, and, by the convocation of the Chamber without his sanction, has violated the law.

At Cairo there is considerable uneasiness, and many persons are leaving.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 469.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 252. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 14, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that last night the President of the Chamber informed the Ministry that the Khedive refused to be reconciled with them. His Excellency suggested, therefore, that the Prime Minister should resign, and he replied that he was willing to do so. The other Ministers declared, however, that they would then retire also. Finally, the whole Ministry declared that they were ready to resign, but that they could no longer, in that case, guarantee public security, and that the Khedive must himself assume this responsibility.

My French colleague and I went to the Palace in the morning. Just before starting I received your Lordship's telegram No. 105 of yesterday, and, seeing that it was of an important nature, but not having time to learn its contents, I asked the Khedive to take no decision as to the course to be pursued until I had seen His Highness again,

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 470.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 253. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 14, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that this morning the President of the Chamber begged the Khedive to accept the retirement of the Prime Minister. My French colleague and I, in consideration of the coming action of the Powers, and the importance of nothing happening in the meanwhile to the Khedive, have advised His Highness to accept this proposition, which can, nevertheless, be merely a temporary solution. Moustapha Pasha Fehmy, at present Minister for Foreign Affairs and Justice, will probably be appointed President of the Council. We agree to the nomination of any one except Arabi Pasha.

The President of the Chamber also said to His Highness that the Chamber ought to be convoked if the fleets arrived ; that it would then pass a vote of censure on the Ministry for having necessitated foreign interference, and would insist that the military leaders should retire from the country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 471.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 254. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 14, 1882.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 105 of yesterday, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that my French colleague and I think that the political advantage of the arrival of the combined squadron at Alexandria is so great as to override in consideration the danger which it might possibly cause to Europeans in Cairo.

Its arrival in support of the Khedive, who now seems to have with him all but the military party, diminishes the danger.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 255. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 14, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship with regard to the proposed intervention that, with my knowledge of the public feeling in the country, I cannot but fear that, unless the Sultan's implied co-operation be secured and made known, and unless he countenances the action of the Powers at the outset, there may again be a coalition between the Chamber and the army, and that a resistance which, I think, would otherwise be impossible, might then be offered.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 473.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 256.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 15, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that I have received information from Mr. Main, Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Damietta, that Abd-el-'Al Pasha, one of the most prominent of the revolutionary leaders, left Damietta this morning for Cairo, in order to use all his influence to bring about the deposition of the Khedive.

From personal observation, Mr. Main is persuaded that the population of his district are loyal to the Khedive, and approve of the course His Highness has followed in recent events.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 474.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 257. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 15, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the Presidency of the Council of Ministers having been offered to Moustapha Pasha Fehmy, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Justice, his Excellency absolutely declined to accept it.

The Ministers declare that they will only resign if the Chamber of Notables desire it.

The President of the Chamber, however, declares that it will be impossible to change the Ministry as long as the military power continues to be invested in Arabi Pasha.

Public telegrams have announced the departure of the Anglo-French squadron for Alexandria.

Under these circumstances, my French colleague and I proceeded to the Palace and stated to the Khedive that an Anglo-French squadron was assembling at Suda Bay and would soon enter Alexandria; and that the Governments of England and France reserved to themselves the right to employ such other means as they might deem necessary to make order respected, and to maintain the authority of the Khedive. We further said to His Highness that it was essential that there should be a Government with which we could negotiate; and that the Khedive being unable to form a new Ministry, we requested him to re-enter into relations with the present one, informing it that, in consequence of the serious news which we had imparted to him, personal questions must be set aside, and that the Ministers must enter into negotiations with us in order to avoid the danger which menaces the country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 258. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 15, 1882.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 106 of yesterday, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that this morning M. Sienkiewicz and I stated to Arabi Pasha, the Minister of War, that if order is disturbed he will find the Powers without exception against him, and that he will be held personally responsible, but that if he remains loyal to the Khedive his acts and person will be favourably regarded.

His Excellency replied that he would guarantee public order and the safety of His Highness the Khedive as long as he remained Minister, but that in the event of an Anglo-French squadron arriving he could not guarantee public safety.

His Excellency gave us a formal denial that either he or any of the Ministers had harboured a design for the deposition of the Khedive. Notwithstanding his assurances, we repeated that if public order is disturbed the responsibility would rest with him.

Since the dispatch of the Anglo-French fleet has become known, the President of the Council has assured M. Monge, the French Consul here, that public tranquillity will be maintained.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 476.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 259. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 16, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report that last night the Ministers proceeded to the Palace of Ismailah, and made a complete submission to the Khedive. During their interview His Highness made no allusion to the recent differences.

Perfect tranquillity reigns in Cairo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 477.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 260.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 16, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship a copy of a Memorandum which I have drawn up for the information of Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour recording, in succinct form, the events which have led to the present crisis.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 477.

Memorandum.

THE present difficulty began with the sentence of a court-martial appointed to try a number of persons for an alleged conspiracy to assassinate Arabi Pasha, Minister of War, and other military officers. The prisoners were tried in secret; they were not allowed Counsel to defend them, and three of the Generals, whom they were accused of designing to assassinate, sat on the court-martial.

Forty of the military prisoners were condemned to banishment to the extreme limits of the Soudan, military degradation, and loss of honours.

The Khedive, acting on the advice of the English and French Representatives, determined not to confirm the sentence.

The Ministry, seeing that public opinion was against the sentence, petitioned the Khedive to commute it to exile from Egypt, and erasure of the names of the prisoners from the roll of the army.

The Khedive, without further consulting his Ministers, issued a Decree reducing the penalty to quitting the country, and annulling the remainder of the sentence.

In the meantime the Porte had requested that the matter might be referred to it, and the Khedive had replied that he was prepared to do so. This answer gave great umbrage to the Ministry, who accused His Highness of diminishing the autonomy of Egypt. The President of the Council in consequence requested the Representatives of England and France to ask for the good offices of their Governments to prevent the privileges of Egypt being encroached upon by the Porte.

The Khedive sent for the Representatives of the Great Powers on the afternoon of the day on which he had signed the Decree regarding the prisoners, and informed them that the President of the Council had insulted and menaced him, had insisted on his inserting in the Decree the erasure of the names of the prisoners from the army roll, and had told him that if he refused it would be dangerous to his throne and to public security, and might lead to a massacre of Europeans. The Representatives of England and France, deputed by their colleagues, thereupon went to the President to demand explanations in the interest of the European colonies in Cairo. The President denied to them that there was any truth in the statement of the Khedive; said that he had not menaced him in any way, had not spoken of massacre, and had merely conveyed to him, as a request, the desire of the Cabinet regarding the Decree. He said finally, that it was impossible to serve a Khedive who had so little regard for truth, and that he should resign.

On the following day the Council of Ministers, without communicating with His Highness, convoked the Chamber of Representatives for the ostensible purpose of examining and judging the difference which had arisen between His Highness and the Ministry. The act was illegal, as by the 9th Article of the Organic Law of the Chamber, an Extraordinary Session can only be convoked by the Khedive alone. The President of the Council stated officially to the Representatives of the Great Powers that he would hold no further communication with the Khedive until the Chamber had pronounced its decision on the difference existing between the Ministry and His Highness.

During the following days it was known that the Ministry intended to endeavour to obtain the deposition of the Khedive.

The Members of the Chamber arrived quickly in Cairo. The President, Sultan Pasha, with their concurrence, decided to support the Khedive, and to refuse to meet unless convoked by His Highness, but they urged him to be reconciled with his Ministers. His Highness refused, saying that he could not maintain a Ministry which had openly defied him, had insulted him, and had violated the law.

The Deputies, however, were of opinion that it was absolutely impossible to form a new Government as long as the military supremacy remained in the hands of Arabi Pasha. They therefore attempted a compromise, and requested Mahmoud Pasha Sami, President of the Council, to resign, to which he consented, and the Khedive offered the Presidency to Moustapha Pasha Felmy, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Justice, who refused, and the Ministers then announced that they would stand or fall together.

On the day following this announcement it was known through public telegrams that the combined squadron had received orders to come to Alexandria.

The Representatives of England and France therefore informed the Khedive officially that an Anglo-French squadron was assembling at Suda, and would soon enter Alexandria; that the English and French Governments reserved to themselves to employ such other means as they might deem necessary to make order respected, and to maintain the authority of the Khedive. They at the same time told His Highness that under these circumstances it was absolutely necessary to have a Government with which they could treat, and that as no new Government could be formed, His Highness must continue with the existing Ministers.

The President of the Chamber and a deputation of Delegates acted as intermediaries between His Highness and the Ministers.

The consequence was that last night (the 15th instant) the Ministers came to the Palace and made complete submission to His Highness, protesting their fidelity.

The danger during these protracted negotiations has been the chance of violence

being offered by the military to the person of the Khedive. The Representatives of England and France have therefore stated to Arabi Pasha that he is held personally responsible by their Governments for the maintenance of public order and the protection of His Highness. The Minister of War replied that he would guarantee both up to the time of the arrival of the fleets; but to-day the President of the Council has given a further assurance of the maintenance of public order, and it is not likely that violence will be offered to the Khedive, as the Chamber of Representatives and the public opinion have clearly pronounced in his favour.

Sir Edward Malet has issued a Circular to the British Consular authorities in Egypt, dated to-day, instructing them to inform the local authorities that the object of the Anglo-French expedition to Alexandria is of a friendly nature, and that no danger is to be apprehended, provided that public security be maintained, and that the negotiations which ensue result in a satisfactory settlement of the questions pending between the Egyptian Government and the Powers.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Cairo, May 16, 1882.

No. 478.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 261.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 16, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 258 of yesterday's date, in which I have recorded that Arabi Pasha, Minister of War, assured my French colleague and me that neither he nor the other Ministers had harboured the design of deposing the Khedive, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the Minister, during the conversation, entered into an argument to prove that the question of the Khedive was an internal one, in which the Powers should not interfere. We declined to pursue the discussion, merely saying that His Highness held authority under the Firman of the Sultan issued at the request of the Powers, and that it was the intention of the two Governments to maintain His Highness as Khedive.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 479.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 154. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Rome, May 19, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 151, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I asked the Russian Ambassador yesterday whether he had been charged by his Government to make any communication to the Italian Government with regard to the dispatch of the English and French squadrons to Egypt, to which Baron Uxkull replied that all he had been directed to do was to ascertain the views of the Italian Government upon this subject.

Having made this inquiry of M. Mancini, his Excellency, Baron Uxkull informed me, had replied that he was himself waiting to hear the opinion of the Russian and other Governments before pronouncing his own. Baron Uxkull's impression was, however, that if the other Governments raised no difficulties respecting the course which had been adopted by England and France, M. Mancini was not inclined to do so. He added, however, that M. Mancini had appeared to him a little put out at the action of England and France having been settled without previous consultation with the other Powers, which appeared to him not to be consistent with the understanding that the affairs of Egypt were for the future to form the subject of European deliberation and concert.

His Excellency also seemed to demur, Baron Uxkull said, to the doctrine that the interests of England and France were predominant over those of any other Power in Egypt. I gathered from what Baron Uxkull said that the Russian Government did not dispute the superiority of English and French interests in Egypt, and that it was on his making to M. Mancini an observation which implied this, in consequence of a despatch which he had received from St. Petersburg several days before the date of

the last communication addressed to the Powers by England and France announcing the dispatch of their squadrons to Alexandria, that his Excellency had shown a disinclination to admit it, more, as it appeared to Baron Uxkull, on account of the clamour and opposition which such an admission would raise against him in public opinion in Italy than from settled conviction in his own mind.

There have been within the last few days several violent attacks in a portion of the press upon M. Mancini, who is accused of having, by a policy of subservieney and weakness, brought Italy to the "lowest depths of humiliation" by her present exclusion from the action of the Western Powers in Egypt.

The fact is that, besides feeling anxiety in regard to their natural interests in Egypt, the Italians are still smarting under the recollection of the French proceedings in Tunis. There is still the utmost irritation against and jealousy of France, and the fear is that on some pretext or other the French Government may endeavour to repeat in Egypt the same course which they pursued in Tunis. Were England acting alone, my belief, founded on what I read in the papers and what I hear, is that the sensitiveness of the Italians would be far less aroused.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 480.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 155. Confidential.)
My Lord,

Rome, May 19, 1882.

HAVING met M. Mancini last night, his Excellency confirmed the intelligence given me by my Russian colleague respecting the Turkish communication, as reported in my despatch No. 151, Confidential, of yesterday's date.

His Excellency informed me that when the Turkish Ambassador, in reading the despatch from his Government, came to that portion which disputed the right of England and France to send their squadrons to Egypt, and claimed the exclusive right of intervention for the Porte, he had remarked to Musurus Bey that he thought that, unless the Porte was actually aware that the squadrons were sent with a hostile purpose, that is to say, with an intention of disembarking an armed force, its protest appeared to him premature; that no one could deny that Egypt was in a very agitated condition; and that public excitement might possibly take the turn of venting itself upon Europeans, in which case he presumed the Porte would not contest the right of foreign Governments to send ships for the protection of their subjects.

I asked M. Mancini whether he had yet sent instructions to the Italian Ambassador at Constantinople to recommend the Porte to abstain for the present from all intervention and interference, as suggested in your Lordship's telegram of the 15th instant, which I had communicated to him.

His Excellency replied that he was yet unacquainted with the views of the other Powers, and that one Power acting alone would be useless, implying, as it appeared to me, that if the other Powers were willing to give the advice suggested, he would be quite ready to join in doing so.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 481.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 472.)
My Lord,

Paris, May 21, 1882.

THIS morning I stated to M. de Freycinet, in the terms of your Lordship's telegram No. 178 of yesterday, the reasons of Her Majesty's Government for proposing to suspend the dispatch of additional ships to Alexandria.

His Excellency said that he felt the full force of these reasons.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 482.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 473.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 21, 1882.

IN pursuance of the instruction conveyed to me by your Lordship's telegram No. 180 of yesterday, I informed M. de Freycinet this morning that Her Majesty's Government concurred with him in thinking that the Khedive should be advised not to leave Cairo, and that they had sent instructions to Sir Edward Malet accordingly.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 483.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 474.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 21, 1882.

THIS morning I spoke to M. de Freycinet in the terms of your Lordship's despatch No. 572 of yesterday on the subject of the proposed communications to the Porte and to the Egyptian Government respecting the modification of the 34th Article of the Egyptian Organic Law.

I said that Her Majesty's Government were ready to adopt the alterations suggested by his Excellency in your Lordship's draft of a note to the Ottoman Ambassadors in London and Paris, namely, to substitute "settled" for "prepared" and "decisions" for "views."

I added, however, that Her Majesty's Government were of opinion that it would be hopeless to attempt to enter into a discussion of the revision of the Organic Law with the Egyptian Government until the present crisis is passed, or a new Ministry is formed, and that therefore the communications had better be delayed.

M. de Freycinet said that he entirely concurred in these views, and he agreed that the intended communications both to the Porte and to the Egyptian Government should be postponed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 484.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 476. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 21, 1882.

I MADE known to M. de Freycinet this morning the amendments to his draft despatch to the Ambassadors at Berlin, Rome, Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Constantinople, which were communicated to me by your Lordship's telegrams No. 177 and No. 182 of the day before yesterday and last night.

He objected to the words "maintain the sovereignty of the Sultan," on the ground that no one had disputed that sovereignty, that to mention it in this way would produce a bad impression in France, and that the greater part of the phrase in which the words occur was a mere repetition of the preceding sentence.

He objected to the sentence "we will communicate with the Powers and with Turkey on the measures which have appeared to us and to France to be the best," on the ground that the Powers would take this as merely announcing to them that we intended to repeat the proceeding they now complained of, that is to say, merely to communicate to them a foregone decision.

I combated these objections to the best of my ability, and in particular pointed out the bad effects of weakening the impression produced at Cairo, Constantinople, and elsewhere, by the announcement that England and France had already come to an agreement with each other upon the further measures to be adopted in case of need.

After a discussion of some length, M. de Freycinet said that he would carefully consider the amendments proposed by Her Majesty's Government, and communicate with me again respecting them in the course of the day.

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He has accordingly sent M. Decrais to me this afternoon to propose the changes which I have already communicated to your Lordship by telegraph.

I inclose herewith a paper showing them distinctly.

I do not know whether your Lordship attaches importance to the insertion of the words "British and French" before troops, as suggested in your telegram No. 181 of the 20th instant. M. de Freycinet would probably object to them as implying too transparently the plan of calling in the Turkish forces.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 484.

Amendments proposed in draft Despatch to Ambassadors.

[The text as amended by Her Majesty's Government is in ordinary type. The changes proposed in that text by M. de Freycinet are in *Italic*, within brackets.]

"but to secure, without distinction of nationality, the interests in that country of the several European Powers" [*ainsi que pour maintenir l'autorité du Khédive, telle qu'elle a été établie par les Firmans du Sultan reconnus de l'Europe*].

The two Powers have sent their squadrons to maintain the sovereignty of the Sultan, the authority of the Khedive, and the protection of European interests, they [Governments] have never proposed to land troops or to resort to a military occupation of the country.

We intend, when once quiet has been restored and the future secured, to leave Egypt to herself, and to recall our squadrons.

If, contrary to our expectations, a pacific solution cannot be obtained, we will communicate [*nous nous concerterons*] with the Powers and with Turkey on the measures which *have* [*auront*] appeared to us and to France to be the best.

I beg you to read this, &c.

No. 485.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23, 1.5 P.M.)

(No. 62.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 23, 1882, 11.50 A.M.

EGYPT: Your telegram No. 192 of last night.

French Minister for Foreign Affairs will dispatch the identic telegram to the five Embassies at 2 o'clock this afternoon.

No. 486.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24.)

(No. 478. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 23, 1882.

IN obedience to the instruction contained in your Lordship's telegram of last night (No. 192), I told M. de Freycinet this morning that Her Majesty's Government concurred in the alterations proposed by him yesterday in your Lordship's amendments to his draft of the identic telegram respecting the affairs of Egypt, to be addressed to the British and French Representatives at the Four Great Courts and at the Porte. The text of the telegram was therefore, I said, now settled in conformity with the Memorandum which he had sent me yesterday by M. Decrais; and your Lordship proposed to dispatch it from London to the five British Embassies at 2 o'clock this afternoon.

M. de Freycinet answered that he, on his part, would dispatch the telegram at that hour to the French Embassies at Berlin, Rome, Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Constantinople.

I have had the honour to communicate to your Lordship the substance of this despatch by telegraph.

The paper inclosed in my despatch No. 476 of yesterday was a copy of the Memorandum sent to me by M. de Freycinet, which is mentioned above.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 487.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23, 2 P.M.)

(No. 99.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 23, 1882, 1.15 P.M.

THE Italian Government have sent a man-of-war to Port Said. The Turks have requested that it should be withdrawn, and Count Corti has telegraphed on the subject to his Government.

No. 488.

*Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.**

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 23, 1882, 2 P.M.

AS my telegram of the 15th instant has informed you, the two Governments of France and England have sent a squadron to Alexandria. The events which gave rise to this determination were so sudden, and the danger which seemed to menace our countrymen so pressing, that time was absolutely wanting for us to come to a previous understanding with the other Powers. Since then a reconciliation has taken place at Cairo, but besides that it did not appear durable, the news of it did not reach the two Governments until their ships were already on their way.

No one can have mistaken the character and the object of this demonstration; the declarations made to the British and French Parliaments have prevented all doubt in this respect. The English and French Governments have gone to Egypt, not to make a selfish and exclusive policy prevail, but to secure without distinction of nationality the interests in that country of the several European Powers, and to maintain the authority of the Khedive, such as it has been established by the Firmans of the Sultan recognized by Europe.

They have never proposed to land troops or to resort to a military occupation of the country.

Her Majesty's Government intend, when once calm has been restored and the future secured, to leave Egypt to herself and to recall their squadron.

If, contrary to their expectations, a pacific solution cannot be obtained, they will concert with the Powers and with Turkey on the measures which shall have appeared to them and to the French Government to be the best.

No. 489.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23, 2.50 P.M.)

(No. 63.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 23, 1882, 12.40 P.M.

I HAVE communicated to M. de Freycinet the substance of Sir E. Malet's telegrams No. 144 of the 20th and No. 150 of yesterday, as well as of your telegram to me of yesterday No. 181. He has not received from the French Agent the intelligence respecting Sultan Pasha's negotiation contained in Sir E. Malet's No. 150.

He sends to-day to the French Agent the following instruction:—

"We authorize you to do all that you may think necessary to obtain, without delay, the two following results:—

"1. The temporary removal from Egypt of Arabi and of other personages the removal of whom may also appear to you advantageous.

"2. The appointment of Chérif Pasha as President of the Council. You need not refer to us with regard to the measures to be taken, provided that you be in accord with your English colleague."

M. de Freycinet directs the French Agent to act upon this instruction if his

* Also to Sir H. Elliot, Sir E. Thornton, Sir A. Paget, and the Earl of Dufferin.

English colleague shall receive the like instruction, and he earnestly hopes that your Lordship may think it right to send Sir E. Malet an instruction in the same terms.

No. 490.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24.)

(No. 480. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 23, 1882.

I RECITED to M. de Freycinet this morning the contents of the three following telegrams, namely:—

1. Sir Edward Malet's to your Lordship of the 20th instant (No. 144), reporting the intention of his French colleague and himself to come to an arrangement with Arabi Pasha and others to leave the country on condition of retaining their rank, pay, and property;

2. Your Lordship's No. 184 to me of yesterday, saying that Her Majesty's Government concurred in this arrangement, provided the French Government concurred also;

3. Sir Edward Malet's to your Lordship of yesterday (No. 150), reporting the negotiations with Arabi Pasha and his associates entered into by Sultan Pasha in the name of the Notables.

M. de Freycinet told me that he had not received from M. Sienkiewicz the intelligence contained in this last telegram.

He went on to say that he thought it desirable to put distinctly before the French and British Agents the objects at which they should aim in the first instance, and to encourage them to act together for these objects with energy and rapidity, but not to run the risk of embarrassing them by giving them detailed directions as to the particular course they should take for the purpose.

With this view he should, he said, send to-day to M. Sienkiewicz a telegram in the following words:—

"Nous vous autorisons à faire tout ce que vous jugerez nécessaire pour obtenir sans retard les deux résultats.

"1. Éloignement temporaire d'Arabi Pacha et autres personnages qu'il vous paraîtrait utile d'éloigner également.

"2. Nomination de Chérif Pacha comme Président du Conseil.

"Vous n'aurez pas besoin de nous en référer pour les mesures à prendre pourvu que vous soyez d'accord avec votre collègue d'Angleterre."

M. de Freycinet said that he should direct M. Sienkiewicz to act upon this telegram if his English colleague should receive the same instructions; and his Excellency begged me to express to your Lordship his earnest hope that you might think it right to send instructions in the same terms to Sir Edward Malet.

I have had the honour to transmit to your Lordship the substance of this despatch by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 491.

*Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.**

(Secret.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 23, 1882, 3.35 P.M.

HER Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin has been informed, privately and confidentially, by German Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that Prince Bismarck, though unable to separate himself officially from Austria and Russia, had sent privately, through Turkish Ambassador at Berlin, recommendation to Porte not to exaggerate supposed effect and consequences of naval demonstration, but to abstain from interference, and confide implicitly in the policy and good intentions of England and France.

Turkish Ambassador has privately acknowledged having received this advice, which Prince Bismarck wishes to be kept secret for the present.

* Also to Lord Lyons and Sir E. Malet.

No. 492.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23, 4.10 P.M.)

(No. 98.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 23, 1882, 1.15 P.M.

SIR E. MALET'S telegrams to your Lordship No. 142 of 20th and No. 149 of 22nd.

I have been endeavouring to get the Porte to act in Egypt in the way Sir E. Malet desires. I have now told the Foreign Minister that if, instead of helping to terminate the crisis in the desired manner, the Porte complicates the situation by falsifying facts and running counter to our advice, we shall double the number of our ships at Alexandria, and their stay will be indefinitely prolonged. I have asked my French colleague to speak in the same sense. I had already hinted to Saïd Pasha, confidentially, that if the Ottoman Government acted in a loyal and reasonable manner, the first fruits of its moderation might be the countermanding of the additional ships of war which were under orders to join the squadron.

(Sent to Egypt.)

No. 493.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 381. Confidential. Extender.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, May 23, 1882.

HAVING received telegram No. 142 of the 20th instant from Sir E. Malet, in which he expresses his wish that the Porte should be induced to telegraph to the Khedive in such a sense as to make it known in Egypt that the Sultan acquiesces in the action of the two Powers, and approves of His Highness advising with the Agents of England and France as to the best way of restoring a constitutional régime and a legitimate Ministry (after acquainting my French colleague with what I intended to do), I called on Sunday at the Porte, and strongly pressed the Minister for Foreign Affairs to telegraph in the desired sense. His Excellency gave me hopes that he would do so, but said he must consult his colleagues.

On receiving this morning Sir E. Malet's telegram No. 149 of yesterday, in which Sir Edward records the official telegram from the Porte which endeavours to make it appear that the advent of the fleets to Alexandria is to be regarded as an usual annual visit, without any political significance, and in which he reiterates his request that the Porte may be pressed to address the Khedive in the sense referred to in his previous telegram, I at once sent Sir Alfred Sandison to Saïd Pasha, with a very stringent message to the effect that if, instead of helping us to curtail the crisis and acting in accordance with our recommendations in regard to the language it adopted at Cairo, the Ottoman Government persisted in complicating the situation by the falsification of facts and giving perverse advice to the Khedive, the Governments of France and England would at once double the number of their war-ships off the Egyptian coast, and arrange for their stay being indefinitely prolonged. As I had already hinted confidentially to Saïd Pasha that the first fruits of the moderate tone adopted by him at his recent interview with me might be the countermanding of the other iron-clads already under orders to join the squadrons which have arrived in Alexandria, I am in hopes this menace may not be without its effect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 494.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 165. Secret.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 23, 1882, 4.45 P.M.

WITH reference to the telegram from Sir E. Malet No. 150, repeated to you yesterday, use your own discretion as to intimating confidentially to the Porte that if Arabi Pasha left the country and the other military ringleaders were made to retire, the chief reason for keeping the fleets at Alexandria would be removed.

No. 495.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 254. Secret. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 23, 1882.

HER Majesty's Agent at Cairo states, in his telegram No. 150 of yesterday, which I repeated to you, that Sultan Pasha, in the name of the Egyptian Deputies, is negotiating for the resignation of the Ministry and the departure of Arabi Pasha from the country.

If Arabi Pasha left Egypt, and the other military ringleaders were made to retire to the provinces, the principal reason for retaining the fleets at Alexandria would be removed; and I have to authorize your Excellency to use your own discretion as to intimating this confidentially to the Turkish Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 496.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 166.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 23, 1882, 4.50 P.M.

PORTE'S Circular of 17th.

In sending ships to Alexandria, Her Majesty's Government had no intention of interfering with the Sultan's rights by carrying on military operations in Egypt or occupying the country, nor any idea of altering the constitutional *status quo*.

If the exercise of the Sovereign's authority should become necessary, the two Powers would naturally have recourse to the Sultan, and ask him to join with them in settling the difficulty by a common agreement.

England and France have acted alone, because only their interests and those of Europeans were in danger.

Neither Mussulman interests nor the rights of the Sultan were threatened, and there seemed, therefore, to be no reason for Porte to take steps to protect them.

If we had to carry our action beyond the protection of Europeans and the maintenance of our special interests, we should necessarily resort to co-operation of the Sultan.

I hope this explanation will calm Porte's susceptibilities aroused by a misunderstanding of our motives.

Speak to Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs in this sense. French Ambassador has had similar instruction.

No. 497.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.

(No. 64.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 23, 1882, 5.50 P.M.

CONVEY to Prince Bismarck cordial thanks of Her Majesty's Government for private advice on Egyptian question given to Porte through Turkish Ambassador at Berlin.

No. 498.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.

(No. 212. Confidential. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 23, 1882.

I HAVE requested your Excellency by telegraph to convey the cordial thanks of Her Majesty's Government to Prince Bismarck for the advice on the Egyptian question sent privately by his Highness to the Sultan through the Turkish Ambassador

at Berlin, the nature of which was reported in your despatch No. 169 of the 20th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 499.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23, 8 P.M.)

(No. 100. Secret and Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 23, 1882, 5 P.M.

MINISTER for Foreign Affairs has assured me that he did not know of the telegram referred to in Sir E. Malet's No. 149 of 22nd. It must, therefore, have gone straight from the Palace.

Said Pasha seems prepared to second us in the manner we desire, but is evidently at his wits' end as to the best means of inducing the Sultan to supersede his former telegram by one of a more suitable character.

No. 500.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 145.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 23, 1882.

COUNT KÁROLYI spoke to me yesterday on the subject of the crisis in Egypt, and gave me very satisfactory assurances as to the disposition of the Austro-Hungarian Government to act with regard to it in accordance with the British and French Governments.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 501.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 161. Extender.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 23, 1882.

IN your Excellency's telegram No. 29, received to-day, you report that the French Chargé d'Affaires had shown you a telegram from his Government, which he was to communicate to the Italian Government, after previous consultation with you, in order to secure an identic communication, explaining the course taken by the two Governments in sending a joint squadron to Alexandria.

Your Excellency explains that you have not as yet received instructions on this subject.

In reply, I have to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government consider it very desirable that the communications to be made to the Powers on this matter should be simultaneous and identic; but that they have not as yet settled with the French Government the exact wording of these communications.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 502.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 162 A.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 23, 1882.

AT an interview which I had with General Menabrea to-day, his Excellency informed me that he had received a telegram from his Government announcing their intention to preserve the same attitude of abstention as the other Cabinets in regard to the present position of England and France towards Egypt, until the answer of the Powers should be returned to the expected Anglo-French communication; and that consequently the Italian squadron would still remain at Messina, one iron-clad

alone, the "Castelfidardo," being detached, to be stationed at Port Saïd, with instructions to remain there unless summoned to Alexandria by the Italian Representative, for the protection of Italian subjects, should danger be imminent.

The course pursued by Italy in this matter was not, however, to be interpreted as implying any intention of withdrawing from the concert of the Powers, with whom they shared the opinion that the control over the affairs of Egypt was a European question.

I informed General Menabrea that the Circular to the Powers to which his Excellency had referred was about to be sent.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 503.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23, 11:30 P.M.)

(No. 35. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, May 23, 1882, 6:55 P.M.

MY telegram No. 33 of yesterday.

Minister for Foreign Affairs tells me privately that Prince Bismarck has instructed him to repeat his advice to the Turkish Ambassador, that the Sultan should have perfect confidence in England and France, and not object to the naval demonstration.

He has been also instructed to speak in the same sense to the Ambassadors of Austria, Italy, and Russia.

No. 504.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 183. Confidential. Extender.)

My Lord,

Berlin, May 23, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 178, Confidential, of yesterday's date, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs tells me privately and in confidence that Prince Bismarck has instructed him to repeat his advice to the Turkish Ambassador, that the Sultan should, in his opinion, have perfect confidence in the Governments of England and France, and not take umbrage at the naval demonstration which is undertaken by them in the interest of order.

Prince Bismarck has also instructed him to speak in the same sense to the Ambassadors of Austria, Italy, and Russia, which he has accordingly already done.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

No. 505.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23, 11:30 P.M.)

(No. 101.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 23, 1882, 7 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 161 of yesterday.

I had already acted in the sense you desired. (See my telegram No. 98 of to-day.)

No. 505*.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23, 11:30 P.M.)

(No. 151.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 23, 1882, 6:30 P.M.

THE situation has changed for the worse.

In reply to the proposal of the President of the Chamber recorded in my tele-

gram No. 150 of yesterday, the President of the Council has answered that the Government will not retire as long as the fleets remain.

Arabi Pasha yesterday visited my French colleague, who explained to him that the Government must resign and he himself leave the country. A conversation of two hours resulted in his saying that he would give an answer in the evening.

M. Monge went to receive the answer. Arabi said that he must refuse either to resign or quit Egypt. While M. Monge was there, a native Colonel said aloud that if Arabi abandoned the officers they would hew him in pieces.

In a Cabinet Council to-day it has been decided that when we make our demands officially the Government will reply that they do not recognize the right of the Governments of France and England to interfere in such a question, and that they own no authority over them but the Sultan.

The President of the Chamber has to-day told my French colleague that he can no longer be sure of the Deputies, on account of the feeling which is gaining ground against the interference of the two Powers.

Under these circumstances, my French colleague and I hesitate to make an official demand to the Government, knowing beforehand that it will meet with a refusal, until we are enabled to state what the result of that refusal will be. I therefore venture to ask for further instructions from your Lordship. The present position is the consequence of the Government and people continuing to believe that England and France will not send troops, and that the intervention of the Porte is not possible, because France will not allow it.

Meantime, military preparations are being made, and fanatical feeling against Europeans actively promoted.

I still believe that we may succeed without the necessity of landing troops if the Sultan declares himself, and it be known that troops are prepared.

My French colleague sends a telegram in the same sense, probably with the exception of the last paragraph; for, though he entirely agrees in the necessity of the co-operation of the Porte, he may hesitate to state it openly to his Government.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

No. 506.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 285. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 23, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that a change for the worse has taken place in the state of affairs. The President of the Council has replied to the proposal of the President of the Chamber, that the Ministry should retire, that it will not do so as long as the squadrons are kept at Alexandria.

Yesterday my French colleague received the visit of Arabi Pasha, and explained to him the necessity of the Ministry resigning and of himself leaving Egypt. After two hours' conversation, the Minister of War said that in the evening he would give his answer.

The French Consul went to receive it, and Arabi Pasha told him that he must refuse either to retire from his position or from the country. A native Colonel present said aloud before M. Monge that the officers would hew Arabi in pieces if he deserted them.

It has been to-day decided in a Cabinet Council that the Government will reply to any official demands from us that they do not admit the right of the English and French Governments to interfere in such a question, and that they recognize no ultimate authority but that of the Sultan.

The President of the Chamber informed my French colleague to-day that he can no longer rely upon the Deputies, on account of the feeling against the intervention of the two Powers which is now gaining ground.

M. Sienkiewicz and I hesitate, therefore, to make an official demand to the Ministers, which we know beforehand will be met with a refusal, until we are in a position to declare what would be the consequences of such a refusal, and I accordingly venture to beg your Lordship to favour me with further instructions.

The present situation has been brought about by the Ministers and the people persisting in a belief that the two Powers will not dispatch troops, and that the opposition of France renders a Turkish intervention impossible.

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In the meanwhile military preparations are being carried on, and fanatical feeling against foreigners is sedulously fostered.

I am still of opinion that, if the Sultan declares himself at once, and if it be known that troops are ready to be dispatched, we may succeed without the necessity for landing them.

M. Sienkiewicz is writing in the same sense, but probably omits the last paragraph, for, although he shares my opinion entirely as regards the necessity of the Porte's co-operation, he may shrink from openly stating it to the French Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 507.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24.)

(No. 362. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, May 19, 1882.

AFTER consultation with the French Ambassador I went to the Porte on the 16th instant, and conveyed to Saïd Pasha, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, the identic communication your Lordship instructed me to make in your telegram No. 127 of the 15th instant. I then did my best to persuade his Excellency to regard the matter in a proper light, not as a demonstration in any way inimical to the authority or the interests of the Sultan, but, on the contrary, as an effort to strengthen the hands of His Majesty's Representative, to maintain his sovereign rights, the *status quo*, and all existing international arrangements.

Being well satisfied with the way in which Saïd Pasha received my observations, I gave him to understand that at our request the French Government had been induced to adopt a far less stringent line than they might otherwise have been inclined to follow; and, referring to that portion of the communication which alluded to the possibility of future proposals being made to the Ottoman Government, I said that although I did not myself know what the nature of these proposals might be, the term "proposal" was very significant, inasmuch as it implied an invitation to enter into some friendly concert or agreement.

At the conclusion of the interview I requested his Excellency, as soon as he had seen the Sultan, to acquaint me with His Majesty's views and intentions.

The next morning, having in the meantime received a copy of your Lordship's telegram to Sir E. Malet No. 105, detailing the further development of the joint programme of the two Powers, I instructed Sir Alfred Sandison to intimate confidentially, in very guarded language, to the Foreign Minister that I now knew the nature of the proposals which perhaps might be made, and that they certainly would not be disagreeable to the Sultan.

Late on the night of the 17th Saïd Pasha came to the Embassy. He informed me that the Sultan was very much irritated; that he had done his best to moderate his anger; but that His Majesty felt himself to have been deeply injured by the action of the Powers, who had thus, without warning or consultation, dispatched a formidable fleet to a Turkish port, at the same time that they enjoined him in harsh and stringent terms not to concern himself with an affair in which no one was more deeply interested or had more paramount rights than himself.

In reply, I observed that of course there were two ways of regarding the matter, but that the Ottoman Government would be making a great mistake if they took what was being done in ill part. For weeks and months past the Agents of the French and English Governments at Cairo had been doing everything in their power to support the constituted authorities in Egypt, and to avert the necessity for intervention. If, at last, the Western Powers had been reluctantly driven to intervene, it was because the disorganization of the Local Government had reached a point which threatened the safety of their subjects, as well as the existence of those international obligations in the maintenance of which they are pre-eminently interested. It was the expectation of the two Governments that the appearance of their fleets off the Egyptian coast would have a conservative effect, and would strengthen the hands of the Khedive to such a degree as would enable him to resume the exercise of his normal constitutional powers, untrammelled by the domination of the military faction which now apparently paralyzes his Government; whereas any violent initiative on the part of the Sultan would

aggravate, instead of dissipate, the difficulties of the situation, for it would at once give rise to the conjecture that it was His Majesty's object to introduce radical changes in the relationship of the Province to the Porte.

His Excellency seemed struck by this argument, and said that he himself had concluded that if (as he was now convinced was the case) the Powers were not actuated by intentions hostile to the sovereign rights of the Sultan, some such consideration as that to which I had referred must have inspired their desire that the Ottoman Government should remain quiescent in the present conjuncture.

Saïd Pasha then asked me what would follow if, in opposition to the Western Powers, the Sultan were to vindicate his undoubted rights in the matter. I replied that it might be difficult to foresee the consequences of such a line of action, but that, speaking as a private individual, the loss of Egypt might possibly ensue, and it was perhaps from fear of such a contingency that the British Government had so strongly counselled prudence to the Porte, for it was obvious that the interests of Turkey more closely coincided with those of England in the East than of any other Government. It was on this account that the English Government desired to see the sovereignty of the Sultan over Egypt, as regulated by the existing Firmans, maintained in all its integrity, as it was a far better guarantee for the preservation of our own rights and influence than would be the case were Egypt to be ruled by a small independent Pasha, who might sell himself to a rival Government. "If, then, I might venture to tender my advice to His Majesty, it would be that he should cordially acquiesce in what was being done, and trust to the loyalty and good faith of the Western Powers for the maintenance of all his existing rights."

Having heard that Saïd Pasha suspected that there was a divergence of views between England and France upon the points under discussion, I further intimated that he would be very much mistaken if he allowed his conduct to be influenced by such an unfounded supposition. He might depend upon it that the concert between the two Western Powers was complete, and that nothing would disturb the unity of their action.

His Excellency then asked me whether we were really desirous of supporting Tewfik Pasha in his present position, as he had understood that the French had been anxious for his overthrow. I replied that, although I believed that at one time the question of Prince Halim's candidature had been discussed by one or two eminent French officials, the idea had not struck root, and I could assure him that both Governments were agreed in their desire to maintain the present Khedive.

His Excellency concluded by reading me a Circular he had addressed to the Powers by telegram deprecating the dispatch of the mixed fleet to Alexandria, after which he entreated me to use my good offices with your Lordship in support of the views of the Porte.

The next morning, according to previous agreement, I saw the Marquis de Noailles. He suggested that in order to calm the irritation of the Sultan we should ask permission from our Governments to address a joint communication to the Porte in the sense of the conversation which M. de Freycinet had had with the Turkish Ambassador at Paris on the 17th instant, to which proposition I assented, as your Lordship already knows by my telegram No. 94 of the 18th instant.

Yesterday evening Saïd Pasha again called upon me. After some desultory conversation on Egyptian affairs, I casually referred to the sudden and unwonted activity which prevailed in the arsenal. On this his Excellency said that he knew nothing of any naval preparations having been set on foot, and that, if any orders in such a sense had been given, they would be countermanded, for he had come, by command of the Sultan, for the express purpose of informing me that His Majesty had determined to maintain an attitude of the most perfect friendliness towards England and France, and that he was prepared to enter into *pourparlers* with the Western Powers in respect of any suggestions which they might have to offer for the better preservation of the *status quo* in Egypt, upon the understanding, however, that the fleets should be withdrawn. I replied that I fully recognized the wise and conciliatory spirit which had dictated His Majesty's communication, and that I had no doubt the British Government would appreciate it to the fullest extent. I observed, however, that the withdrawal of the fleet must depend upon the character of the events which might be now passing in Egypt. His Excellency might rest assured that neither England nor France would desire to keep their vessels at Alexandria an hour longer than was necessary; but before they could retire it was obvious that some securities should be obtained for the reorganization of the Khedive's Government

upon its former free and constitutional footing, in order that the present troubles might not renew themselves in a still more accentuated form.

His Excellency replied, "Then let the presence of the fleet be limited to the shortest possible period." This, I told him, would certainly be the case.

Said Pasha then reverted to Tewfik Pasha's position, and said that in order to give a further proof of His Majesty's *bon vouloir*, the Sultan had authorized him to inform me that if the Western Powers desired it he would be willing to agree that another Ruler should be substituted in the place of Tewfik.

In reply, I reminded his Excellency that I had already told him at our previous interview that both the English and French Governments were quite at one in their desire to maintain the actual Khedive in his present position.

I then asked his Excellency if he did not intend to make to the Marquis de Noailles the same communication as he had made to me. He said that the orders of the Sultan were to communicate with me alone.

I insisted strongly on the necessity of his at once repeating to the Marquis de Noailles everything that he had said to me.

I may mention that, during the course of the foregoing conversation, his Excellency informed me that the Sultan had given his Ministers to understand that he threw upon them the responsibility of what was being done, and that he had promised to act in accordance with their advice. Said Pasha referred to this circumstance with evident satisfaction, as indicating a new departure.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 508.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24.)

(No. 363. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, May 19, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a Memorandum written by Commander Grenfell, the Senior Naval Officer in the Bosphorus, on the state of the Turkish ships now in harbour in the Golden Horn.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

Inclosure in No. 508.

Commander Grenfell to the Earl of Dufferin.

My Lord,

"Cockatrice," at Constantinople, May 19, 1882.

IN compliance with your request I yesterday visited the Golden Horn, and found that, since my visit two days previously, two iron-clad corvettes had been moved into the stream and had the appearance of being just commissioned, but light, and I therefore judge that they have not either much coal or stores on board. They are the "Fethi Belend," 500 horse-power, 1,600 tons, 9-inch armour, armed with four 250-pounder guns in box battery, with fore and aft fire, and the "Avnullah," 400 horse-power, 1,399 tons, 6-inch armour, armed with four 250-pounders in box battery, with fore and aft fire. These ships could be sent to sea in a few days.

There is also the flag-ship "Messoudieh," 1,200 horse-power, 5,349 tons, 12-inch armour, with twelve 400-pounder guns, and three 150-pounders, with about half complement of men, but I did not see any signs of movement on board.

There are two more small iron-clads that could be got ready in a short time.

There are two paddle-wheel ships that are ready for sea, and could be used to carry troops, and are of about 800 tons; also two small gun-boats.

Up to yesterday I was informed that there was little or no coal in the yard, and from what I could see of the coal store it was empty, and an empty steam collier was lying alongside it.

I shall visit the Golden Horn every day, and keep your Lordship informed of every movement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY T. GRENFELL.

No. 509.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24, 2:30 P.M.)

(No. 65.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 24, 1882, 1:5 P.M.

INTELLIGENCE received this morning has changed M. de Freycinet's opinion respecting the Khedive's going to Alexandria. He does not like to have the responsibility of advising him to stay at Cairo, where he may be assassinated or otherwise ill-treated by the military. He thinks he would be more independent and more courageous if he were near our ships. He conceives that His Highness should summon his Ministers to accompany him, because if they refused and carried on the Government without his concurrence they would be in rebellion, and he would be in a position to dismiss them and appoint others.

M. de Freycinet wishes to send immediately to the French Agent the following telegram:—

"In presence of the new situation which your last telegram announces, cease to oppose the departure of the Khedive for Alexandria. You will consider, in conjunction with Sir E. Malet, what it is [best] to do with respect to this. If the Khedive goes to Alexandria, you will go there yourself, and you will advise him to take all his Ministers with him."

M. de Freycinet is most anxious to know at the earliest possible moment whether you concur.

No. 510.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 27.)

(No. 486.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 24, 1882.

M. DECRAIS came to me this morning, and, having informed me that M. de Freycinet was too unwell to leave his private house at Passy or to receive any visit, told me that his Excellency had desired him to communicate with me upon the question of the Khedive's leaving Cairo for Alexandria.

M. de Freycinet had, M. Decrais said, been led by intelligence which he had just received from the French Agent at Cairo to change his opinion respecting this question. His Excellency now felt unwilling to assume the responsibility of advising the Khedive to stay at a place where he ran the risk of being ill-treated, or even assassinated, by the military party. He conceived also that His Highness would feel in better heart, and be more disposed to assert his independence, if he were near the French and English ships. He was of opinion that, if the Khedive did go to Alexandria, he should call upon his Ministers to accompany him. If they refused, and carried on the Government without the Khedive's participation in it, they would then, it seemed to M. de Freycinet, be in flagrant rebellion, and the Khedive would be plainly justified in dismissing them and appointing a new Cabinet.

With these views, M. de Freycinet was, M. Decrais said, disposed to send immediately to the French Agent the following telegram, and to ask your Lordship to send a like instruction to Sir Edward Malet.

I copied the proposed telegram from a paper in M. de Freycinet's handwriting which M. Decrais had brought. It ran as follows:—

"Devant la situation nouvelle que révèle votre télégramme de . . . je cesse de faire opposition au départ du Khédive pour Alexandrie. Vous apprécierez avec Mr. Malet ce qu'il convient de faire à cet égard. Dans le cas où le Khédive se rendrait à Alexandrie, vous vous y rendriez vous-même et vous l'inviteriez à se faire accompagner de tous ses Ministres."

"Je donne communication de ce télégramme à Lord Lyons."

I promised M. Decrais to communicate M. de Freycinet's views to your Lordship immediately by telegraph, and I suggested to him to postpone the actual dispatch of the telegram to M. Sienkiewicz until your Lordship's opinion on the subject should be expressed.

M. Decrais readily agreed to wait to know whether your Lordship concurred before he sent off the telegram.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24.)

(No. 28.)
(Telegraphic.)

Rome, May 24, 1882, 1.15 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 69, yesterday.

In the second sentence, after the word "menace," the French text has the words "nos nationaux." Am I to add them to the English text, or will the French Government send instructions to their Chargé d'Affaires to suppress them? No telegraphs also for instructions on this point. But in the second sentence of second paragraph the French text is "nous sommes allés en Égypte," instead of "the English and French Governments have gone."

The French Chargé d'Affaires is desired to read the telegram and leave a copy of it. Shall I add a similar phrase to your Lordship's instructions with a view to complete identity in the communication?

No. 512.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24, 2.45 P.M.)

(No. 152.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 24, 1882, 1.20 P.M.

I LEARN that a person named Menad Effendi, represented to be a confidential agent of the Sultan, left Constantinople on the 16th instant, and is here. My French colleague is inclined to suspect the defiant attitude of the Government is the result of messages brought by him.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

No. 513.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 286. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 24, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that it has come to my knowledge that a person named Essad Effendi, represented to be a confidential Agent of the Sultan, left Constantinople on the 16th instant, and is now staying in Cairo. M. Sienkiewicz suspects that the defiant attitude of the present Ministry to the Powers may very probably, in great measure, be ascribed to messages brought by this individual from the Palace at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 514.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 200.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 24, 1882, 3.5 P.M.

TELL M. de Freycinet that the news from Cairo is disquieting. Time is all-important. Propose to him that the two Governments should telegraph a Circular to the Powers requesting them to join in asking the Sultan to have troops ready to send to Egypt under strict conditions.

No. 515.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 148.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 24, 1882, 3.30 P.M.

IF circumstances still admit possibility of executing such instructions as those sent to French Agent, as recorded in Lord Lyons' telegram No. 63 of yesterday, repeated to you, you may consider yourself as similarly instructed.

*Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.**

(No. 170.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 24, 1882, 4.35 P.M.

IF you have not already done so, read my telegram of yesterday to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and give him a copy if he desires it. Your French colleague has similar instructions.

No. 517.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.†

(No. 172.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 24, 1882, 5.5 P.M.

WITH reference to Lord Lyons' telegram No. 65, I have informed French Ambassador that I could not be a party to advising the Khedive to leave Cairo, and that it appeared to be impossible for Her Majesty's Government to advise, either directly or indirectly, that His Highness should take a step so fatal to himself.

No. 518.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.‡

(No. 258. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 24, 1882.

M. DE FREYCINET has proposed that, having regard to the present aspect of affairs at Cairo, the Governments of England and France should cease to oppose the departure of the Khedive for Alexandria.

I have informed the French Ambassador at this Court that Her Majesty's Government could not be a party to advising the Khedive to leave Cairo. It appeared to them impossible to advise, either directly or indirectly, that His Highness should take a step likely to be so fatal to his interests.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 519.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 72.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 24, 1882, 5.50 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 28.

Our text as telegraphed is "menace our countrymen."

The variation in paragraph 2 is unimportant.

Instructions already sent separately to read and leave copy.

No. 520.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 587.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 24, 1882.

I HAVE informed the French Ambassador of the telegraphic message which I sent to your Excellency to-day, instructing you to propose to M. de Freycinet that the two Governments should telegraph a Circular to the Powers requesting them to join in asking the Sultan to have troops ready to send to Egypt under strict conditions.

I told M. Tissot that I should have sent this message to Her Majesty's Representatives at once, in order to save time, directing them to await the concurrence of their

* Also to Lord Ampthill (No. 65), Sir H. Elliot (No. 73) Sir E. Thornton (No. 67), and Sir A. Paget (No. 71).

† Also to Sir E. Malet (No. 150).

‡ Also to Sir E. Malet (No. 144).

French colleagues, but I wished to avoid even the appearance of taking action without the assent of the French Government. M. Tissot said that he rejoiced that this objection had occurred to me.

I read to him Sir E. Malet's telegram No. 151 of last night, reporting the gravity of the situation, and asked his Excellency to press strongly how undesirable it was to sacrifice the advantage of the agreement to which we had come in order to keep up a secret which in the end must be known.

I said that I hoped M. de Freycinet would agree to the proposal which I had made to-day. Her Majesty's Government thought it urgent, and saw no alternative to it.

I also informed M. Tissot that I could not be a party to advising the Khedive to leave Cairo, and that it appeared to be impossible for Her Majesty's Government to advise, either directly or indirectly, that His Highness should take a step so fatal to himself.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 521.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24, 10.30 P.M.)

(No. 35.)
(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, May 24, 1882, 7.47 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 71 of yesterday being unaccompanied by any instructions, I have left a copy with Minister for Foreign Affairs for his information.

French Ambassador informs me that he has received similar telegram to be communicated identically with myself [*sic*], but that he will now communicate it officially to-morrow to Minister for Foreign Affairs.

No. 522.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 233. Extender.)

My Lord,

Vienna, May 24, 1882.

ON the receipt of your Lordship's telegram No. 71 of yesterday, on the subject of the joint policy of England and France with respect to Egypt, being myself confined to my room by a bad attack of influenza, I directed Mr. Milbanke to proceed to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to leave a copy of your Lordship's telegram, which was unaccompanied by any instructions, for Count Kalnoky's information.

I had also directed Mr. Milbanke to call at the French Embassy and inform Count Duchatel of the receipt of your Lordship's telegram, and of my intention to lose no time in acquainting Count Kalnoky with its contents.

The French Ambassador having gone out for the afternoon, Mr. Milbanke was unable to see him until after he had returned from the Foreign Office, and his Excellency then informed him that he had received an identic telegram to that which your Lordship had forwarded to me, with instructions to deliver it to the Minister for Foreign Affairs identically with myself. Count Duchatel added that he would now write to Count Kalnoky asking to see him, and that he intended then to communicate M. de Freycinet's telegram officially to his Excellency.

He subsequently, however, decided on postponing his own communication until your Lordship's instructions to myself had arrived.

I have, &c.
(For Sir H. Elliot),
(Signed) RALPH MILBANKE.

No. 523.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received May 25.)

(Confidential.)

Admiralty, May 25, 1882.

Sir,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the consideration of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the decypher of a telegram dated 25th May, from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, respecting the contingency of a force being dispatched to Egypt by the Turkish Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure in No. 523.

Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Paraphrase of Telegram.)

Alexandria, May 25, 1882.

THE French Admiral here has asked for instructions for his conduct in the event of a force being sent here by the Turkish Government without acquainting the Powers.

I ask for orders, although I consider the contingency an impossible one.

No. 524.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 25, 8.30 A.M.)

(No. 102.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 24, 1882, 11.30 P.M.

I AM afraid that the Sultan is inclined to resort to his usual policy, namely, that of endeavouring to gain his own ends by playing off one person against another. For this reason, though undoubtedly he was lately much incensed against Arabi Pasha, I doubt whether we shall be able to induce him to break with him entirely, or even to take a strong part against him. Yesterday he spoke to Count Corti in equally disparaging terms of Arabi and of Tewfik, and he is keeping Halim in his hand as a card to play against both as occasion offers.

On the receipt this morning of Sir E. Malet's telegram No. 151 of yesterday, knowing that the Minister for Foreign Affairs was to see the Sultan in the afternoon, I sent His Majesty as cogent a message as I could, with the view of inducing him to act in unison with the French and English Agents and the Constitutional party in Egypt.

The sketch given by the "Times" Paris correspondent of the eventual programme of the two Powers has attracted much attention here. Its nature is either known or suspected by the Germans, and it is possible that, much as he dislikes the presence of the fleets, the Sultan may be content to prolong the crisis in order to create an occasion for the intervention of Turkish troops. If Turkish troops are ever sent to Egypt, it will be advisable to take the most stringent securities in regard to their action and eventual return. Nothing short of material guarantees would suffice. No Convention would bind the Sultan in such a matter, or countervail his duplicity.

The German Government has intimated to the Sultan that they consider he should be allowed to have a voice in the settlement of the Egyptian question. Up till now the Representatives of all the Governments, except Russia, have counselled moderation, and have spoken in a favourable rather than an adverse sense about the action of the two Powers. Russia has said nothing, but her agents here evince some vexation at our interference.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received May 25, 11.6 A.M.)

(No. 36.)
(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, May 25, 1882, 10.5 A.M.

YOUR Lordship's No. 65 of yesterday.

In concert with my French colleague, I have communicated your Lordship's telegram of 23rd to Minister for Foreign Affairs, and left a copy of it with his Excellency.

No. 526.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 173.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 25, 1882, 3.45 P.M.

HER Majesty's Government approve language respecting Egyptian crisis reported in your telegram No. 98 of the 23rd.

No. 527.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 262. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 25, 1882.

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which, as reported in your telegram No. 98 of the 23rd instant, you held to Said Pasha with regard to the action of the Porte in the Egyptian question.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 528.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 174. Secret and Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 25, 1882, 3.50 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 102 of the 24th instant.

What material guarantee do you contemplate as security in the event of Turkish troops going to Egypt?

No. 529.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 263. Secret and Confidential. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 25, 1882.

IN your telegram No. 102 of yesterday you state that if Turkish troops be sent to Egypt it will be advisable to take the most stringent securities in regard to their action and eventual return, and that nothing short of material guarantees would suffice.

I should be glad to learn from your Excellency what are the material guarantees to which you alluded under such circumstances.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 205.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 25, 1882, 6.15 P.M.

FRENCH Ambassador informs me that M. de Freycinet is too ill to summon a Council, and is not in a position to give an answer on proposal contained in my telegram to your Excellency No. 200 of yesterday.

I told his Excellency that, time being everything, Her Majesty's Government must press for a decision.

A speedy and decided announcement might still prevent the use of force. Delay was certain to encourage opposition in Egypt, where it was believed that France and England would not employ force, and that France would not allow Turkish force to be used. Meantime, delay would induce the Sultan to take advantage of the situation, and to make matters much more difficult for the two Powers.

He knew how anxious I was that the concord between the two Governments should not receive a shock, and this made me, I said, the more urgent that a decision should be at once come to.

No. 531.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 594. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 25, 1882.

I SAW the French Ambassador this afternoon. His Excellency informed me that M. de Freycinet being too ill to consider matters in Council he was not in a position to give me a reply to the proposal which, by my telegram No. 200 of yesterday, I instructed your Excellency to make to the French Government.

I expressed to his Excellency my regret at learning that M. de Freycinet was not well, and that at such a moment I should find myself obliged to intrude business on his Excellency; but the question of requesting the other Powers to join us in asking the Sultan to have troops ready to send to Egypt was so urgent that I was reluctantly compelled to ask him to obtain from the French Government a decision as to the proposal which I had yesterday made to that effect through your Excellency.

It was, I said, of the greatest possible importance that no time should be lost. A speedy and decided announcement might still obviate the necessity of the use of force; but delay would be certain to encourage opposition in Egypt, where it was believed that England and France would not employ force, and that France would not allow its use by Turkey. Delay might also induce the Sultan to seek to take advantage of the situation thus created, and to make matters much more difficult for the two Powers to deal with.

M. Tissot was, I observed, well aware how anxious I was that the concord fortunately now existing between the British and French Governments should not receive a shock.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 532.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 175.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 25, 1882, 7.5 P.M.

I HAVE told Musurus Pasha that there were reports of encouragement being given to Arabi from Constantinople. I was glad to disbelieve them, because if Sultan went against us it might oblige us, in a matter of such urgency, to take decided steps.

He said he entirely disbelieved Sultan taking line so opposed to His Majesty's own views and interests. His Majesty only desired to maintain in Egypt his authority, the *status quo* and the interests of the public creditors, and to support the Khedive.

I expressed satisfaction. His Excellency said Sultan desired to maintain his own prestige, but in emergency to act with England.

I told him that he must understand that, while acting with the Sultan, we were perfectly loyal to France.

I asked him unofficially his private opinion what Sultan [?] would do], if asked by England and France if he was prepared to get ready troops in case their presence was required in Egypt. He told me he had no instructions, but was sure Sultan would be ready to do what was necessary to maintain the *status quo* if he was asked to do so in his character of Sovereign.

No. 533.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 594 A. Very Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 25, 1882.

WITH reference to my immediately preceding despatch No. 594 of this day's date, in which I have recorded the substance of my conversation with the French Ambassador this afternoon in regard to the present crisis in Egypt, I have to acquaint your Excellency, very confidentially, that M. Tissot told me that he should report as his private opinion that, from my manner, my last words meant more than they necessarily implied.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 534.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 25, 11 P.M.)

(No. 29.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, May 25, 1882, 5:30 P.M.

THE French Chargé d'Affaires and I have communicated to the Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs the identic telegrams from our Governments of the 23rd instant respecting Egypt, [?] leaving] copies of them with him.

He promised to telegraph them to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who is at Milan.

No. 535.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 164. Extender.)

My Lord,

Rome, May 26, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I went yesterday afternoon to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in company with the French Chargé d'Affaires, and, in the absence of M. Mancini, we communicated to Baron Blanc, the Secretary-General, the identic telegrams from our Governments, dated the 23rd instant, relative to the sending of the combined squadrons to Alexandria and the policy of the English and French Governments in Egypt.

The Marquis de Reverseaux read the French text, and we each of us then handed to Baron Blanc a copy of the telegram, which he said he would immediately telegraph to M. Mancini, who is in Milan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 536.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received May 26.)

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, May 26, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the deceiver

of a telegram dated 26th instant, from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, at Alexandria, respecting the state of affairs in Egypt and the position of English and French gun-boats in the Suez Canal.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure in No. 536.

Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Paraphrase of Telegram.)

Alexandria, May 26, 1882.

HER Majesty's ship "Bittern" sails for Suez at noon. The French gun-boat "Voltigeur" is at Suez, and the "Bisson" at Port Said. Negotiations have failed.

No. 537.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 26, 8:30 A.M.)

(No. 153.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 25, 1882, 7 P.M.

MY French colleague and I, for reasons given in my telegram No. 154 of to-day, have this afternoon given the following note to the President of the Council:—

"The Undersigned, Agents and Consuls-General of England and France, considering that his Excellency Sultan Pasha, President of the Chamber of Delegates, actuated by a sentiment of patriotism, and desirous of assuring the peace and prosperity of Egypt, has proposed to Mahmoud Pasha Sami, President of the Council, as the only means of putting an end to the disturbed state of the country, the following conditions:—

"1. The temporary retirement from Egypt of his Excellency Arabi Pasha, with the maintenance of his rank and pay;

"2. The retirement into the interior of Egypt of Ali Fehmy Pasha and Abdoullah Pasha, who will also retain their rank and pay;

"3. The resignation of the present Ministry;

"Considering that these conditions, by reason of the spirit of moderation which dictated them, may prevent the misfortunes which threaten Egypt, acting in the name and with the authorization of their respective Governments, the Undersigned recommend these conditions to the most serious attention of the President of the Council and his colleagues, and, if necessary, will insist on their fulfilment. The Governments of England and France, in intervening in the affairs of Egypt, have no other object than to maintain the *status quo*, and consequently to restore to the Khedive the authority which belongs to him, and without which the *status quo* is continually in danger.

"The intervention of the two Powers being divested of all character of vengeance or reprisal, they will use their good offices to obtain from the Khedive a general amnesty, and will watch over its strict observance."

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

No. 538.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 26.)

(No. 154.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 25, 1882, 7:20 P.M.

I LEARN'T to-day that the military Chiefs are circulating among the officers and army a document purporting to give the conditions insisted upon by the two Powers, and stated to be as follows:—

1. The Ministers to be sent out of the country.

2. All the officers registered at the Ministry of War to quit the country.

3. The whole army to be disbanded.

4. Foreign troops to occupy Egypt.

5. The Chamber to be dissolved.

My French colleague and I believing that, if these were believed to be the true

conditions, the situation would become far more complicated, and even dangerous to the lives of Europeans, determined to take the official step which we previously shrunk from, and therefore presented the note repeated in my telegram No. 153 of to-day.

We merely asked the President of the Council to give us an answer with the least possible [?], and retired. We next communicated the note to the Khedive and to Sultan Pasha, who promised to send a copy of it to all the chief towns of the provinces.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

No. 539.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 288. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 25, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that to-day I learnt that the military leaders were circulating amongst the soldiers and officers of the army a document which pretended to set forth the conditions insisted upon by England and France, which were stated to be as follows:—

1. All the Ministers to be exiled.
2. All the officers in the Army List to leave Egypt.
3. Disbandment of the entire army.
4. Occupation of Egypt by foreign troops.
5. Dissolution of the Chamber.

The French Representative and I, persuaded that the situation would become still further complicated, and even dangerous to the lives of foreigners, if these conditions were believed to be the true ones, determined upon the official step from which we had hitherto shrunk, and presented to the Ministry the note repeated in my telegram No. 153 of to-day.

After asking the President of the Council to return us an answer in the shortest time possible we withdrew, and proceeded to communicate the note to the Khedive and to the President of the Chamber, who promised to forward a copy of it to all the principal towns of the provinces.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 540.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 26, 9 A.M.)

(No. 103.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 26, 1882, 12:30 A.M.

ONE of my colleagues who saw Saïd Pasha to-day told me confidentially that the Minister for Foreign Affairs [?] that the Sultan communicated to Egypt without the knowledge of his Ministers, and in a sense which diverged from the policy which they advised and he had agreed to follow [sic].

My colleague added that Saïd Pasha was very disheartened at discovering how powerless he was to direct affairs in his new position. The Porte, he said, was entirely in favour of acting in harmony with England and France in order to terminate the crisis.

(Please consider the foregoing as strictly secret and confidential.)

Another obstacle is the inaccessibility of the Sultan. If an Ambassador uses vigorous language, the Minister dare not repeat it to His Majesty, but emasculates the message. If the Ambassador sends a Dragoman with a written Memorandum to the Palace of an expressive character, he cannot get it delivered. If he asks for an audience at which the Sultan imagines a disagreeable subject will be mooted, His Majesty puts him off for a month or six weeks with various excuses.

Under these circumstances, negotiation is almost impossible.

No. 541.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 26, 9 A.M.)

(No. 104.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 26, 1:30 A.M.

THE Prime Minister held the same desponding language to Sir A. Sandison to-day as was held to my colleague, as mentioned in my telegram No. 103 of to-day.

He deplored his helplessness, at the same time that he assured Sir A. Sandison of his desire to act in harmony with the Western Powers.

He said that it was hopeless to get the Sultan to address the Khedive by telegraph in the sense we desired; but he added that if His Majesty was allowed to send a Commissioner to Egypt it would so soothe his irritation and salve his wounded pride that, through that instrumentality, our object could be very well gained.

His Highness hoped that the two Powers would not imagine that any *arrière-pensée* lay hid behind this suggestion. The Ottoman Government would not be so [?] in the present crisis as to wish to thwart their policy in Egypt, which the Porte knew was favourable to Turkish interests.

It might be well to consider this suggestion, as I think I could get the Porte to instruct the Commissioner to act in concert with the French and English Agents; but no one, of course, could foretell the character of the orders he might receive from the Sultan.

To-morrow I will acquaint your Lordship with my French colleague's opinion of the foregoing suggestion.

No. 542.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 26, 11 A.M.)

(No. 156.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 26, 1882, 10:15 A.M.

THE President of the Council went to the Khedive yesterday evening and asked his advice as to the course to be taken in consequence of our note. His Highness replied that he would take the matter into consideration. His Highness telegraphed the note immediately to every telegraphic station in Egypt. The general impression is that the Ministry will refuse the conditions, but that their isolation will be complete because the note merely demands the execution of the will of the Chamber.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 543.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 289. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 26, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 288 of yesterday, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that last evening the President of the Council waited upon the Khedive and asked His Highness' advice on the course to be taken with regard to the joint note presented to his Excellency by M. Sienkiewicz and me.

The Khedive answered that he would consider the matter.

His Highness telegraphed the text of the note last night to all the telegraphic stations in the country.

The general opinion seems to be that the conditions will be rejected by the Ministry, whose isolation will then be complete, since the note only demands the execution of the will of the Chamber of Deputies, expressed by Sultan Pasha, its President.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 544.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.(No. 152.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, May 26, 1882, 1:55 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 153.

Her Majesty's Government approve the note addressed by you and your French colleague to the President of the Council.

No. 545.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 145. Extender.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 26, 1882.

I HAVE received your telegram No. 153 of yesterday, transmitting the text of a note which, in consequence of the circulation by the military chiefs of a false report as to the demands of England and France, you and your French colleague gave to the Egyptian President of the Council yesterday.

I have to acquaint you that the terms of that note are approved by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 546.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received May 26, 3 P.M.)(No. 36.)
(Telegraphic.)*Vienna, May 26, 1882, 1:20 P.M.*

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 71 of the 23rd instant was formally communicated this morning to Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, who begged that your Lordship might be informed of his extreme satisfaction at its contents, which he was also about to express through Count Károlyi.

His Excellency added that he felt sure if the Governments of Her Majesty and France should have further communications to make on the subject, that they would be met in the same spirit by the other Powers, his great wish being that a complete understanding should be kept up.

The French Ambassador had a few moments previously communicated M. de Freycinet's telegram to his Excellency.

No. 547.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 236. Extender.)

My Lord,

Vienna, May 26, 1882.

HAVING received the instructions contained in your Lordship's telegram No. 73 of the 24th instant, Mr. Milbanke called upon Count Kalnoky this morning, by appointment, and communicated to his Excellency your Lordship's telegram No. 71 relating to the joint policy in Egypt of the Governments of England and France. Count Kalnoky expressed his extreme satisfaction at the contents of the telegram, a similar one from M. de Freycinet having been left with him a few moments previously by the French Ambassador.

His Excellency added that he felt sure any further communications the Governments of Her Majesty and of France might have to make on the subject would be met in the same spirit by the other Powers, but that his wish was that no measures should be taken without a complete understanding being arrived at on the part of all the Powers, which would have the additional advantage of greatly increasing the moral influence of any action that was taken.

He did not conceal that he had at first been rather taken by surprise at the

sudden action of the two Governments, but he fully appreciated the grounds for this action, as stated in your Lordship's telegram.

Count Kalnoky went on to say that he had received no late intelligence from Egypt, but that, judging from what had appeared in the public papers, the situation had grown more serious; and he thought if matters grew worse, and further measures were required, an appeal would eventually have to be made to the Porte.

In expressing his gratification at the communication, Count Kalnoky stated that he was about to instruct Count Károlyi to inform your Lordship of the satisfaction it had given him.

I have, &c.
(For Sir H. Elliot),
(Signed) RALPH MILBANKE.

No. 548.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 605.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 26, 1882.

I HAVE to request your Excellency to inform M. de Freycinet that Her Majesty's Government are unwilling that any time should be lost in concerting with the French Government upon the terms in which the other Powers should be addressed with a view to invoking the authority of the Sultan, and that they propose for his concurrence the following draft of a despatch to the British and French Representatives at Berlin, Vienna, Rome, and St. Petersburg:—

"The time has now arrived when the progress of disorder in Egypt threatens to call for some more decided action; and I have to instruct you to propose, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government* to the Government to which you are accredited, that the Sultan, as Sovereign, shall be jointly invited by the Powers to be prepared to lend to the Khedive a sufficient force to enable His Highness to maintain his authority; this force to be placed under the orders of the Khedive during the time of their sojourn in Egypt; the Sultan to be requested to give a positive assurance that these troops should only be used for the maintenance of the *status quo*, and that there should be no interference with the liberties of Egypt secured by the previous Firmans of the Sultan, or with existing European agreements; the troops not to remain in Egypt for a longer period than a month, except at the request of the Khedive, and with the consent of the Great Powers, or of the Western Powers as representing Europe; the reasonable expenses of the expedition to be borne by the Egyptian Government."

Your Excellency will further suggest to M. de Freycinet that it will be advisable to appoint two military men to advise our Representatives in Egypt during the sojourn of the troops.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 549.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 605 A.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 26, 1882.

I HAVE to request that your Excellency will suspend acting upon my immediately preceding despatch No. 605 of to-day, should your Excellency find that M. de Freycinet declines to accede to the proposal which I instructed you to make to him in my despatch No. 587 of the 24th instant to invite the Sultan to hold troops in readiness to send to Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

* To the French Representatives: "the French Government."

No. 550.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 26, 9 P.M.)(No. 158.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 26, 1882, 6.45 P.M.

THE President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs went to the Khedive this afternoon to ask His Highness again his opinion on the answer to be made to the note. His Highness told them distinctly that he accepted the conditions. They urged that the matter should be referred to the Porte. The Khedive replied that the question was an internal one, and that it was strange that they who had accused him of not maintaining the privileges of Egypt should make such a suggestion. On this the Ministers retired to consult further as to the answer to be made to us.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 551.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)(No. 290. Extender.)
My Lord,

Cairo, May 26, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report that the President of the Council, with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, waited this afternoon upon the Khedive again to ask his opinion on the answer they should make to the joint note of England and France.

His Highness distinctly told them that he accepted its conditions.

They urged a reference to the Porte, to which the Khedive replied that it was an internal question, and that it was strange that they, who had complained that he had failed to uphold the privileges of Egypt, should suggest such a course.

On receiving this answer the Ministers withdrew, in order to deliberate further on the course which they should take.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 552.

Mr. Ford to Earl Granville.—(Received May 27.)(No. 73.)
My Lord,

Athens, May 19, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that M. Tricoupi has informed me that he had heard from the Greek Chargé d'Affaires at Alexandria that the Greek population residing in that city were extremely alarmed at the political events taking place at present in Egypt, and that they were organizing measures of self-defence in case disturbances were to break out and they were to be attacked.

M. Tricoupi also stated that he should dispatch a couple of Greek men-of-war to Alexandria for the protection, if necessary, of Greek subjects settled there.

Last evening the Greek iron-clad "King George" and the steam corvette "Hellas" left the Piræus for Alexandria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS CLARE FORD.

No. 553.

M. Tissot to Earl Granville.—(Received May 27.)

Mon cher Comte,

Ambassade de France à Londres, Samedi, 2 h.

M. DE FREYCINET me télégraphie que le Conseil des Ministres, auquel il a soumis votre proposition, a été unanime à penser que rien, dans la situation actuelle, ne justifierait un appel à des troupes Turques. Une note a été remise par nos Consuls-Généraux le 25; le Ministère vient de donner sa démission; les éléments de résistance sont manifestement en voie de désorganisation; il y a donc tout intérêt à attendre la suite des événements.

Il paraît impossible à M. de Freycinet que vous ne soyez pas frappé de la justesse

de ces considérations et que, tenant compte des derniers événements accomplis au Caire, vous ne reconnaissiez vous-même, mon cher Comte, l'inutilité de la démarche à laquelle vous l'aviez d'abord convié.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) CH. TISSOT.

No. 554.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 27.)(No. 105.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 26, 1882, 11 P.M.

THE Prime Minister has intimated to Sir A. Sandison, in further allusion to the Sultan's wish to send a Commissioner to Egypt, that the Ottoman Government would not regard with much favour the notion of sending Turkish troops thither, as the [?] would then have the appearance of employing Mussulman soldiers against a Mussulman population. A similar intimation has been made to my French colleague, though in a less direct manner. The Prime Minister added that he held personally strongly to the foregoing opinion, and that the Sultan took the same view.

I imagine he really means what he said; but the latter part of his assertion is very questionable. Neither the French Ambassador nor I have breathed a word about the dispatch of Turkish troops to Egypt; but the idea is in all the European newspapers which have come to hand.

No. 555.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 27, 11 A.M.)(No. 159.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 27, 1882, 8.15 A.M.

THE Ministry resigned last night in a letter stating that the Khedive, having accepted the conditions proposed by the two Powers, had acquiesced in foreign interference, contrary to the stipulations of the Firmans.

The Khedive replies that he accepts their resignation because it is the will of the nation; that with regard to the rest, it is a matter between him and the Sultan, whose rights he will always respect.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

No. 556.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)(No. 291. Extender.)
My Lord,

Cairo, May 27, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that last night the Ministry sent in a letter to the Khedive announcing their resignation, and stating that His Highness, in accepting the conditions proposed by England and France, had acquiesced in foreign interference, in contradiction to the terms of the Firmans. The Khedive proposes to reply, stating that he accepts the resignation of the Ministry, since it is the wish of the nation, and that, as regards the rest of the letter, the question is one between himself and the Sultan, whose sovereign rights he will always maintain.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 557.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 27, 12.15 P.M.)(No. 160.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 27, 1882, 8.30 A.M.

FOLLOWING, published by the outgoing Ministry, follows French text of accompanying telegram:—

"Le Caire, le 26 Mai, 10:30 soir.

"Le Président du Conseil a remis ce soir à 10 heures, entre les mains de Son Altesse le Khédive, les documents suivants :—

"Monseigneur,

"À l'arrivée de l'escadre Anglo-Française à Alexandrie, votre Altesse nous avait informés qu'elle avait écrit à Constantinople pour demander des instructions, et nous attendions la réponse de la Cour suzeraine lorsque les Consuls-Généraux de France et de Grande-Bretagne ont remis au Président de votre Conseil des Ministres leur note du 25 Mai. Sur l'ordre donné par votre Altesse nous nous sommes réunis en Conseil et à la suite de cette réunion nous avons préparé la réponse ci-jointe. Lorsque nous nous sommes rendus auprès de votre Altesse pour lui demander son avis, elle nous a déclaré qu'elle avait accepté la note des Représentants de la France et de la Grande-Bretagne. Cette acceptation est contraire à l'avis unanime de votre Conseil des Ministres. Attendu qu'admettre l'intervention de Puissances étrangères dans cette affaire constitue une atteinte aux droits de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, nous avons en conséquence l'honneur de remettre à votre Altesse notre démission collective. Nous avons l'honneur d'être, Monseigneur, de votre Altesse les très humbles et très obéissants serviteurs.

(Signé)

"MAHMOUD SAMY.
"MOUSTAFIA FEHMY.
"AHMED ARABI.
"MAHMOUD FEHMY.
"ABDALLAH FIKRI.
"HASSAN CHEREI.
"ALI SADIK."

"Le Caire, le 26 Mai, 1882.

"En réponse à la note présentée le 25 Mai au Président du Conseil par MM. les Agents et Consuls-Généraux de France et de Grande-Bretagne, le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de Son Altesse le Khédive a [sic] l'honneur d'exposer ce qui suit hier soir en présence des Ministres réunis en Conseil.

"Son Excellence Sultan Pacha a déclaré s'être borné à répéter au Président du Conseil une conversation qu'il avait eue avec M. l'Agent et Consul-Général de France, et n'avoir jamais pris l'initiative de proposition qu'il ne lui appartenait de présenter, ni en son nom personnel, ni en sa qualité de Président de la Chambre actuellement en vacances. Les recommandations contenues dans la note remise par MM. les Agents et Consuls-Généraux de Grande-Bretagne et de France touchant à des questions d'ordre intérieur appartenant au domaine administratif dans lequel les Grandes Puissances ont bien voulu reconnaître toujours la liberté d'action du Gouvernement Égyptien, le Gouvernement de Son Altesse le Khédive ne pourrait entrer en discussion sur ces points sans mettre en question les Firmans Impériaux et les Traités internationaux qui ont fixé la situation particulière de l'Égypte, et sans compromettre par suite les lois constitutives du pays, qui sont la première garantie du *status quo* politique. Le Gouvernement de Son Altesse le Khédive sera toujours heureux de suivre les conseils bienveillants que lui donneront les Représentants de la France et de la Grande-Bretagne, mais il regrette de ne pouvoir en cette circonstance déférer avec son empressement habituel aux désirs exprimés dans la note précitée. Si les Gouvernements de la France et de la Grande-Bretagne étaient d'avis que la question soulevée par la note de leurs Agents Diplomatiques au Caire n'intéresse pas exclusivement l'ordre intérieur, mais touche à la politique générale, c'est à la Puissance sous la suzeraineté de laquelle est placée l'Égypte, c'est à la Turquie qu'il conviendrait de soumettre l'affaire."

No. 558.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 27, 12:30 P.M.)

(No. 161.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 27, 1882, 11:10 A.M.

WHEN the Ministers went to the Khedive yesterday they had with them the reply to the joint note transmitted in my telegram No. 160 of to-day; but they have been so taken by surprise at the Khedive's distinct statement that he accepted the

conditions that they retired without communicating it to him. In afterwards considering the question, they saw that if they refused, while the Khedive accepted, they were in open rebellion, a position from which they shrank. The resignation of the Ministry is consequently due to the firm and decisive attitude of the Khedive.

There is not a rumour of a military *coup d'état* to-day.

The Khedive has ordered the Under-Secretaries of State to continue the work of the Ministers.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

No. 559.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 292. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 27, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that when the Ministers visited the Khedive yesterday they carried with them the answer to the joint note, the text of which I had the honour to transmit to your Lordship in my telegram No. 160 of to-day; but they appear to have been so surprised at the distinct manner in which the Khedive declared his acceptance of the conditions laid down by us, that they withdrew without communicating their reply to him.

On a further consideration, they perceived that were they to reject the conditions which the Khedive accepted they would be in overt instead of covert rebellion, a position from which they shrank. The retirement of the Ministry is, therefore, due to the decisive and firm attitude assumed by His Highness.

There is a Report that a military parade is intended to-day.

The Khedive has instructed the Under-Secretaries of State to carry on the business of the Ministries.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 560.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 27, 5:25 P.M.)

(No. 162.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 27, 1882, 2 P.M.

CHÉRIF PASHA refuses office on the ground that as long as the military chiefs remain all government is impossible. The Khedive will endeavour to form a Ministry, but has little hope of getting an efficient one, if he can form one at all.

It is now most desirable that the Sultan should send an order with reference to documents telegraphed in my telegram No. 160 of to-day. The order should support the Khedive, reject the accusation of the fallen Ministry with regard to His Highness, and should order the three military chiefs, and perhaps also the ex-President of the Council, to come immediately to Constantinople to explain their conduct.

Acting on the view stated in Lord Dufferin's telegram No. 104 of yesterday, repeated in your Lordship's telegram No. 151 of yesterday, such order might be brought by an officer of the Sultan, but he should come with as little delay as possible, and his departure should be announced as soon as decided upon.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 561.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 293. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 27, 1882.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 160 of this day's date, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that His Highness the Khedive having summoned Chérif Pasha to accept the Presidency of the Council and to form a new Ministry his Excellency refused, on the ground that no Government is possible as long as the

military chiefs remain in the country. The Khedive will now endeavour to form another Ministry, although he has faint hope of being able to get an efficient one, if he can form one at all.

It is most desirable that the Sultan should send an order with reference to the documents telegraphed to your Lordship in my telegram No. 160 of this day's date.

It should support the authority of the Khedive, reject the accusations formulated against His Highness by the outgoing Ministry, and should order the immediate departure to Constantinople of the three military chiefs, and possibly of the President of the Council also, to give an account of their conduct.

Acting on the suggestion of Lord Dufferin, recorded in his telegram to your Lordship No. 104 of the 26th instant, and repeated to me in your Lordship's telegram No. 151 of the same date, such an order might be brought by an officer of the Sultan, who, however, should be dispatched to Egypt with as little delay as possible, and his departure should be announced as soon as this step is decided upon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 562.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 27, 5.30 P.M.)

(No. 163.) Cairo, May 27, 1882, 4.20 P.M.
(Telegraphic.)
HIS Highness the Khedive has sent a Circular to all the Governors in Upper and Lower Egypt in the following sense:—

"Now that the Ministry has sent in its resignation, you are to watch over the maintenance of public order; and since we inform you that the ships of war at Alexandria have come with a friendly object, you are not to collect the reserves lately called in by the Ministry of War, but to dismiss to their houses any that may have already come in. You are to instruct the village Sheikhs to suspend recruiting, and to give their attention to agriculture, until the formation of a new Ministry. You will refer to my private Cabinet any important business which would ordinarily come before the Ministry of the Interior."

No. 563.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 216.) Foreign Office, May 27, 1882, 5.50 P.M.
(Telegraphic.)
HER Majesty's Government learn that French Admiral at Alexandria has asked for instructions for his conduct in the event of a force being sent there by the Turkish Government without acquainting the Powers.

British Admiral asks for orders, though he considers the contingency an impossible one.

Inform French Government that we propose to instruct Sir Beauchamp Seymour to treat the Turkish ships with the courtesy due to the Sovereign Power, but that it is not necessary to raise the question till we hear of any movement on the part of the Turkish vessels.

No. 564.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 613. Extender.) Foreign Office, May 27, 1882.
My Lord,
I HAVE to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government have learnt that the French Admiral at Alexandria has asked for instructions for his guidance in the event of a force being sent there by the Turkish Government without any previous intimation to the Powers that such a proceeding was intended.

The British Admiral has also asked for orders, although he considers the contingency in question an impossible one.

Your Excellency will be good enough to inform the French Government that Her Majesty's Government propose to instruct Sir Beauchamp Seymour to treat the

Turkish ships, should they arrive, with the courtesy due to the Sovereign Power, but that it is not necessary to raise the question until we hear of any movement on the part of the Turkish vessels.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 565.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 217.) Foreign Office, May 27, 1882, 6.5 P.M.
(Telegraphic.)
FOLLOWING telegram was received yesterday evening by the Admiralty from commanding officer of Her Majesty's ship "Beacon," dated Port Saïd, May 26:—
"A French transport with 1,000 troops is expected to-day. Remains."
Can you give any information on this subject?

No. 566.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 614. Extender.) Foreign Office, May 27, 1882.
My Lord,
I HAVE to inform your Excellency that a telegram to the following effect was received yesterday evening by the Admiralty from the officer commanding Her Majesty's ship "Beacon," dated Port Saïd, 26th May:—
"A French transport with 1,000 troops is expected to-day. Remains."
I shall be glad to know whether your Excellency can furnish any information in regard to the above announcement.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 567.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 270. Confidential.) Foreign Office, May 27, 1882.
My Lord,
I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 362, Confidential, of the 19th instant, reporting your conversations with the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the 16th, 17th, and 18th instant, regarding the dispatch of British and French ships to Alexandria; and I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government approve the language you held on the subject to Saïd Pasha.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 568.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 150.) Foreign Office, May 27, 1882.
Sir,
I HAVE received your despatches Nos. 258 and 261 of the 15th and 16th instant, reporting your interview with the Minister of War, when you informed him, in accordance with my instructions, that he would be held responsible for the preservation of order and for the safety of the Khedive; and I approve the language which you held to Arabi Pasha in reply to his contention that the maintenance of His Highness on the throne was not a question in which the Powers should interfere.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Mr. Cookson to Earl Granville.—(Received May 27, 10 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Alexandria, May 27, 1882, 8.20 P.M.*
I HAVE just left Acting Governor. Says troops here have sent to Khedive message giving him twelve hours to restore Arabi Ministry. Every effort by authorities here to persuade them of their folly hitherto unsuccessful. [I] do not know what they intend if demand refused. French Consul and I have offered to meet Colonels of two regiments at the Governor's in an hour. No appearance of disorder as yet in city.

No. 570.

Mr. Cookson to Earl Granville.—(Received May 27, 10.30 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Alexandria, May 27, 1882.*
ANSWER of Colonels to meeting of Consuls is that they await reply to their message to Khedive, and could not leave troops for fear of disorder. Refuse to state ulterior intentions. No [anticipation] of danger of immediate disturbance. Have sent this and previous telegram to Cairo.

No. 571.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 27, 10 P.M.)

(No. 164.) *Cairo, May 27, 1882, 5.40 P.M.*
(Telegraphic.)
THE Khedive has just received a telegram from the Colonels of the regiments and the police at Alexandria stating that they [*sic*] refuse to accept the resignation of the Minister of War, and that they give His Highness twelve hours to reply, after which they do not answer for public security. I have informed Admiral Seymour.
(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 572.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 294. Extender.) *Cairo, May 27, 1882.*
My Lord,
I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the Khedive has just received a telegram from the officers of the regiments and the police force stationed at Alexandria, declaring that they [*sic*] will not accept the resignation of Arabi Pasha, and that they allow twelve hours to His Highness to answer, after which delay they will no longer be responsible for public tranquillity. I have telegraphed this information to Admiral Seymour.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 573.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 27, 10 P.M.)

(No. 106.) *Constantinople, May 27, 1882, 7.45 P.M.*
(Telegraphic.)
THE Grand Vizier has intimated to me that he had heard a rumour of an intended Conference of the Powers on Egyptian affairs. He said that such a project would be most distasteful to the Porte. I told him I had not heard a word about it.

M. Tissot to Earl Granville.—(Received May 28.)

*Ambassade de France, à Londres, Dimanche,
28 Mai, 1882, 11 h.*

Mon cher Comte,
D'APRÈS un télégramme de M. Sienkiewicz, Sir Edward Malet aurait déclaré hier "qu'il ne se considérait plus comme lié par les mesures d'indulgence promises par la note du 25 Mai."

Cette déclaration, dans la pensée de M. de Freycinet, ne peut avoir d'autre effet que d'empêcher les soumissions que les mesures de clémence devaient précisément provoquer; elle lui semble dès lors difficilement explicable.

M. de Freycinet me charge-t-il de vous demander, très amicalement, mon cher Comte, si vous avez quelques informations sur les motifs qui ont pu dicter la démarche de Sir Edward Malet, et sur le but que poursuit l'Agent d'Angleterre.

Veillez, &c.
(Signé) CH. TISSOT.

No. 575.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 28, 8 A.M.)

(No. 165.) *Cairo, May 27, 1882, 9.30 P.M.*
(Telegraphic.)
THIS afternoon the Khedive convoked the chief persons of the State to the Chamber with the merchants, together with the fifteen superior military officers of the garrison, to explain to them the situation. His Highness was interrupted in his speech by the officers, whose spokesman, Toulbeh, said that the army rejected the note of the two Powers absolutely, and that they awaited the decision of the Sultan, whose authority they alone recognized. They then left the room.

The Khedive is unable to form a Ministry of any sort in consequence of the open defiance of the army.

He shows much anxiety, but expresses the opinion that a Turkish Commissioner would be listened to and could restore order. There is obviously no chance of the restoration of his authority as long as Arabi and his associates remain in the country.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

No. 576.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 295. Extender.) *Cairo, May 27, 1882.*
My Lord,
I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Khedive this afternoon summoned to him the chief personages of the State, of the Chamber, and of the merchants, and the fifteen superior officers of the Cairo garrison, to lay the situation before them.

General Toulbeh Pasha interrupted His Highness in his speech, and stated that the army absolutely rejected the joint note, and awaited the decision of the Porte, which was the only authority they recognized, after which they withdrew, without waiting for any further remark from His Highness.

In consequence of the open defiance of the army, the Khedive is powerless to form any Ministry whatsoever.

His Highness is extremely anxious, but he is of opinion that a Turkish Commissioner could make himself heard and restore tranquillity.

There is, however, certainly no chance of the Khedive's authority being restored so long as the Minister of War and his associates are allowed to remain in Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 577.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 28, 8 A.M.)

(No. 107.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 28, 1882, 1.40 A.M.

FRENCH Ambassador has just returned from dining with the Sultan, who had heard of the dismissal of the Egyptian Ministry, but not of the insubordinate attitude of the officers and troops at Alexandria. The Sultan expressed a strong desire for the termination of the crisis, and declared in a very absolute manner that the Khedive was perfectly entitled to dismiss his Ministers, and that the latter were bound to retire when called upon to do so by the Chief of the State.

French Ambassador afterwards repeated the foregoing to the Foreign Minister, who suggested that he should telegraph the substance of what fell from the Sultan to Egypt, which French Ambassador has done at full length.

French Ambassador considered the tone of the Sultan, so far as words went, as eminently satisfactory.

No. 578.

Mr. Cookson to Earl Granville.—(Received May 28, 9.30 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, May 28, 1882, 8.40 A.M.

ALL quiet here. Local authorities assure me no disorder to be apprehended. Troops have received reply from Cairo, in consequence of which they have engaged to remain quiet at present.

No. 579.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 220.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 28, 1882, 1.40 P.M.

FRENCH Ambassador tells me he has heard from M. de Freycinet that French Government, in consequence of the resignation of the Egyptian Ministry, think it better to await the course of events.

No. 580.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 617. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 28, 1882.

M. TISSOT has informed me that he has heard from the French Government that, in consequence of the resignation of the Egyptian Ministry, they consider it advisable to await the course of events.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 581.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 221.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 28, 1882, 2.10 P.M.

WE agree that circumstances are changed by the offer of resignation on the part of the Egyptian Ministers, and its acceptance by the Khedive. But there is still danger of military revolt.

It is most desirable that no time should be lost by the Sultan, who should send an order to support the Khedive, to reject the accusation of the fallen Ministry with regard to His Highness, and to order the military chiefs, and perhaps also the ex-President of the Council, to come and explain their conduct at Constantinople.

To save time, I have telegraphed to Lord Dufferin in this sense, and to our Representatives at the four Courts, to ask their concurrence in this advice.

We confidently reckon on the French Government sending similar instructions.

[The above telegram, down to the words "explain their conduct at Constantinople," and with the addition of the paragraph "Ask concurrence of Government to which you are accredited to this advice," has been sent to Her Majesty's Representatives at Constantinople (No. 176), St. Petersburg (No. 68), Berlin (No. 66), Vienna (No. 75), and Rome (No. 73).]

No. 582.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 618. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 28, 1882.

I HAVE already informed your Excellency in my telegram No. 220 of to-day of the views entertained by the French Government as reported to me by M. Tissot, that in consequence of the resignation of the Egyptian Ministry it would be advisable to await the course of events.

Her Majesty's Government agree that circumstances are changed by the offer of resignation on the part of the Egyptian Ministers and its acceptance by the Khedive; but danger is still to be apprehended of military revolt.

Her Majesty's Government consider it most desirable that no time should be lost by the Sultan, who should send an order to support the Khedive; to reject the accusation of the fallen Ministry with regard to His Highness, and to order the three military Chiefs, and perhaps also the ex-President of the Council, to come and explain their conduct at Constantinople.

In order to save time, I have telegraphed to Lord Dufferin in this sense, and to the British Representatives at the four Courts, to ask the concurrence of those Courts in this advice to the Sultan.

Your Excellency will state to M. de Freycinet that Her Majesty's Government confidently reckon on the French Government sending similar instructions to their Representatives.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 583.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 271. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 28, 1882.

ALTHOUGH circumstances in Egypt have been changed by the offer on the part of the Ministers to resign, and the acceptance of their resignation by the Khedive, the reports which reach Her Majesty's Government of the insubordinate attitude of the officers lead them to believe that there is still danger of a military revolt.

It is most desirable that the Sultan should not delay acting in the present crisis, and I have to request your Excellency to impress upon His Majesty the necessity of sending an order to support the Khedive, to reject the accusation brought against His Highness by the fallen Ministry, that his action constitutes an attack upon the rights of the suzerain Power, and to summon the three military chiefs, and perhaps, also, the ex-President of the Council, to Constantinople, to explain their conduct.

I have telegraphed in this sense to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at the four Courts, and requested them to obtain the concurrence in this advice of the Governments to which they are accredited.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

*Earl Granville to Sir E. Thornton.**

(No. 164. Extender.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 28, 1882.

I INCLOSE copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople,† of which I have already telegraphed to you the substance, with the request that your Excellency will obtain the concurrence of the Government to the advice which it contains.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 585.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 28, 2 P.M.)

(No. 166.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 28, 1882, 10.30 A.M.

YESTERDAY afternoon about 100 officers, headed by Arabi, met the Deputies and chief persons at Sultan Pasha's, cried out for the deposition of the Khedive, and threatened the recalcitrant with death. Nearly all but the officers, however, remained firm in their support of the Khedive. [? They demanded] a Decree reappointing Arabi Minister of War, giving till this morning for an answer. The Khedive summoned my French colleague and me in the evening. We could not advise His Highness to do what was asked. I recommended that His Highness [should] say that the whole matter was before the Porte, which must decide, and I believe that this advice was acted upon.

There is the greatest anxiety for the safety of the Khedive, and may be of Europeans. My colleagues of Germany, Italy, Austria, and Russia are going presently to Arabi to demand from him guarantees of public security. The immediate intervention of the Porte is the only step which I can suggest as a possible means of restoring order.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 586.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 296. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 28, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that, in the afternoon of yesterday, Arabi Pasha, at the head of about 100 officers, met the chief persons of Cairo and the Deputies at the house of Sultan Pasha, and demanded the deposition of the Khedive, threatening death to the recalcitrant.

Nevertheless, almost all present, except the officers, persisted in supporting His Highness. Arabi Pasha and the officers stated that they demanded of the Khedive a Decree reinstating Arabi Pasha as Minister of War, and that they allowed till this morning for its promulgation.

In the evening the Khedive summoned M. Sienkiewicz and me, but we could not advise His Highness to comply with the officers' demand. I recommended His Highness to answer that the whole question was under the consideration of the Porte, which must decide, and I believe that he acted upon this advice.

The greatest anxiety is felt for the safety of the Khedive, and possibly also of Europeans. The Representatives of Russia, Austria, Italy, and Germany are presently going to Arabi Pasha, to demand guarantees for public security from him. The only possible means of restoring order which I can suggest is the prompt intervention of the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

* Also to Sir H. Elliot (No. 149A), Lord Amthill (No. 216A), and Sir A. Paget (No. 166).

† No. 583.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 28, 2 P.M.)

(No. 167.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 28, 1882, 11.20 A.M.

THE Khedive yesterday received a telegram from the Porte congratulating him on the fall of the Ministry.

It is well to observe that the concluding paragraph of the unsent answer of the Ministry to the joint note, telegraphed in my telegram No. 160 of yesterday, makes precisely the same statement regarding reference to the Porte by the Powers as the message of the Sultan to the Khedive, communicated in my telegram No. 149 of 22nd instant. It is presumable that the Ministry acted under secret instructions from Constantinople.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 588.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 297. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 28, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that His Highness the Khedive received a telegram from the Porte yesterday congratulating him on the retirement of the late Ministry.

I would venture to draw your Lordship's attention to the fact, that the concluding paragraph of the Ministry's unsent answer to the note of England and France, recorded in my telegram No. 160 of yesterday, contains a statement concerning reference by the Powers to the Porte, which is precisely the same as that contained in the message of the Sultan to the Khedive, which I had the honour to communicate to your Lordship in my telegram No. 149 of the 22nd instant. This would favour a presumption that the Ministry has acted under the Porte's secret instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 589.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 222.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 28, 1882, 3.15 P.M.

I TOLD M. Tissot that a report had reached us which was so absurd that I felt ashamed of even mentioning it to him.

It is that 1,000 French soldiers were expected at Port Saïd. M. Tissot said that it was absolutely without foundation; that such an idea had never been entertained.

No. 590.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 619. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 28, 1882.

I HAVE informed M. Tissot that a report has reached Her Majesty's Government which I considered so absurd that I felt ashamed of even mentioning it to him, viz., that 1,000 French soldiers were expected at Port Saïd.

M. Tissot informed me, in reply, that the rumour was absolutely without foundation, and that such an idea had never been entertained.

The report in question was that referred to in my telegram to your Excellency of the 27th instant.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

* No. 217 (Extender No. 614).

No. 591.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 28, 4.15 P.M.)(No. 168.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 28, 1882, 1.10 P.M.

THE Grand Vizier has telegraphed to the Khedive to say that if His Highness will ask officially for an Imperial Commissioner, one will be sent. The Khedive has asked my French colleague and me whether he may do so.

When we arrived at the Palace Sultan Pasha and a few Deputies were with His Highness, and had told him that his life was in danger if he did not agree to reappoint Arabi. He refused.

With regard to the advice asked of us by His Highness, I said that I could not advise His Highness not to ask for a Commissioner if his life were in danger, and this were the only chance of safety. My French colleague restricted himself to saying that he would ask the instructions of his Government.

The Khedive urged that he must reply something immediately to the Grand Vizier; but we left without saying anything further. I cannot say what His Highness will do. His position is a most painful one. Threatened with death, prevented by us from going to Alexandria while there was yet time, and not allowed to appeal to the only quarter from which effectual assistance can come, he must feel bitterly the apparent result at present of following our advice and relying upon our support.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 592.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)(No. 298. Extender.)
My Lord,

Cairo, May 28, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Khedive has received a telegram from the Grand Vizier, saying that a Turkish Commissioner will be sent if His Highness will officially ask for one. He has questioned M. Sienkiewicz and me as to whether he should make the request.

On our arrival at the Palace we found with His Highness a few Deputies and Sultan Pasha, who had told him that unless he agreed to reinstate Arabi as Minister of War his life was not safe; nevertheless, His Highness refused.

With regard to asking for a Turkish Commissioner I stated that, if His Highness' life were in danger, I could not give any advice against a step he proposed, if it appeared to be the only chance of safety. M. Sienkiewicz limited himself to saying that he would request instructions from the French Government, and we left without giving any further answer, although the Khedive urged the necessity of immediately making some reply to the Grand Vizier. I am unable to say what course His Highness will follow.

He is in an extremely painful position. Menaced with death, prevented by England and France, while yet there was time, from leaving for Alexandria, and not permitted to appeal for assistance to the only quarter from which it can effectually come, His Highness must bitterly feel the present apparent result of following our counsel and relying on our support.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 593.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 28, 5.15 P.M.)(No. 170. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 28, 1882, 3.40 P.M.

I SUSPECT the plan of the Sultan to be to allow the Khedive to be deposed by the army, or in some other way to become impossible, and to substitute Halim Pasha for him, a solution not disagreeable to France, because the Khedive is considered to be entirely under English influence.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

No. 594.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 299. Confidential. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 28, 1882.

I VENTURE to submit to your Lordship that I believe the scheme of the Sultan to be to permit the deposition of the present Khedive by the army, or in some other way to render his continuance on the throne impossible, and to substitute for him Prince Halim.

This solution is one which would not be disagreeable to France, since the reigning Khedive is considered to be entirely under the influence of England.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 595.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 155.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 28, 1882, 5.30 P.M.

YOUR No. 168.

I approve language to Khedive.

If your French colleague will concur, advise the Khedive to ask for a Commissioner.

No. 596.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 151. Extender.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 28, 1882.

I HAVE received your telegram No. 168 of this day, giving an account of an interview which, in company with your French colleague, you had with the Khedive. Her Majesty's Government approve your having told His Highness that you could not advise him not to ask for the dispatch of an Imperial Commissioner from Constantinople if His Highness' life was in danger as represented, and that was the only chance of safety.

If your French colleague will join with you in giving such advice to the Khedive, Her Majesty's Government desire that you will recommend His Highness to make the application for an Imperial Commissioner.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 597.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 28, 7.15 P.M.)

(No. 67.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 28, 1882, 4.45 P.M.

M. DE FREYCINET says his recent intelligence from Cairo makes him fear that if the Porte sent Turkish troops to Egypt it would be for objects quite contrary to those of France and England. He now hints at Anglo-French military intervention as the only resource if things come to extremities.

He is, however, about to address a telegram to the French Ambassador at Constantinople very much in the sense suggested in Sir E. Malet's telegram No. 162 of yesterday, and he will send me the text for transmission to your Lordship in the hope that you will send a like telegram to Lord Dufferin.

His news from Cairo is up to late last night.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31.)

(No. 494. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 28, 1882.

M. DE FREYCINET told me this afternoon that in consequence of a telegram which he had received from M. Sienkiewicz, he was about to address a telegram to the French Ambassador at Constantinople to direct him to point out to the Sultan that his name was abused by the revolutionary party at Cairo, and to request His Majesty to counteract this manœuvre by telegraphing to Cairo to express his displeasure, and his disapproval of the conduct of the Ministry, to fortify the authority of the Khedive, and to summon to Constantinople Mahmoud Pasha, Arabi Pasha, and the three military chiefs, to explain their conduct.

He said that he should send me the text of the telegram as soon as it was drawn up, in order that I might transmit it to your Lordship, and express to you his hope that you would send a like telegram to Lord Dufferin.

M. de Freycinet proceeded, however, to say that the recent intelligence from Cairo led him to believe that the Sultan had been himself more or less concerned in promoting the troubles in Egypt; and he added that there was reason to fear that if His Majesty sent Turkish troops to Egypt, it would be for objects very different indeed from those which France and England had in view. In fact, there would, his Excellency hinted, be no other resource than to employ French and English troops in Egypt if things came to extremities there.

I have had the honour to transmit the substance of this despatch to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 599.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 28, 7.30 P.M.)

(No. 68.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 28, 1882, 5 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 217 of yesterday.

M. de Freycinet would agree with your instruction to the Admiral to treat the Turkish ships with the courtesy due to the Sovereign Power, if the ships came without troops to be landed, but he would not extend this instruction to the case of ships bringing troops.

No. 600.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31.)

(No. 496. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 28, 1882.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 216 of yesterday, I have the honour to report that I informed M. de Freycinet this morning that your Lordship had learned that the French Admiral at Alexandria had asked for instructions as to what he should do in the event of a Turkish force being sent to that place by the Porte without any previous warning to the Powers.

I added that the English Admiral, although he considered the contingency a most improbable one, had also asked for instructions, and that Her Majesty's Government proposed to instruct him to treat any Turkish ships that might arrive with the courtesy due to the Sovereign Power, but that they did not think it necessary to raise the question unless intelligence was received of some movement on the part of Turkish vessels.

M. de Freycinet answered he entirely agreed with your Lordship, that it was unadvisable to raise the question unless the contingency seemed to be really likely to present itself.

He did not, he said, think that any application for instructions had been as yet received from the French Admiral.

For his own part he should, he told me in conclusion, be ready to adopt the instructions Her Majesty's Government proposed, provided the Turkish ships came without troops on board; but he should not be willing to extend them to the case of ships arriving with troops to be landed.

I have had the honour to transmit to your Lordship the substance of this despatch by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 601.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 28, 7.30 P.M.)

(No. 69.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 28, 1882, 5.5 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 217 of yesterday.

Political Director, after inquiring at the Admiralty, assures me that no French transport has been sent to Port Saïd, except the usual monthly transport to the French possessions in the extreme east, and that nothing out of the ordinary routine has been done.

No. 602.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31.)

(No. 498. Very Confidential. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 28, 1882.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 217 of yesterday, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I mentioned to M. Decrais this morning the report, received from Port Saïd, that a French transport with 1,000 troops was expected there.

M. Decrais, having made inquiries at the Department of Marine and Colonies, has this evening assured me that nothing out of the ordinary routine of the service has been sent to Port Saïd, and that the only French transport which has been dispatched to that place is the usual monthly transport bound to the French possessions in the extreme East.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 603.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 615.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 28, 1882.

I INFORMED M. Tissot this afternoon of the latest news I had received from Egypt, and I informed him of the message which I sent to your Excellency in my telegram No. 221 of to-day.

M. Tissot said he could give no official answer, but that, personally, he was glad, as it seemed to place the two Governments nearer together than they had appeared to be at our last interview. I said that we must not exaggerate to ourselves the differences.

Both Governments had agreed that in certain eventualities it would be necessary to have recourse to a Turkish armed force, although we neither desired that measure. Last week Her Majesty's Government believed, and I felt sure we were right in believing, that the moment was come. But before the French Government had answered, news was received of a change of circumstances, viz., the offer of resignation by the Ministry and the acceptance of the offer by the Khedive. Although this did not reassure us as to the ultimate result, it gave us time to take another step, which was that which I had just mentioned to him.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 604.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.(No. 616.)¹

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 28, 1882.

THE French Ambassador informed me to-day of the substance of a telegram which he had received from M. de Freycinet. In this communication M. de Freycinet quotes two messages from M. de Sienkiewicz. In the first he alludes to the resignation of the Egyptian Government, and personally rejoices that that incident relieved him from all further responsibility as to the declarations in the note of the 25th. In the second he reports that Sir E. Malet had declared yesterday that "he did not consider himself bound any longer by the measures of indulgence promised in the note of the 25th." This declaration, in the opinion of M. de Freycinet, could have no other effect than to prevent the submissions which those terms of clemency were precisely calculated to induce, and appeared to him, therefore, difficult to explain. M. Tissot added that he was charged by M. de Freycinet to ask me in a very friendly way whether I possessed any information as to the motives which can have prompted the action of Sir E. Malet and the object he is pursuing. The course seemed to M. de Freycinet very dangerous as to its possible results.

I replied that, as I had received no information from Sir E. Malet on the subject, I was not able to give any explanation, but that it appeared that whatever opinion was given was shared by the two Representatives.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 605.

*Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.**

(No. 166. Extender.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 28, 1882.

I HAVE to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government are agreed that circumstances are changed by the offer of resignation on the part of the Egyptian Ministers, and its acceptance by the Khedive. There is still, however, danger of military revolt.

Her Majesty's Government consider it most desirable that no time should be lost by the Sultan, who should send an order to support the Khedive, to reject the accusation of the fallen Ministry with regard to His Highness, and to order the three military chiefs, and perhaps also the ex-President of the Council, to come and explain their conduct at Constantinople.

I have to request that you will ask for the concurrence of the Government to which you are accredited in this advice.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 606.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29).

(No. 364.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, May 19, 1882.

I HAVE learnt upon good authority that on the 15th instant a despatch was sent by the Sublime Porte to the Egyptian Ministry, of which the following is said to be the substance:—

In the first place, it alludes to the convocation of the Chamber of Deputies without the authorization of the Khedive, which it declares to be an act contrary to the constitution of that Chamber.

It then proceeds to declare that the Sultan desires to preserve at any price the *status quo* and to maintain the privileges granted by Imperial Firman, and states that His Majesty is specially anxious that no modification should be made in the situation, the maintenance of which is a duty intrusted to Tewfik Pasha, who was appointed Khedive by His Imperial Majesty.

* Also to the Earl of Dufferin, No. 271; Sir E. Thornton, No. 164; Lord Ampthill, No. 216 A; and Sir H. Elliot, No. 149 A.

Further, that by committing illegal acts in defiance of the orders of the Khedive they will entail upon themselves serious responsibility.

Finally, that the Porte strongly reprehends, and protests against, the declaration of the Ministry as regards their intention to make an armed resistance should the Imperial Government decide to send troops or a special Mission to Egypt, considering that the latter forms an integral portion of the Ottoman Empire, over which the Sultan's sovereignty is indisputable.

The despatch concludes by stating that the Ministry will be held morally and materially responsible for any infringement of the orders transmitted to them by the will of the Sovereign.

I am also informed that a despatch has been addressed to the Khedive conveying to His Highness the Sultan's approval of the attitude he has assumed towards the Ministry.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 607.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 373. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, May 22, 1882.

YESTERDAY at the Porte I accidentally met the Greek Minister, between whom and myself a very friendly intimacy exists. He informed me that the Greek Government had determined to take part in the naval demonstration off Alexandria. I said, "What folly!" He then told me that the Turkish Government had requested that the Greek war-ships should be recalled, and he wished to know whether I would advise such a step. I replied that they certainly ought to be recalled. He asked me whether he might quote my opinion to his Government. I said, certainly; the whole of it if he chose to do so.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 608.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 379. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, May 23, 1882.

IN my despatch No. 362 of the 19th instant your Lordship will have observed that Saïd Pasha had flattered himself that the Sultan had agreed to surrender his system of personal government and to act through his Ministers.

At the very time his Excellency was making this boast an emissary from the Palace had been sent direct from the Sultan to the French Ambassador to negotiate on Egyptian affairs. M. de Noailles very properly refused to regard the communication made to him as having any official character, and, as a consequence, up to yesterday had remained uninformed, except through me, of the intentions and views of the Porte in reference to the identic announcement we had made to the Foreign Minister of the intended dispatch of the combined fleets to Alexandria.

I had remonstrated very warmly with Saïd Pasha against the way in which the French Ambassador was being dealt with, and intimated that, unless his Excellency communicated to the Marquis de Noailles whatever he said to me in reference to Egyptian affairs, I did not see how any negotiations could go on, as my instructions were to act in concert with my French colleague.

Saïd Pasha lamented what had occurred, but evidently felt that, the Sultan having sent him to me alone, he was precluded from calling on his Excellency.

Fortunately M. de Noailles, evincing both good temper and good sense, himself waited on Saïd Pasha yesterday (Monday) at the Porte, it being the usual day for the visits of the Ambassadors, and has thus turned the difficulty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 609.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)(No. 265. Extender.)
My Lord,

Cairo, May 18, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Egyptian Government has ordered the Railway Administration to be prepared to convey the reserves. In the order it is stated that 8,800 men is the number to be moved.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 610.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)(No. 266. Extender.)
My Lord,

Cairo, May 18, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to beg your Lordship to inform me if it is true that the Porte has protested against the dispatch of the squadrons to Alexandria.

If the news be incorrect it is important to contradict it. It has already had the effect of arresting a probability of disunion among the army, and of causing the Deputies to falter in their resistance to the Military Party.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 611.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)(No. 267.)
My Lord,

Cairo, May 18, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a Report by Mr. Aranghy, Interpreter to this Agency, of an interview which he has had with one of the prisoners condemned by the court-martial for an alleged conspiracy against Arabi Pasha. The prisoner obtained from Mr. Aranghy a promise that his name should not be divulged, and his name is therefore not mentioned in the Report.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 611.

Mr. Aranghy to Sir E. Malet.

Cairo, May 16, 1882.

Sir, I HAVE the honour to report to you that on this day I proceeded to the Abdeen Barracks, where the Circassians accused of a conspiracy against Arabi Pasha, Minister of War, are imprisoned.

On arriving at the gate I demanded to see ——. I was then searched by the sentry on duty, and no arms having been found on my person I was conducted by a soldier to my friend's room, where I found him alone. The soldier then retired, and I was left alone with ——.

After a few complimentary words on his safety, I asked him as to the treatment he had received while in confinement. He then informed me, in the strictest confidence, that at the time of his arrest he was on a mission in Upper Egypt, when one night a band of soldiers, with their bayonets pointed towards him, broke into his room, and ordered him to follow them to the station. There he was put in a carriage under guard, and conveyed to Cairo. "On arriving here I was led to the Abdeen Barracks, and thrust into an underground cell without windows or any furniture whatever. The next day I was brought up before a court-martial, and informed by the President that twelve witnesses had deposed that I was conspiring against Arabi Pasha. I replied that it was absolutely false; that I had always been a faithful servant of the Government, against which I had no complaints to bring; and that I refused to be tried by a Court

amongst whose members were to be found the Generals against whom I was accused of conspiring. No notice was taken of my protest, and I sealed my above answer. For fifteen days I was brought before the Court, and each time I gave the same reply. During my confinement I was subjected to numberless tortures. I was never allowed to lie down; an officer in my cell, by continual brutality, prevented me from sleeping for a moment. I was closely ironed on the arms and legs, and repeatedly beaten. The food sent from my house was eaten by the soldiers on guard, and a piece of dry bread only was given to me for my daily meals. One night, at about midnight, six soldiers entered my cell and pinioned my arms. They were followed by a man in a mask, who carried a candle and a written document. Without being able to resist, my seal was taken from my pocket, and the masked man applied it to the document, of the contents of which I am entirely ignorant."

I may add that —— bore very evident traces of the sufferings he had undergone. The marks of the irons remain on his limbs, and he looked many years older than when I saw him last about two or three months ago.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. ARANGHY.

No. 612.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)(No. 268.)
My Lord,

Cairo, May 19, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, extracted from the "Moniteur Égyptien" of the 16th instant, an announcement to the effect that by a decision of His Highness the Khedive the members of the present Ministry retain their respective positions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 612.

*Extract from the "Moniteur Égyptien" of May 16, 1882.**Le Caire, le 16 Mai, 1882.*

PAR décision de Son Altesse le Khédive, les membres du Cabinet actuel conservent leurs positions respectives.

No. 613.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)(No. 274.)
My Lord,

Cairo, May 20, 1882.

HAVING learnt from a trustworthy source that it was the intention of the Ministry to send the prisoners convicted by the court-martial out of the country in an Egyptian steamer, I conferred with M. Sienkiewicz, my French colleague, on the subject, as I feared that the lives of the prisoners would be in jeopardy if they were thus disposed of.

Being agreed as to the course which we should adopt I spoke to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who came to me on the 18th instant, with regard to the matter. I observed to him that the Khedive's Decree commuted the sentence to simple exile, and that therefore the Government had no right to send the prisoners to any particular place against their will. I warned his Excellency that if the prisoners were conveyed away in an Egyptian ship, and any accident occurred involving the lives of any of them, the Government would not only be held responsible, but would certainly be believed by public opinion to have compassed their death intentionally, and I was sure that his Excellency would feel that this was not a moment when the Government should expose itself to any further accusations of cruelty. I therefore begged his Excellency to use his influence to cause the prisoners to be embarked on foreign ships, to go whither they pleased.

I am glad to learn by a telegram received this morning from Mr. Calvert, that the

first lot of prisoners, sent to Alexandria on the night before last, have been treated in accordance with the request preferred by M. Sienkiewicz and me.

They were embarked yesterday morning on board the Russian mail-steamer for Constantinople, and Osman Pasha Rifki, ex-Minister of War, who was, as your Lordship will remember, also one of the condemned, left, accompanied by two or three of his suite, on the Austrian steamer for Syria.

Though it has not been possible to save these men entirely from the consequences of what I believe to be an unjust accusation, the firmness of the Khedive has reduced their sentence to a minimum, and will enable His Highness, if he becomes again a free agent, with a Ministry imbued with the sentiments of justice, to restore them to their families and their homes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 614.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 276.)

Cairo, May 20, 1882.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that Mr. Main, British Vice-Consul at Damietta, informs me that, on the 17th instant, an emissary of Arabi Pasha arrived there, and after a fruitless attempt to excite the masses against the Khedive and Anglo-French intervention, presented to them four petitions for their adhesion, purporting to convey their entire satisfaction with the present Ministry, and their opposition to any change.

The Ulema and Notables positively refused to sign, but a considerable number of signatures was obtained from the lower classes.

Mr. Main further reports that he has been assured that a special representative of the Ulema, Notables, and merchants leaves for Cairo to instruct the Member for Damietta in the Chamber of Notables, to take steps to assure His Highness of the loyalty and devotion of the inhabitants of Damietta to his person.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 615.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 237. Confidential.)

Vienna, May 26, 1882.

My Lord,

IN the course of his conversation this morning with Count Kalnoky, Mr. Milbanke inquired of his Excellency whether any instructions had been forwarded to the Austrian Ambassador at Constantinople with respect to the situation in Egypt.

Count Kalnoky stated, in reply, that Baron Calice had been directed to impress upon the Sultan the advisability of acting with great prudence and moderation, and to urge His Majesty in no way to be disquieted by the action of the Governments of England and France. Count Kalnoky went on to say that he had originally entertained great fears that the Sultan would take offence at the sudden measures of the two Powers, and thereby seriously complicate the situation; but he was glad to hear, from reports recently received from Constantinople, that His Majesty's conduct had been all that could be desired, and that there was every reason to hope that all difficulties on this point were now at an end.

I have, &c.
(For Sir H. Elliot),
(Signed) RALPH MILBANKE.

No. 616.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 187. Secret.)

My Lord,

Berlin, May 27, 1882.

I GATHER, from your Lordship's despatch No. 205, Very Confidential, of the 20th instant, that M. Tissot, the French Ambassador in London, holds the same language as Baron de Courcel, the French Ambassador in Berlin, on the subject of the admissibility of Turkish intervention in Egypt. Both deny that there is any intention of employing a Turkish force, and both declare themselves personally opposed to it.

Up to the present hour my French colleague, in the many friendly and confidential conversations I have had with him, has not even admitted the possibility of M. de Freycinet ever being able to give way on a point on which all parties in France are united and the very existence of his Administration is involved.

I cannot, therefore, but feel curious to know how he will receive the disclosure of the secret that M. de Freycinet has consented to join with Her Majesty's Government in asking the Powers to request the Porte to have troops ready to send to Egypt under strict conditions.

Baron de Courcel's objection to Turkish intervention in Egypt is not only founded on the belief that it will be as distasteful to the people and Government of France as it may be disadvantageous to the people and progress of Egypt, but also on the conviction that Turkish intervention in Egypt will open the door, hitherto so jealously guarded by France and England, to the influence and interference of the Northern allies—Austria, Russia, and Germany—who have already practically weakened and diminished the influence of France at Constantinople, and are now united to increase their influence at Cairo by backing up and enforcing the Sultan's direct authority in Egypt.

Turkish intervention in Egypt is indirectly tantamount to the intervention of the "Dreikaiserbund" in Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

No. 617.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 188.)

My Lord,

Berlin, May 27, 1882.

IN obedience to your Lordship's instructions of the 24th instant, I communicated the substance of your Lordship's telegram of the 23rd, explaining the circumstances which had given rise to the necessity of sending a French and English squadron to Alexandria, to the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and I also left a copy of it with his Excellency for communication to Prince Bismarck, as directed by your Lordship.

A similar course was pursued by the French Ambassador, Baron de Courcel.

To-day Dr. Busch told me that he had been directed by Prince Bismarck to convey his Highness' thanks for this communication to your Lordship, and to state that he had received it with the greatest satisfaction, and would be glad to co-operate at any time with the Powers, as proposed by Her Majesty's Government and that of France, towards the maintenance of peace and order, and of the authority of the Khedive, such as it has been established by the Firmans of the Sultan, recognized by Europe.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

No. 618.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 176.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, May 24, 1882.

ON the 20th instant my French colleague showed me a telegram which he had received from his Government relating to the affairs of Egypt, pointing out the

reasons which had induced France and England to dispatch a squadron at once to Alexandria, and stating what the two Governments would do in the event of a pacific solution of the question not being obtained.

His Excellency informed me that he was instructed to communicate the contents of this telegram to M. de Giers, but not until I should have received a similar one, and was ready to take the same step.

He therefore inquired whether I had received a telegram to the same effect from your Lordship, to which I replied in the negative, but promised to let him know as soon as I did so.

I had the honour to receive your Lordship's telegram No. 65 late last night, and early this morning I informed Admiral Jaurès that it had reached me. It did not direct me to communicate its contents to M. de Giers, but I felt convinced that your Lordship intended that his Excellency should know them. I therefore waited upon him this afternoon and read to him, and gave him a copy of, a paraphrase of your Lordship's telegram.

M. de Giers expressed great satisfaction at its contents, and his conviction that we had followed the right road. He quite understood that, under the pressing circumstances of the time, it was necessary to take immediate steps for the protection of the persons and property of the subjects of the two Powers, and he could see no objection to the sending of a squadron for that purpose; but he was glad to see that no military occupation of Egypt was intended, and that, failing a pacific solution of the question, England and France would concert with the other Powers and with Turkey as to what further measures might best be taken.

M. de Giers added that he could not doubt that the sovereignty of Turkey ought to be frankly recognized, but at the same time he thought it would be very unwise to agree to the landing of Turkish troops in Egypt, except under the most stringent conditions and the most rigid control.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

P.S. May 25.—Since writing the above I have had the honour to receive your Lordship's telegram No. 67 of yesterday, instructing me to read your telegram No. 65 of the 23rd instant to M. de Giers and to leave him a copy of it. This I had already done, and my French colleague has taken a similar step.

E. T.

No. 619.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 160.)
My Lord,

Rome, May 23, 1882.

WITH reference to the Turkish Circular protesting against the present action of England and France in Egypt, which, as reported in my despatch No. 151 of the 18th instant, had been communicated to the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs by the Turkish Ambassador, I have thought it desirable that the Italian Government should be aware that the language held at Constantinople to Her Majesty's Ambassador was of a different character; and I therefore called upon M. Mancini the day before yesterday, in order to make him acquainted with the substance of Lord Dufferin's telegram No. 94 of the 18th instant, repeated in your Lordship's telegram No. 64 of the 19th instant, in which his Lordship reports having just been informed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, by order of the Sultan, that His Majesty had decided to maintain an attitude of perfect friendliness towards the Western Powers, &c.

As I did not find M. Mancini at the Ministry, I made the communication to Baron Blanc and M. Malvano, whom I saw together, and who promised to report what I had told them to the Minister without delay.

I may add that I had a further reason for making known the substance of the above telegram, viz., that I had heard that the Turkish Embassy here was speaking in rather boastful language of the sympathy of the Italian Government, and the efforts they were making to induce the other Powers to support the Sultan against the policy of the Western Powers.

I mentioned these reports to Baron Blanc and M. Malvano, adding, however, my entire disbelief in the accuracy of the assertions as regards the proceedings of the Italian Government.

Baron Blanc denied their truth in the most positive terms, and said that such a course would be alike contrary to the inclinations as well as the interests of the Italian Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 620.

E

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 501.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 28, 1882.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 221, and to my telegrams Nos. 67 and 70, all of to-day, I have the honour to transmit to you a copy of a telegram on the affairs of Egypt which M. de Freycinet sends this evening to the French Ambassador at Constantinople, and which he repeats to the French Ambassadors at the four Great Courts.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 620.

M. de Freycinet to the Marquis de Noailles.

(Télégraphique.)

Paris, le 28 Mai, 1882.

IL ne vous aura pas échappé que dans la communication adressée le 26 Mai au Khédive par le Président du Conseil des Ministres ainsi que dans la note remise la veille aux Consuls-Généraux de France et d'Angleterre, il a été fait mention du nom et des droits du Sultan dans les conditions qui impliqueraient l'idée que Sa Majesté Impériale prend parti en faveur du Ministre contre le Khédive. Nos dépêches vous signalent que telle est l'interprétation qu'on donne en Égypte à ces déclarations, et que les difficultés actuelles en sont considérablement accrues. Sa Majesté ne voudra certainement pas qu'il soit fait ainsi abus de son nom et de l'autorité qui s'y attache en vue de prolonger une agitation funeste. Désireuse, comme nous, d'une prompte pacification, Sa Hautesse jugera nécessaire, nous en sommes convaincus, de prévenir les effets d'une semblable manœuvre, en télégraphiant au Caire pour la blâmer publiquement, désapprouver la conduite des Ministres démissionnaires, affirmer l'autorité du Khédive, et mander à Constantinople Mahmoud Pacha et les trois chefs militaires, Arabi Pacha, Aly Pacha, Fehmy, et Abd-el-at Pacha, afin de les mettre en demeure d'expliquer leur langage et leur attitude.

Lord Dufferin reçoit des instructions dans le même sens.

No. 621.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received May 29.)

(Confidential.)

Sir,

Admiralty, May 29, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the decypher of a telegram, dated the 29th instant, from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, respecting the state of affairs at Alexandria and Cairo, and suggesting increase of naval force at Alexandria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure in No. 621.

*Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.**Alexandria, May 29, 1882.*

(Paraphrase of Telegram.)

ALEXANDRIA is apparently controlled this morning by the military party. Earthworks are being built rapidly abreast of Her Majesty's ship "Invincible." I think an increase of force desirable. There is much panic at Cairo, and some here. I would suggest dispatch of Her Majesty's ships "Alexandra," "Monarch," and gun-boat(s).

No. 622.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received May 29.)

THE Secretary of the Admiralty presents his compliments to the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and begs to inform him that the following telegram has been received from the Commanding Officer of Her Majesty's ship "Beacon," dated the 29th May, 7.50 P.M., at Port Said:—

"'Tarn' left Toulon about 19th for Tunis full of troops. Daily expected here. French eager to land. It has been rumoured preparations have been made."

Admiralty, May 29, 1882.

No. 623.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29, 8 A.M.)(No. 171.)
(Telegraphic.)*Cairo, May 28, 1882, 9.30 P.M.*

THIS afternoon the Chiefs of Religion, including the Patriarch and the Chief Rabbi, all the Deputies, Ulemas, and others, waited on the Khedive, and asked him to reinstate Arabi as Minister of War. He refused; but they besought him saying that, though he might be ready to sacrifice his own life, he ought not to sacrifice theirs; and that Arabi had threatened them all with death if they did not obtain his consent. The Colonel of the Khedive's Guard stated that the guard of the Palace had been doubled, that orders had been given to them to prevent his leaving the Palace for his usual drive, and to fire if he attempted to force his way.

Under these circumstances, the Khedive yielded, not to save himself, but to preserve the town from bloodshed.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

No. 624.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29, 8 A.M.)(No. 172.)
(Telegraphic.)*Cairo, May 28, 1882, 10.15 P.M.*

THE Khedive has received a telegram from his Agent at Constantinople assuring him of the Sultan's support, saying that the Sultan had told him that the French had lately desired to replace him by Halim Pasha, but that His Majesty would not listen to this, and would assist him through his difficulties.

The view of French officials here is that the Khedive has entirely lost himself by reinstating Arabi. It is undoubtedly in many ways a disastrous act. The preparations for war will now be actively pushed forward, and the Khedive has lost all power of resistance; but had he refused it is probable that there would have been no longer any Khedive to support, as I am assured that there were 100 police outside the Palace with orders to turn His Highness into the street in case he refused.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

No. 625.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 300. Extender.)

Cairo, May 28, 1882.

My Lord,
I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Khedive's Agent at Constantinople has telegraphed to him to assure him of the support of the Sultan, saying that His Majesty had told him that the French had lately proposed to put Prince Halim in his place, but that the Sultan had refused to listen to this, and would support the Khedive through his present difficulties.

The French officials here are of opinion that the Khedive, by the reinstatement of Arabi as Minister of War, has entirely lost himself. The act is undoubtedly a disastrous one in many ways. The military preparations will now again be actively pushed, and His Highness has quite lost all power of resistance.

Had he refused, however, there would probably no longer have been any Khedive for us to support, as I am informed that 100 police were stationed outside the Palace, with orders to turn His Highness into the street in the event of his refusing the demand of the crowd, which came supplicating, for their own safety, that he would reinstate the Minister of War.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 626.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29, 8 A.M.)(No. 173.)
(Telegraphic.)*Cairo, May 28, 1882, 10.40 P.M.*

I THINK it is desirable, if the Sultan sends Commissioners, that they should be ordered not to proceed to Cairo now but commence negotiations at Alexandria, and that the Khedive should be requested to go there and meet them. I cannot be sure that he would be permitted to go, but he is not in safety here, and it is clear that negotiations could not be carried on here with the necessary calmness.

I venture again to express the opinion that demands should not be made without it being made known that a large force is ready to exact their execution.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

No. 627.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 301. Extender.)

Cairo, May 28, 1882.

My Lord,
I VENTURE to offer an opinion that if the Sultan sends Commissioners it is desirable that they should be instructed not to proceed at once to Cairo, but to commence negotiations at Alexandria, and that the Khedive should meet them there.

I cannot feel sure that His Highness would be permitted to leave Cairo, but he is not in safety here, and it is evident that the negotiations could not be entered upon here with the requisite calm.

I would also venture again to record my conviction that it is useless to make demands without its being made known that their execution will be exacted by a large military force.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29, 8 A.M.)

(No. 30.)
(Telegraphic.)

Rome, May 28, 1882, 10:30 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 73 of to-day respecting Egypt. Minister for Foreign Affairs will telegraph to Count Corti this evening, desiring him to give the same advice to the Sultan if the other Ambassadors have also received instructions to do so.

No. 629.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29, 8 A.M.)

(No. 31.)
(Telegraphic.)

Rome, May 28, 1882, 10:45 P.M.

MINISTER for Foreign Affairs told me that he had to-day instructed Italian Ambassadors at Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Vienna to suggest whether, with reference to the communication from the English and French Governments of the 23rd instant, and in view of rapidity of events in Egypt, it would not be desirable to invite England and France to indicate the ulterior measures they contemplated in concert with the other Powers and the Porte in the event of the present action of the two Powers not being successful in maintaining the authority of the Khedive. His object for making the suggestion is that there may be an interchange of views between the Powers and the Porte so as to be prepared, in case of necessity, for immediate action.

No. 630.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29, 8 A.M.)

(No. 108.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 28, 1882, 11:30 P.M.

THE iron-clad frigate "Osmanie" is in the stream with orders to be ready to sail at a moment's notice. Three other iron-clads of the same class, the "Orkhanie," the "Azizie," and the "Mahmoudie," are being got ready for sea.

No. 631.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29, 8 A.M.)

(No. 109.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 29, 1882, 12:30 A.M.

HAVING previously telegraphed to the Porte to ascertain how the request would be received, the Khedive has to-day made a formal demand to the Sultan that an Imperial Commissioner may be sent to Egypt. The Ministers are now deliberating as to the reply.

The foregoing may, I think, be depended upon as correct. I shall not know the result till to-morrow.

No. 632.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29, 8 A.M.)

(No. 110.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 29, 1882, 1 A.M.

SIR E. MALET'S telegram No. 170 of the 28th May.

I agree with Sir E. Malet as to possible policy of the Sultan within the limits noted in my telegram No. 102 of the 24th.

There are indications here that, though the French may have postponed, they have not abandoned, the Halim Pasha project.

Please do not let this latter [intimation] reach French ears.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29, 2 P.M.)

(No. 71. Very Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 29, 1882, 12:20 P.M.

MY telegram No. 67 of yesterday.

Later in the day M. de Freycinet spoke to me plainly against the military intervention of Turkey and in favour of that of France and England.

The recent intelligence from Egypt had, he said, convinced him that the Porte was at the bottom of all the troubles there. If once the Sultan got his troops into the country, he might displace Tewfik, appoint Arabi or some such person temporary Governor, and by degrees reduce Egypt to a mere province. At all events, France and England could have no security that the Turkish troops would act in conformity with their views, and could not exercise any effectual control over them. If they invited the Sultan to send troops, they might find themselves in the ridiculous position of having themselves let the wolf into the fold.

M. de Freycinet then said distinctly that if a satisfactory settlement was not now effected on the spot without any intervention, there seemed to be nothing left for it but to send English and French troops. He added that he had understood from Prince Bismarck that there would be no objection to this, provided England and France acted as the mandatories of Europe.

He proceeded to ask me questions as to what disposable troops England had in the Mediterranean, how long it would take her to bring up troops from India, and so forth.

I reminded M. de Freycinet that little more than a fortnight ago he had formally proposed to Her Majesty's Government that recourse should be had not to English or French, but to Turkish troops.

He answered that the light thrown by the late events on the actions and aims of the Porte had made a great change in his views.

His Excellency may also have been influenced by the explosion of public opinion against him produced here by the mere report of his having assented to Turkish intervention.

He and M. Tissot are also much blamed here for their advocacy of Halim Pasha, whose candidature seems, in fact, to have produced, and to be producing, much mischief, both at Cairo and at Constantinople, and to call for a distinct declaration against it from England and France.

There will probably be an interpellation on Egyptian affairs in the Chamber of Deputies to-morrow.

No. 634.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31.)

(No. 503. Very Confidential. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 29, 1882.

IN my telegram No. 67 and my despatch No. 494, both of yesterday, I had the honour to report to your Lordship that M. de Freycinet had given me to understand that he apprehended that, in the case of things coming to extremities in Egypt, it would after all be necessary to have recourse to English and French, not to Turkish troops.

I went to M. de Freycinet again after that telegram and despatch were finished, and he then spoke to me plainly in favour of the military intervention of France and England in Egypt, and against that of Turkey.

He must, he said, confess that the impression left upon his mind by the recent intelligence from Egypt was that the Sultan was, in fact, at the bottom of all the troubles there. If this were so, England and France could have no security that a force sent by the Sultan to Egypt would act in conformity with their views. They would certainly be without the means of controlling a Turkish force effectually. The Sultan would aim at reducing Egypt to the condition of an ordinary Turkish province. As a first step, he might displace Tewfik Pasha, and appoint, nominally as a temporary measure, a Government under the control of the Porte, with Arabi Pasha, or some such person, at the head of it. If the Turkish troops were once allowed to come into

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Egypt, it might be extremely difficult to get them out again; and France and England might find themselves in the ridiculous position of having themselves brought the wolf into the fold.

M. de Freycinet then said distinctly that if the present endeavours to effect a satisfactory settlement on the spot, without any armed intervention, should fail, he really could see nothing for it but to send French and English troops.

He proceeded to ask me questions as to what disposable troops England had in the Mediterranean, what time it would take her to bring up troops from India, and so forth.

M. de Freycinet had, he said, reason to believe that the other Powers would be willing to concur in the joint military intervention of France and England. Prince Bismarck had, he added, given him to understand that there would be no objection, provided that France and England acted as the mandatories of Europe.

I reminded M. de Freycinet that little more than a fortnight ago he had formally proposed to Her Majesty's Government that recourse should be had to Turkish, not to French or English troops.

His Excellency answered that a great change in his views had been produced by the light which recent events had thrown on the actions and aims of the Porte.

It is also possible that M. de Freycinet's views may have been affected by the explosion of public opinion which took place when it transpired here that the French Government had, in some form or other, admitted the possibility of Turkish military intervention in Egypt.

M. de Freycinet and M. Tissot have, moreover, incurred much blame here for having more or less put forward Halim Pasha as a candidate for the Khedivate. This candidature of Halim Pasha appears to have given rise to many intrigues, and to have done great mischief both at Cairo and at Constantinople. Indeed, it may be a subject for consideration whether a distinct declaration against it on the part of England and France is not now called for.

I have had the honour to transmit to your Lordship the substance of this despatch by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 635.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29, 3.50 P.M.)

(No. 174.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 29, 1882, 3.20 P.M.

THE Khedive has sent me a message to say that he is now again anxious to go to Alexandria on account of his family, which will not leave without him, and because he may at any moment be subjected, for some particular purpose, to the same pressure as was exercised upon him yesterday. He says, however, that he will do nothing without consulting my French colleague and me.

Should I continue to dissuade him from going to Alexandria under present circumstances?

No. 636.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 302. Extender.)
My Lord,

Cairo, May 29, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the Khedive has sent me his Master of Ceremonies to say that His Highness is again anxious to leave for Alexandria on account of his family, which refuses to go unless accompanied by him, and because His Highness apprehends that he may be subjected at any moment, for some particular object, to the same pressure which was put upon him yesterday, as recorded in my telegram No. 171. His Highness, however, assures me that he will not leave without previously consulting M. Sienkiewicz and me.

Under these circumstances, I venture to request your Lordship to instruct me whether I should continue to dissuade the Khedive from going to Alexandria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 637.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 226.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 29, 1882, 4.10 P.M.

ADMIRAL SEYMOUR telegraphs that Egyptians are raising earthworks opposite "Invincible," and requests that the three other ships may be sent to join him.

I have told French Ambassador that I propose to accede; and that the Sultan should be invited to send a ship of war to Alexandria, and the Powers informed.

I have asked for an early reply from French Government.*

We were glad to meet the views of the French Government yesterday, when there appeared to be a favourable change. It is sad that this is no longer the case.

No. 638.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 620. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 29, 1882.

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that Admiral Seymour has telegraphed that the Egyptians are raising earthworks opposite Her Majesty's ship "Invincible," and he requests that the three other ships may be sent to join him.

I have informed M. Tissot that I propose to accede to this request, and that Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the Sultan should be invited to send a ship-of-war to Alexandria, and that the Powers should be so informed.

I have requested M. Tissot to obtain for me an early reply from the French Government.

Her Majesty's Government were glad to meet the views of the French Government, as condensed by my telegram No. 221 to your Excellency of yesterday's date, when there appeared to be a favourable change in the aspect of affairs in Egypt. It is a matter for deep regret that this is no longer the case.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 639.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29, 4.20 P.M.)

(No. 32.)
(Telegraphic.)

Rome, May 29, 1882, 3 P.M.

EGYPT: The French Chargé d'Affaires received this morning the repetition of a telegram in which the French Ambassador at Constantinople is instructed to urge upon the Sultan the measures specified in your Lordship's telegram No. 73 to me of yesterday.

He will see Minister for Foreign Affairs this afternoon and ask his concurrence.

I have acquainted him with his Excellency's reply to me, as reported in my telegram No. 30 of last night.

* Similar telegram (No. 180) sent to Lord Dufferin, ending at this point.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29, 4:30 P.M.)

(No. 37.)
(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, May 29, 1882, 3:55 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's No. 66 of yesterday.

The French Ambassador and myself have communicated the above-named telegram to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who promised to send it at once to Prince Bismarck.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5.)

(No. 192. Extender.)

My Lord,

Berlin, May 29, 1882.

ON receiving your Lordship's telegram of yesterday's date respecting the advice to be given to the Sultan to support the Khedive and order the three military chiefs, as well as the ex-President of the Council, to come and explain their conduct at Constantinople, I called on my French colleague, and we then communicated to the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs the instructions we had received on the subject from our respective Governments.

His Excellency promised to forward our communication to Prince Bismarck at Friedrichsruhe.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29, 5:30 P.M.)

(No. 18.)
(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, May 29, 1882, 4 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegrams Nos. 57, 65, and 68.

M. de Giers has just informed me that, having concerted with the other three Powers, he may state that the Russian Government consider the policy announced in those telegrams to be a wise and correct policy, that they are perfectly satisfied with the explanations given in your telegram No. 65, that they await any further proposals which the English and French may find it necessary to make to the Powers, and give them all the support in their power. M. de Giers is to-day telegraphing to Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople to concert with his colleagues, or even with one of them, and to support the advice to be given to the Sultan by the English and French Ambassadors in the terms of your telegram No. 68. M. de Giers is also telegraphing to Prince Lobanow for your Lordship's information.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 236.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 29, 1882.

WITH reference to Sir E. Malet's telegram No. 174, repeated to you to-day, Her Majesty's Government are willing to be guided by the opinion of the French Government. Under the new circumstances, they are inclined to take the middle course, and instruct their Representative to cease from pressing the Khedive to remain.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 621. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 29, 1882.

I HAVE already caused to be repeated to your Excellency Sir E. Malet's telegram No. 174 of to-day, recording a message received by him from the Khedive, expressing once more his anxiety to go to Alexandria on account of his family, who would not leave Cairo without him, and because he might at any moment be subject to a repetition of the pressure already exercised upon him. His Highness at the same time, as it appears, had expressed his intention to do nothing without consulting the Representatives of England and France.

In this matter Her Majesty's Government are willing to be guided by the opinion of the French Government.

Under the new circumstances, they are inclined to instruct the Representatives to cease from pressing the Khedive to remain in Cairo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 622.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 29, 1882.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 501 of the 28th instant, inclosing a copy of a telegram which M. de Freycinet had addressed on that day to the French Ambassador at Constantinople, and had repeated to the French Ambassadors at the four Great Courts; and I have to request that your Excellency will inform M. de Freycinet that I had already telegraphed in the same sense to Her Majesty's Ambassadors, and that I have now forwarded to them M. de Freycinet's telegram, with an intimation that it met with the concurrence of Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 150.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 29, 1882.

HER Majesty's Government approve the observations made by your Excellency to the French Ambassador, as reported in your despatch No. 222 of the 17th instant, in reply to his statement that the Powers had unanimously consented that the measures to be taken with regard to Egypt were to be decided by England and France.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 151.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 29, 1882.

HER Majesty's Government approve the language used by your Excellency in the conversation with Count Kálnoky upon Egyptian affairs, reported in your despatch No. 230 of the 19th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 167.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 29, 1882.

THE Italian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and told me that his Government had received the communication which your Excellency was instructed to make to them in my telegram No. 73 of the 28th instant, and though quite ready to assent to that communication, they were unable to give any answer to it without consulting the other Powers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 168.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 29, 1882.

AT the interview which I had with the Italian Ambassador this day, as recorded in my immediately preceding despatch, his Excellency observed that the complications of the present state of things in Egypt were very great.

I asked his Excellency whether he could make any suggestions. He said he had none to offer, but he expressed his opinion that some regard must be paid to the national feeling in Egypt.

In reply to my inquiry whether his countrymen had anything to do with the present state of things in Egypt, General Menabrea stated that many Italians were settled there, and that large Italian interests were concerned; that the Italian residents had great influence from their knowledge of Arabic, and it was not impossible that they may have encouraged these national aspirations. He could not say that the Consul-General might not have taken some part in the matter, but if so, it could only have been as an individual.

I then asked whether the Italian Government were favourable to Turkish intervention, and his Excellency replied that they preferred concerted action on the part of Europe.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Secret.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 29, 1882.

I AM directed by Earl Granville to request that you will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that in consequence of their letter of the 26th instant, relative to the reported dispatch of French troops to Port Saïd, his Lordship mentioned the matter as a rumour to the French Ambassador, and received the assurance from his Excellency that it was absolutely without foundation. I am to add that a telegram has been received from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, stating that no French transport has been sent to Port Saïd except the usual monthly transport to the French possessions in the extreme east, and that nothing has been done out of the ordinary routine.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29, 11 P.M.)

(No. 111.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 29, 1882, 5.30 P.M.

TWO more frigates will be ready for sea to-night.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29, 11 P.M.)

(No. 112.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 29, 1882, 5.45 P.M.

AFTER sitting all night, the Council mentioned in my telegram No. 109 of this day's date broke up without coming to a decision.

During the first week in May the French twice suggested the substitution of Halim Pasha for Tewfik Pasha, but since then they have not mooted the subject. At present the Sultan does not wish to see Tewfik Pasha replaced by Halim Pasha, but he counts upon the time coming when such a change will be desirable.

I have had the foregoing from a trustworthy source.

M. de Giers to Prince Lobanow.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Prince Lobanow, May 30.)

(Télégraphique.)

St. Pétersbourg, le 17 Mai, 1882.

LES dernières communications de Sir Edward Thornton et de l'Amiral Jaurès au sujet de l'Égypte ont été placées sous les yeux de l'Empereur.

D'ordre de Sa Majesté, j'ai répondu verbalement aux deux Ambassadeurs que le Cabinet Impérial remercie leurs Gouvernements des explications qu'ils ont données, et qu'il attendra avec intérêt les propositions ultérieures qui seraient soumises à l'examen des Cabinets.

Veuillez vous exprimer dans le même sens dans vos entretiens avec Lord Granville.

M. de Giers to Prince Lobanow.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Prince Lobanow, May 30.)

(Télégraphique.)

St. Pétersbourg, le 17 Mai, 1882.

M. DE FREYCINET, dans un télégramme qui m'a été lu par l'Amiral Jaurès, signale à l'Ambassadeur de France à Constantinople l'attitude des Ministres Égyptiens démissionnaires, qui prétendent avoir l'appui du Sultan contre le Khédive et l'action étrangère. Il espère que le Sultan ne voudra pas qu'on se serve de son nom pour un acte révolutionnaire, et demande que le Sultan télégraphie au Caire pour blâmer cette manœuvre, affirmer l'autorité du Khédive, et faire venir à Constantinople Mahmoud Pacha, Arabi, et les autres, afin qu'ils expliquent leur conduite.

Lord Dufferin reçoit les mêmes instructions.

L'Amiral Jaurès réclame notre appui à Constantinople.

Je télégraphie à Onou de se concerter avec ses collègues, et de s'associer à leurs démarches, s'ils sont autorisés à appuyer cet appel à l'intervention morale du Sultan.

M. de Freycinet to M. Tissot.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by M. Tissot, May 30.)

(Télégraphique.)

Paris, le 30 Mai, 1882, 1.45 soir.

L'ESPOIR d'une solution pacifique, due uniquement à l'influence morale de nos escadres et aux bons offices de nos Agents au Caire, ne me paraît pas pouvoir être raisonnablement conservée. Dès lors il y a lieu, conformément aux prévisions de notre télégramme du 23 Mai aux Puissances, de nous concerter avec elles et avec la Turquie pour arrêter les mesures les plus propres à terminer la crise.

Le moyen le plus pratique d'opérer ce concert en perdant le moins de temps possible serait, à mon avis, de provoquer une Conférence formée des Ambassadeurs des Grandes Puissances et de la Turquie dans l'une des capitales. Cette Conférence aurait particulièrement l'avantage de régler à l'avance avec une indiscutable autorité les

conditions dans lesquelles devrait s'exercer l'emploi de moyens coercifs, si de tels moyens devenaient indispensables. Autrement il est à craindre qu'on ne soit amené brusquement à ces procédés extrêmes sans avoir la possibilité de spécifier les conditions sous lesquelles l'Angleterre, pas plus que nous, ne désirons les voir appliquer. Si Lord Granville partage ma manière de voir, je réunirai immédiatement le Conseil pour soumettre cette mesure à son approbation, de façon à ce que, dès demain, si les deux Cabinets la sanctionnaient, nous pourrions faire notre proposition à l'Europe.

Je comprends qu'aussitôt notre proposition faite le rôle de nos deux Consuls-Généraux au Caire devrait se borner à obtenir du Gouvernement Égyptien la sécurité des personnes et des transactions en s'abstenant jusqu'à nouvelles instructions de s'immiscer dans la composition ou le fonctionnement de ce Gouvernement.

No. 656.

M. Tissot to Earl Granville.—(Received May 30.)

Mon cher Comte,

Le 30 Mai, 1882.

EN réponse au télégramme par lequel je lui avez transmis votre billet d'hier, M. de Freycinet m'adresse la copie ci-dessous du télégramme qu'il vient d'envoyer au Marquis de Noailles, et qui a été arrêté en substance avec Lord Lyons, et approuvé à l'unanimité par le Conseil des Ministres :—

"D'après nos dernières informations, la Porte aurait le désir d'envoyer un navire dans les eaux d'Alexandrie. Si en effet la Porte, en vue de manifester avec plus d'éclat son accord avec nous, juge à propos d'envoyer en Égypte un navire de guerre chargé d'apporter les déclarations que nous avions demandées au Sultan de vouloir bien faire parvenir au Caire, nous ferons à ce navire l'accueil le plus amical. Vous ne manquerez par d'en donner l'assurance au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale."

M. de Freycinet ajoute qu'il a eu soin, en même temps, d'en envoyer copie à nos Ambassadeurs auprès des quatre Cours, pour qu'ils informent les Gouvernements auprès desquels ils sont accrédités.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) CH. TISSOT.

No. 657.

Mr. Cookson to Earl Granville.—(Received May 30, 8 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, May 30, 1882, 2:45 A.M.

I HAVE been requested to telegraph to your Lordship the following, signed by all the principal British merchants :—

"British residents in Alexandria call upon Her Majesty's Government to provide efficient means for the protection of their lives. During twenty-four hours from the 26th to the 27th instant the town was in continual danger of being stormed by the soldiery, who, as we believe, actually had cartridges served out, in response to their demand, to be used against Europeans. The crisis is only suspended, but all elements of danger which existed yesterday remain to-day. There is every reason to fear the recurrence of perils which will come, as before, without warning, and against which Europeans are absolutely defenceless. They have not even the means of flight, as, in order to reach the ships in the harbour, they would have to run the gauntlet through the streets. The small squadron actually in port could only silence the fire of the Egyptian forts, and when these forts are disabled then would commence a period of great danger for Europeans, who would be at the mercy of soldiers exasperated by defeat, while the English Admiral could not risk his men ashore, as his whole available force for shore operations does not exceed 300 men, although the squadron was sent here to safeguard European life and property. Every day's delay increases the dangerous temper of the soldiery and their growing defiance of discipline."

No. 658.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 30, 1 P.M.)

(No. 72.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 30, 1882, noon.

YOUR telegram No. 236 of yesterday.

M. de Freycinet has telegraphed to the French Agent not to persist in pressing the Khedive to remain at Cairo.

No. 659.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1.)

(No. 508. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 30, 1882.

IN pursuance of the instructions conveyed to me by your Lordship's telegram No. 236 of yesterday, I informed M. de Freycinet this morning that Her Majesty's Government were willing to be guided by the opinion of the French Government with regard to the instructions to be now sent to the British and French Agents at Cairo on the subject of the Khedive's desire to leave that place for Alexandria.

I added that Her Majesty's Government were themselves inclined under the new circumstances to take a middle course, and simply to instruct their Representative to abstain from pressing the Khedive to remain at Cairo.

M. de Freycinet has told me that, in accordance with these views, he has instructed the French Agent at Cairo by telegraph not to persist in pressing the Khedive to remain at Cairo.

I have had the honour to transmit to your Lordship by telegraph the substance of this despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 660.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 30, 2:30 P.M.)

(No. 175.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 30, 1882, 11:25 A.M.

ONE of the Inspectors of the Control in the provinces writes that Arabi's reinstatement is regarded by the natives as a sign that all Christians will be expelled the country, that the natives are to recover the land purchased by or mortgaged to Europeans, and that the National Debt is to be cancelled. Christians are leaving the interior in great numbers through fear. Arabi may keep order in places where troops are stationed, but, in exciting religious fanaticism, he has set in motion a movement which may at any moment get beyond his control.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

No. 661.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 304. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 30, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that one of the Inspectors of the Control, writing from the provinces, states that the reinstatement of the Minister of War is looked upon by the natives as a sign that the Christians are going to be expelled from Egypt, that they are to recover the land bought by Europeans or mortgaged to them, and that the National Debt will be cancelled.

Great numbers of Christians are leaving the interior in fear.

It may be possible for Arabi Pasha to maintain order in places where troops are

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at his command, but, in stirring up religious fanaticism, he has set on foot a movement which at any moment may pass beyond his control.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 662.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 30, 1 P.M.)

(No. 176.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 30, 1882, 11.50 A.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 156 of yesterday, repeating Lord Lyons' telegram No. 67 of 28th.

Anglo-French military intervention would array the Powers of Europe and the Porte against us. It would lead to massacres of Europeans here and in the Turkish province[s], and the agitation would spread to India. Surely it would be easy to control the action of a weak Power like the Porte, supposing her intentions to be [?]. The other Powers would willingly use their influence to assist us in this.

No. 663.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 305. Extender.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 30, 1882.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 156 of yesterday, repeating telegram No. 67 of the 28th instant from Lord Lyons, I have the honour to submit to your Lordship my fear that a military intervention of England and France in Egypt would array against us the Powers of Europe and the Porte.

It would cause massacres of Europeans both here and in the Turkish provinces, and the agitation would probably extend to India.

On the other hand, I cannot but think that the action of a weak power like Turkey, supposing its intentions to be dishonest, would not be difficult to control, and the other Powers would readily lend us their assistance for such an object, so long as we have no other intentions than those announced by us of maintaining the *status quo*.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 664.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 163.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 30, 1882, 1.20 P.M.

WE are communicating with the French as to your telegram No. 174 of 29th. In the meantime, cease to dissuade Tewfik.

No. 665.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 152. Extender.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 30, 1882.

IN your telegram No. 174 of yesterday you informed me that you had received a message from the Khedive to say that he is again anxious to go to Alexandria on account of his family, which will not leave without His Highness, and because he may at any moment be subjected, for some particular purpose, to the same pressure as was exercised upon him on the 28th instant.

I have been in communication with the French Government upon the subject of His Highness' wishes in this matter, and Her Majesty's Government have come to the

conclusion that His Highness should not be pressed to remain at Cairo. You will accordingly not continue to advise him in that sense.

The French Government have given similar instructions to M. de Sienkiewicz.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 666.

*Earl Granville to Sir E. Thornton.**

(No. 72.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 30, 1882, 2.10 P.M.

IN consequence of the representations of Admiral Sir B. Scymour, Her Majesty's Government have cancelled the order to retain the three vessels at Suda Bay. The object of their presence at Alexandria will be the same as previously described.

The English and French Governments have told the Sultan that if he will also send a vessel of war to carry the declarations which we have requested him to make at Cairo, the ship will have the most favourable reception.

Communicate this to the Government to which you are accredited.

No. 667.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 241.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 30, 1882, 2.15 P.M.

FOLLOWING from officer commanding Her Majesty's ship "Beacon" dated Port Saïd, 29th May:—

"'Tarn' left Toulon about 19th for Tunis full of troops, daily expected here. French eager to land. It has been rumoured preparations have been made."

We are satisfied with French explanations, but be careful to come to a complete understanding with M. de Freycinet in this matter, so that there may be no accidental coincidence as to arrival of troops, which may lead to remark.

No. 668.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 624. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 30, 1882.

THE following telegram has been received from the Officer commanding Her Majesty's ship "Beacon," dated Port Saïd, the 29th May:—

"'Tarn' left Toulon about 19th for Tunis, full of troops; daily expected here. French eager to land. It has been rumoured preparations made."

Her Majesty's Government are satisfied with the explanations which they have received from the French Government in regard to this affair; but your Excellency will be careful to come to a complete understanding with M. de Freycinet in this matter, so that there may be no accidental coincidence in the arrivals of troops in Egyptian waters, which might lead to remark.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 669.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 181.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 30, 1882, 2.25 P.M.

FOLLOWING telegram sent to Embassies at four Powers, in concert with French Government, for communication:—

[See No. 666.]

Tell the Sultan accordingly.

* Also to Sir H. Elliot (No. 80), Sir A. Paget (No. 78), and Lord Amthill (No. 71).

No. 670.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 243.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 30, 1882, 2.35 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 72 of to-day.
Sir E. Malet similarly instructed.

No. 671.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 626. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 30, 1882.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 72 of this day, reporting that M. de Freycinet has telegraphed to the French Agent in Egypt not to persist in pressing the Khedive to remain in Cairo.

Her Majesty's Government have instructed Sir E. Malet by telegraph in a similar sense.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 672.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 168.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 30, 1882, 2.50 P.M.

LORD LYONS' telegram No. 72 of to-day repeated to you, and my telegram to you No. 163 of to-day.

Her Majesty's Government concur, and you are instructed accordingly.

No. 673.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 30, 3 P.M.)

(No. 73.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 30, 1882, 1.15 P.M.

FRENCH Ambassador is instructed to propose to your Lordship an immediate Conference on Egyptian affairs in which the six Powers and the Porte should be represented, which should sit, not in Paris or London, but at Constantinople, or one of the other capitals, and should be composed of the resident Ambassadors.

No. 674.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1.)

(No. 510. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 30, 1882.

I LEARN from M. de Freycinet that he sends to-day by telegraph to M. Tissot, the French Ambassador in London, instructions to suggest to your Lordship that France and England shall propose immediately to the other Powers and to the Porte to assemble, as soon as possible, a Conference on Egyptian affairs. The Ambassadors will be directed to suggest that the Conference shall sit neither in Paris nor in London, but either at Constantinople or in one of the other capitals, and that it shall be composed of the resident Ambassadors.

I have had the honour to forward to your Lordship by telegraph the substance of this despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 675.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 30, 5.23 P.M.)

(No. 74.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 30, 1882, 4 P.M.

AT the request of M. de Freycinet, the Chamber of Deputies has postponed the interpellation on Egyptian affairs until Thursday, the day after to-morrow.

No. 676.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 182. Secret.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 30, 1882, 5.25 P.M.

WITH reference to Lord Lyons' telegram No. 67, I have received a very confidential representation from French Government, arguing that unless a satisfactory settlement can be effected without employing Turkish troops, an Anglo-French intervention will be inevitable.

I have told French Ambassador that I heard such a suggestion with surprise, as it was contrary to the agreement of the 12th instant, that if any troops were to be employed they should be Turkish.

The arguments used were the conduct of the Sultan and the acquiescence of Prince Bismarck. The first was not new, and I knew that Prince Bismarck had always favoured Turkish intervention, if any, as he desired peace, maintenance of *status quo*, and continuance of good understanding between England and France.

We still entertained some objections as heretofore, and were not prepared to abandon agreement of two Powers. In the meantime, would act cordially with France to try every means before having recourse to force.

No. 677.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 273. Secret. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 30, 1882.

I HAVE repeated to you a telegram from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, stating that M. de Freycinet had hinted at an Anglo-French military intervention in Egypt; and I now inclose, for your Excellency's information, copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Lord Lyons, recording a conversation which I have held to-day with the French Ambassador on this subject, when I reminded his Excellency of the objections entertained by Her Majesty's Government to such a course.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 678.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 244.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 30, 1882, 7.40 P.M.

AS soon as I received your telegram No. 73, I requested Mr. Gladstone, who is a short distance out of town, to summon the Cabinet for to-morrow.

I have since told French Ambassador, who brought me M. de Freycinet's proposal, that I could give no official answer till I have consulted my colleagues, but that, personally, I anticipate that their decision will be in favour of a Conference at Constantinople.

We have always desired to obtain the concurrence of Europe, and believe that the proposal for a Conference will be advantageous to England and France, and conducive to a solution of the questions at issue.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 633. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 30, 1882.

I HAVE to state to your Excellency that, as soon as I received your telegram No. 73 of to-day's date, stating that M. Tissot had been instructed to propose an immediate Conference on Egyptian affairs, I requested Mr. Gladstone, who is a short distance out of town, to summon the Cabinet for to-morrow.

I have since informed the French Ambassador, who brought me M. de Freycinet's proposal, that I could return no official answer to it until I have consulted my colleagues, but that personally I anticipate that their decision will be in favour of a Conference at Constantinople.

Her Majesty's Government have always desired to obtain the concurrence of Europe in any steps which the present crisis in Egypt might appear to render necessary, and they believe that the proposal for a Conference will be advantageous to England and France, and conducive to a solution of the questions at issue.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 625.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 30, 1882.

I MENTIONED to M. Tissot this morning the surprise I had felt at reading, in a report from your Excellency of a conversation you had had with M. de Freycinet, that the latter had intimated a withdrawal from the agreement entered into on the 12th of this month, that, if armed interference in Egypt should unfortunately become necessary, recourse would be had to Turkish troops, and that M. de Freycinet had suggested the substitution of an Anglo-French force.

The arguments used for so complete a change of policy were two—the conduct of the Sultan, who was at the bottom of all the troubles in Egypt, and the fact that Prince Bismarck would not object to an Anglo-French occupation if they acted as mandatories of Europe.

I said that, whatever suspicions may have existed as to the Sultan's conduct in Egypt, they were not new, and the truth was not more proved now than it had previously been—that Prince Bismarck had acted a friendly and straightforward part with regard to England and France; but that I had reason to believe that his opinion had always been in favour of Turkish intervention rather than European, and I had reason to know that one of his objections to Anglo-French occupation was as follows: He had been accused of wishing to disunite England and France; that his wish was, on the contrary, for peace, and for the maintenance of the *status quo* in Egypt; and that he thought a joint occupation by the English and French would eventually lead to complications between the two countries.

Be this as it may, we retained the objections which the French Government and ourselves entertained a few days ago to any such joint occupation. We adhered to our belief that Turkish armed intervention would be least objectionable of all the moves which had been proposed; and I reminded M. Tissot that there were exigencies of public opinion in England as well as in France; that we were not prepared to abandon the agreement at which we had so happily arrived. In the meantime, we would act cordially with the French in exhausting every possible means of success before recourse was had to force.

M. Tissot was not aware of what had passed between your Excellency and M. de Freycinet, and was therefore unable to go fully into the matter. I told him that I should inform your Excellency of what I had stated to him.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

*Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.**

(No. 174.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 30, 1882.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a copy of a despatch from Lord Lyons, inclosing a copy of a telegram from M. de Freycinet to the French Ambassador at Constantinople, dated the 28th instant, in regard to the present crisis in Egypt, and which has been repeated to the four Great Courts.†

I also inclose a copy of my reply to Lord Lyons pointing out that I had already telegraphed in the same sense to Her Majesty's Ambassadors.‡

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Confidential.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 30, 1882.

I AM directed by Earl Granville to request that you will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that in consequence of the representations made to their Lordships by Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour in his telegram of yesterday, that Alexandria is under the control of the military party, that earthworks are being built abreast of Her Majesty's ship "Invincible," and that he considers an increase of the naval force at that port desirable, Her Majesty's Government have determined to cancel the order under which three of the vessels of the Royal Navy, originally directed to proceed to Alexandria, were retained at Suda Bay. I am accordingly to request that you will move their Lordships to give directions that those three vessels proceed at once to Alexandria.

The French Government have given orders that three of the French vessels at Suda Bay should likewise proceed to Alexandria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received May 30, 9 P.M.)

(No. 37.)

(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, May 30, 1882, 6 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 75.

Count Kalnoky considers that the change which has taken place in the appearance of things in Egypt may perhaps make it undesirable to advise the Sultan to order the military chiefs to come to Constantinople, as they would probably refuse to obey. He is, however, sending instructions to the Austrian Ambassador authorizing him to join his colleagues in giving the Porte such advice as they may consider best calculated to support the Khedive and maintain the *status quo*.

The instructions will give the Ambassador latitude to act with his colleagues for this object without losing time by referring here.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5.)

(No. 243. Extender.)

My Lord,

Vienna, May 30, 1882.

UPON the receipt of your Lordship's telegram No. 75 of the 28th instant, I at once communicated the substance of it to Count Kalnoky, expressing the hope that he

* Also to Lord Amthill, No. 220 A; Sir H. Elliot, No. 152; Sir E. Thornton, No. 175; the Earl of Dufferin, No. 274; and Sir E. Malet, No. 153.

† No. 620.

‡ No. 645.

would instruct the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Constantinople to concur in the advice which it was proposed to give to the Sultan.

His Excellency told me this afternoon that he was quite disposed to encourage the Sultan to concur in taking any steps calculated to give support to the Khedive, and to maintain the *status quo*, but the accounts received from Egypt since the date of your Lordship's telegram made him doubt whether it would be desirable to recommend the Sultan to summon the military chiefs to Constantinople, with the probability of the order being disregarded.

He proposed, therefore, to send Baron Calice instructions which, while leaving him latitude upon that point, would enable him to associate himself with his colleagues in giving the advice which might be judged advisable, without losing time by referring to Vienna.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 685.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received May 30, 9 P.M.)

(No. 38.)
(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, May 30, 1882, 6:30 P.M.

THE French Ambassador is instructed to communicate to the Minister for Foreign Affairs a telegram to their Ambassador at Constantinople, directing him to state to the Porte that they had been informed of the wish of the Sultan to send an iron-clad to Egypt, and that they had no objection to his doing so for the purpose of conveying the intimation he had been invited to make, and that they would cordially receive a vessel sent with this object.

My colleague expected that I should have received a similar instruction.

No. 686.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5.)

(No. 245. Extender.)

My Lord,

Vienna, May 30, 1882.

I AM informed by my French colleague that he is instructed to communicate to Count Kalnoky a telegram from his Government to their Ambassador at Constantinople, directing him to state to the Porte that they had been informed of the wish of the Sultan to send an iron-clad to Alexandria, and that they had no objection to his doing so, and that a vessel sent with this object would be cordially received.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 687.

Mr. Ford to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31.)

(No. 77.)

My Lord,

Athens, May 24, 1882.

M. TRICOUPPI informed me to-day that he had heard by telegraph from M. Condouriotis, the Greek Minister at Constantinople, that Saïd Pasha had spoken to him with regard to the Greek vessels of war that had been sent to Alexandria, and that Saïd Pasha had characterized their dispatch to that port as "inopportune."

M. Tricoupi informed me that he had received a visit yesterday from Tewfik Bey, the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires at Athens, who, under instructions from his Government, had conveyed to him a similar representation to that made by Saïd Pasha to M. Condouriotis.

Tewfik Bey expressed his surprise to M. Tricoupi that the Greek Government should have sent ships of war to Alexandria when other Powers, with the exception of England and France, had not adopted such a course.

M. Tricoupi assured Tewfik Bey that the Turkish Government need feel no

alarm as to the motives that had induced the Greek Government to dispatch a couple of their ships to Alexandria, and that it was not surprising that other nations (England and France excepted) had abstained from sending ships to that port. The interests of England and France in Egypt were paramount, and the other Great Powers had more or less delegated to them the task of keeping order in that country. The case of Greece, M. Tricoupi said, was a peculiar one, owing to the large number of persons of Greek nationality residing at Alexandria, and which far exceeded that of any other foreign nation. The commercial interests of Greece in Egypt were also very great, and of immense importance. But the interests of Greece in Egypt did not partake of a political character, and that, consequently, the dispatch of Greek ships of war to Alexandria for the simple purpose of protecting, if necessary, the lives and property of Greek subjects at a critical moment, when grave fears were entertained of disturbances breaking out, could be open to no misconception or misunderstanding. M. Tricoupi therefore informed the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires that he could not, under the circumstances, consider the course that had been adopted by the Greek Government as "inopportune." He likewise reminded Tewfik Bey that on former occasions, at periods of great political excitement in Greece, Turkey had not hesitated to send ships of war to Greek waters. M. Tricoupi added that the Greek ships would be instructed to remain at Alexandria so long as any danger was threatened to the lives and property of Greek subjects; but that the moment the present crisis in Egypt was over the ships would be immediately recalled.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS CLARE FORD.

No. 688.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31.)

(No. 500. Very Confidential. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 28, 1882.

SINCE I sent off the telegram of which the substance is given in my despatch No. 494 of to-day I have received and communicated to M. de Freycinet your Lordship's telegram No. 221 of this afternoon, from which it appears that your Lordship has already sent to the Earl of Dufferin instructions very similar to those which M. de Freycinet is sending to the Marquis de Noailles, the French Ambassador at Constantinople, respecting Egyptian affairs.

M. de Freycinet will communicate by telegraph to the French Representatives at Berlin, Rome, St. Petersburg, and Vienna his instructions to the Marquis de Noailles, and direct them to invite the concurrence of the Governments to which they are accredited.

He has given me a copy of the instructions to the Marquis de Noailles, and I send a copy to your Lordship by post this evening.

M. de Freycinet appears to attach some importance to the preamble of these instructions, on the ground that it places his application to the Sultan in the point of view from which he considers it important that it should be regarded by the French Chambers. I think, therefore, that he would be gratified if your Lordship were to repeat the text to the English Representatives at the five Courts, with some expression of your concurrence in it.

M. de Freycinet has informed me very confidentially that in a private and confidential telegram, which will not be repeated to the other Ambassadors, he authorizes the Marquis de Noailles to acquiesce, in case of their being a real necessity for him to do so, in the Sultan's sending his orders by an officer, and not only by telegraph.

I have forwarded to your Lordship by telegraph the substance of this despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 689.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31, 11:58 A.M.)(No. 33.)
(Telegraphic.)*Rome, May 31, 1882, 11:40 A.M.*

I HAVE communicated to Minister for Foreign Affairs your Lordship's telegram No. 78 of yesterday, announcing order of three more ships to Alexandria, and communication to Sultan respecting a Turkish vessel.

No. 690.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31, 12:30 P.M.)(No. 114.)
(Telegraphic.)*Constantinople, May 31, 1882, 11 A.M.*

YESTERDAY the Council of Ministers submitted a unanimous "Mazbata" to the Sultan, recommending the dispatch of a Commissioner to Egypt in a Turkish iron-clad, accompanied by a consort, but not carrying troops. His Majesty said he would defer his answer till to-day.

The Sultan, imagining that he can now play the part of "deus ex machina," is inclined to show his resentment at the way in which he was enjoined not to intervene at the commencement of the Egyptian troubles by now refusing to act at the instance of the two Powers.

A suggestion has been ostentatiously promulgated that the withdrawal of the allied fleet should be a preliminary condition to the dispatch of a Turkish Commissioner.

No. 691.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31, 4 P.M.)(No. 115.)
(Telegraphic.)*Constantinople, May 31, 1882, 3:15 P.M.*

THE Ambassadors of the four Powers have repaired to the Porte for the purpose of making representations similar to those made by my French colleague and myself on Monday, as instructed by your Lordship in your telegram No. 176 of the 28th instant.

No. 692.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31, 4:45 P.M.)(No. 177.)
(Telegraphic.)*Cairo, May 31, 1882, 3:30 P.M.*

THE situation is unchanged.

The military are obtaining by threats signatures to a petition urging the deposition of the Khedive. The President of the Chamber has dismissed the Deputies to their homes to save them from being compelled to sign. There are signs that some of the officers would fall away from Arabi if they had anything to rally round. Were it supposed that the Turkish Commissioner was accompanied by even a small force, the battle would be half gained.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 693.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)(No. 306. Extender of Telegram No. 177.)
My Lord,*Cairo, May 31, 1882.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that there is no change in the situation here. The officers are obtaining by threats signatures to a petition praying for the Khedive's deposition.

In order to save the Representatives from being compelled to sign this document, the President of the Chamber has requested them to go to their homes.

Some of the officers show signs of being ready to fall away from Arabi Pasha, if they had a rallying point.

I venture to offer an opinion that if it were known that the Turkish Commission was supported even by a small force, the victory would already be half won.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 694.

*Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.**(No. 84.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, May 31, 1882, 6:5 P.M.*

WITH reference to Lord Lyons' telegram No. 73, repeated to you yesterday, I have informed the French Ambassador that the Cabinet have decided to accept the proposal of the French Government, and did so all the more readily as it was in conformity with the views which they had joined the French Government in expressing to the Powers.

Her Majesty's Government accepted Constantinople as the capital for the Conference, and proposed that the basis of the negotiations should be the principles laid down in their Circular of the 11th February, viz. :—

The maintenance of the rights of the Sovereign and of the Khedive; of international engagements, and the arrangement existing under them, whether with England and France alone or with those two nations and the other Powers; the preservation of the liberties secured by the Firmans of the Sultan; together with the prudent development of Egyptian institutions.

You will communicate the above to the Government to which you are accredited.

No. 695.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31, 6:10 P.M.)(No. 38.)
(Telegraphic.)*Berlin, May 31, 1882, 5:55 P.M.*

YOUR Lordship's No. 66 of the 28th instant.

Prince Bismarck concurs in the request of Her Majesty's Government and that of France, and has sent instructions to German Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople to advise the Sultan to support the Khedive and order the military chiefs at Cairo to come to Constantinople.

No. 696.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5.)(No. 194. Extender.)
My Lord,*Berlin, May 31, 1882.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 192 of the 29th instant, I am informed by the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that Prince Bismarck has sent instructions to the German Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople to support the Ambassadors of England and France in advising the Sultan to stand by the Khedive and order the military chiefs at Cairo to come and explain their conduct at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AMPTHILL.

* Also to Lord Ampthill (No. 75), Sir A. Paget (No. 82), the Earl of Dufferin (No. 185), and Sir E. Thornton (No. 76).

No. 697.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 638. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 31, 1882.

M. TISSOT asked me to-day what were the views of Her Majesty's Government as to the mode of intervention in Egypt.

I said that I presumed that this would have to be discussed at the Conference, but that the views of Her Majesty's Government remained the same as had been stated in the proposals of the French Government of the 12th instant, to which they had signified their assent.

M. Tissot asked me to omit this portion of my answer in communicating to the other Powers the assent of Her Majesty's Government to the proposals respecting a Conference, as his question had only been a personal one.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 698.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.

(No. 226. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 31, 1882.

I HAVE informed the German Ambassador of the proposal of the French Government for a Conference on the affairs of Egypt, and of its acceptance by Her Majesty's Government on the terms mentioned in my telegram to your Excellency of this day's date.

Count Münster told me that he believed Prince Bismarck would agree to the proposal. His Excellency added that he thought it a very good expedient for covering the change of policy on the part of the French Government in regard to the admissibility of Turkish intervention.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 699.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 153. Confidential.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 31, 1882.

I INFORMED the Austrian Ambassador this afternoon that the French Government had proposed a Conference on the Egyptian question, and that Her Majesty's Government had accepted the proposal in the terms mentioned in my telegram to your Excellency No. 84 of this day's date.

Count Károlyi expressed his satisfaction at this announcement, and offered me his congratulations on what he considered a successful result of the policy of Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 700.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 158.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 31, 1882.

IN the course of my conversation with the Austrian Ambassador this afternoon on the subject of Egypt, I asked his Excellency whether I was right in supposing that, if measures of coercion became necessary, the Austrian Government were in favour of the employment of Turkish troops under strict limitation and control.

Count Károlyi answered in the affirmative.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 701.

E*Earl Granville to Sir E. Thornton.*

(No. 176.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 31, 1882.

I INFORMED the Russian Ambassador this afternoon of the proposal of the French Government for a Conference on Egyptian affairs, and of its acceptance by Her Majesty's Government on the terms which have been forwarded to you by telegraph.

Prince Lobanow said that he felt sure that his Government would acquiesce. His Excellency observed that the proposal seemed to him a good one in itself; that it was in accordance with the policy by which Her Majesty's Government had throughout declared themselves to be guided, and he added that the plan of procedure should be an advantageous one for England, who would be relieved by it from some difficulty. He said that as the objects of Her Majesty's Government were open and avowed, they had everything to gain by negotiations and discussions in which there was no occasion or opportunity for concealment.

He added that it would be a great relief to the Powers of Europe, who desired peace, and were apprehensive of some adventurous stroke which might create great complications.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 702.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 178.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 31, 1882, 8 P.M.

ACT according to your discretion, and after communication with your French colleague, if the Khedive goes to Alexandria.

No. 703.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 154. Extender of Telegram No. 178.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 31, 1882.

I HAVE this day informed you by telegraph that in the event of the Khedive determining to withdraw to Alexandria you are at liberty to act according to your discretion, after communicating with the French Agent.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 704.

Mr. Ford to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31, 10 P.M.)

(No. 16.)

(Telegraphic.)

Athens, May 31, 1882, 2.36 P.M.

M. TRICOUPI hinted to me this morning that he had heard last Monday evening from the Greek Consul-General at Cairo, who stated that, in spite of Arabi Bey's appointment as Minister, fears were entertained lest disturbances should break out, and the English and French squadrons be fired upon by the forts. He asked, should such an event take place, what the Greek ships were to do. M. Tricoupi replied that he should consult Sir E. Malet as to the best course to pursue, and that in the event of the Admiral in command expressing a desire that the Greek ships should co-operate with the allied squadrons, the wish should be complied with.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31, 10 P.M.)

(No. 178.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, May 31, 1882, 4:30 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 171 of yesterday, repeating Lord Lyons' No. 244 of same date.

(Very Confidential.)

It should be taken into account that at the present moment, although the Under-Secretaries of State are intrusted with the business of their Departments, all work is at a standstill except at the Ministry of War. The country generally is in a state of panic. *A fortiori*, collisions between Mussulmans and Christians might occur at any moment. This state of affairs can hardly last until the Egyptian question is settled by a Conference. The suppression of the military dictatorship is of immediate and vital necessity; and when that is done, there would be little necessity for [? it], as a strong Government favourable to the *status quo* could be easily formed. If a Conference is accepted as a means of promoting harmony, the departure of the Commissioner should not be delayed on account of it.

No. 706.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(No. 307. Very Confidential. Extender of Telegram No. 178.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 31, 1882.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 171 of yesterday, repeating Lord Lyons' telegram No. 244 of same date, I have the honour to submit to your Lordship that it is worthy to be remembered that, although at the present moment the Under-Secretaries of State are entrusted with the business of their several Departments, work is actually at a standstill, excepting at the War Ministry. The whole country is labouring under a panic, and a collision might occur at any moment between the Moslems and the Christians. This is a state of affairs which can hardly be expected to continue until the Egyptian question is solved by a Conference. It is of immediate and vital importance that the military dictatorship should be broken, and when this has been done there would exist little necessity for the Conference, since it would be easy to form a strong Government favourable to the *status quo*.

I would venture to suggest that, if a Conference be agreed upon as a method of producing harmony between all the Powers, the departure of the Turkish Commission should not, on that account, be delayed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 707.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31, 10 P.M.)

(No. 75.)
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 31, 1882, 6:45 P.M.

M. DE FREYCINET is much disturbed by a telegram which he has just received stating that five English ships have sailed from Suda with sealed orders.

He says he instructed the French Ambassador by telegraph yesterday morning to inform your Lordship that the French Government thought it inadvisable to send any more ships to Alexandria, that the French Admiral had not asked for reinforcements, and that the French Consul-General reported that the arrival of any fresh ships would produce a very bad effect.

He begs me to ask your Lordship whether some means could not still be found of intercepting the English ships before they actually reach Alexandria. He declares that the effect on public opinion here of the English force being increased there, and outnumbering the French, will be extremely unfavourable.

I mentioned to him the substance of your Lordship's telegram to the Powers of yesterday, repeated in your telegram No. 242 to me. He says he has not sent any similar telegram.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31, 10 P.M.)

(No. 76.)
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 31, 1882, 6:40 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 625 of yesterday.

I have repeated this morning to M. de Freycinet the remarks on his conversation with me about Turkish and Anglo-French intervention made by your Lordship to the French Ambassador. He says that he does not consider that the conversation with me at all weakened the accord of the two Governments as to the intervention; that his intention in speaking to me in the way he did was simply to ascertain your Lordship's opinion on the new considerations he suggested; and that he did not at all mean to be understood as breaking off the accord without your concurrence.

No. 709.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31, 10 P.M.)

(No. 77.)
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 31, 1882, 7 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 241 of yesterday.

M. de Freycinet repeated to me this afternoon the assurance that there was no foundation whatever for the rumours of troops having been sent to Port Saïd; but in order to prevent all chance of accident, he wrote in my presence a note to the Minister of Marine, requesting him to send positive orders that, in case of transports arriving by any chance at Port Saïd with troops on board, the troops shall not be landed there, or at any other point in Egypt, on any pretext.

No. 710.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31, 10 P.M.)

(No. 78.)
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 31, 1882, 7:10 P.M.

THE text of a telegram to the Powers and to the Porte proposing the Conference is sent to the French Ambassador by telegraph, with an instruction to submit it to you, and, if you concur in it, to suggest that the telegram be sent off immediately from Paris and London. It very much resembles the note given you by the Ambassador.

No. 711.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1.)

E
(No. 166.)
My Lord,

Rome, May 29, 1882.

WHEN I saw M. Mancini last evening he referred to the identic communication, dated the 23rd instant, from the English and French Governments, in which the reasons are stated for sending the combined squadrons to Egypt without previous consultation with the Powers, further explanations being given respecting the policy of the two Powers, and their intention announced, if, contrary to their expectation, a pacific solution cannot be obtained, of concerting with the other Powers and with Turkey on the further measures to be taken.

In expressing his satisfaction at this communication, M. Mancini informed me that, with reference to the last paragraph of it, and in view of the rapidity with which events succeeded each other in Egypt, he had that morning sent an instruction to the Italian Ambassadors at Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Vienna, suggesting whether it would not be desirable, seeing the length of time which must necessarily be occupied by intercommunications between the six Powers and the Porte, that the English and French Governments should be asked to make known the measures which they had in contemplation with the other Powers and the Porte in the event, which he sincerely trusted might not occur, of the present action of the two Powers not being successful in securing a pacific solution.

His sole object, he said, was that the Powers and the Porte should not be taken

unawares, and that they might be at once prepared to give effect to their views in case the necessity should arise.

I understood his Excellency to say that a repetition of his telegram to the Embassies above named had been sent to London and Paris.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 712.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1.)

E
(No. 167.)
My Lord,

Rome, May 29, 1882.

IMMEDIATELY on the receipt, yesterday afternoon, of your Lordship's telegram No. 73, stating the measures which it was most desirable that the Sultan should lose no time in taking for the support of the Khedive as against the fallen Ministry, the three military chiefs, and the ex-President of the Council, I went to M. Mancini to communicate its substance and to ask the concurrence of the Italian Government in advising the adoption by the Sultan of the measures suggested.

I was unable to find his Excellency until about 8 o'clock, at his house. He at first seemed to think it would be necessary for him to communicate with the other Powers before taking any action in the sense desired; but on my speaking of the pressing nature of the case, his Excellency, without further hesitation, said that he would that evening telegraph to Count Corti the substance of your Lordship's telegram, of which he desired M. Malvano, who was present, to take a note, and desire him to give the same advice to the Sultan if the Ambassadors of the other Powers had also received instructions to do so.

The French Chargé d'Affaires has called upon me this morning and showed me a telegram he has received from his Government on the same subject. It repeats a telegram addressed by M. de Freycinet to the Marquis de Noailles, in which reference is made to certain communications received at Cairo from Constantinople, which have led to the impression in Egypt that the Sultan takes part with the fallen Ministry and the military chiefs against the Khedive. Confidence is expressed that this impression is entirely contrary to the intentions of the Sultan, and the Marquis de Noailles is therefore instructed to get the Sultan, without a moment's delay, to support the authority of the Khedive, to disapprove the accusations of the late Ministry against the Khedive, and to require the military chiefs and the ex-President of the Council to come to Constantinople to render an account of their attitude and conduct.

M. de Reverseaux only received this telegram late in the night or early this morning, and he is to have an interview with M. Mancini this afternoon, to acquaint him with its contents, and to ask him to send instructions to the Italian Ambassador at Constantinople to support the advice now given.

I have informed M. de Reverseaux of the instructions which I received from your Lordship yesterday, and with the reply which I received from M. Mancini, as above reported, upon communicating to him my instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 713.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1.)

(No. 520.)
My Lord,

Paris, May 31, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship an article on the affairs of Egypt which has appeared this morning in the "République Française."

It declares in very strong terms that France ought to resist all Turkish intervention; "Il faut maintenir," it says, "l'indépendance de l'Égypte, en interdisant l'approche aux Commissaires aussi bien qu'aux troupes du Sultan."

After stating in glowing terms the disastrous consequences to France of losing her position in Egypt, it concludes with the following paragraph:—

"Qu'a donc fait notre pays pour mériter un pareil sort? Cette fois-ci il n'est vraiment pas coupable, ou s'il l'est, c'est d'avoir accordé sa confiance à un Ministre imprévoyant, irrésolu, incapable."

The interpellation on the Egyptian question in the Chamber of Deputies is to come on to-morrow, and the appearance, on the eve of it, of such an article in the newspaper which is M. Gambetta's organ has naturally made a very great sensation here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 713.

Extract from the "République Française" of June 1, 1882

Paris, le 31 Mai.

VERS la fin de l'Empire on rencontrait des jeunes gens dépourvus de préjugés qui, n'ayant pas été témoins du coup d'État, ne savaient trop, disaient-ils, qui avait eu tort au 2 Décembre, des Républicains ou du Bonaparte; se vantant d'une impartialité qui leur coûtait peu, ils déclaraient vouloir agir comme si l'histoire de France avait commencé le jour même de leur majorité. Clément Duvernois fut le plus illustre de ces sages et magnanimes jeunes gens. Ce qui se passe et ce qui se dit depuis quelques jours nous rappelle hélas! Clément Duvernois. À chaque pas, on entend dans le monde politique, bien plus que dans le monde des affaires, des hommes importants, qui ne sont pas tous jeunes, s'écrier avec dédain: "L'Égypte? Qu'est-ce que l'Égypte? Nous datons, nous, de 1870, et par conséquent nous ne connaissons en fait d'affaires étrangères qu'une question: celle de la frontière de l'Est. Pourvu qu'elle ne soit pas menacée, pourvu que M. de Bismarck ne nous désigne pas à ses Allemands comme une proie sur laquelle ils peuvent se ruer, nous nous soucions du reste de la planète autant que de cela!" Et ils font le geste bien connu d'Orgon, le digne père de famille.

Faut-il donc raconter à ces Orgons de la politique ce qu'est l'Égypte pour la France depuis bientôt un demi-siècle? Lorsqu'en 1840 Méhémet Ali leva contre le Sultan l'étendard de la révolte, prétendant se créer un Empire qui aurait annexé à la vallée du Nil et la Syrie, et l'Arabie, et l'île de Crète, l'Égypte était déjà une terre fécondée par le travail et l'industrie d'une colonie Française. Sa cause était si bien notre cause, que depuis l'opposition Républicaine jusqu'à Thiers, alors Ministre, et Guizot, alors Ambassadeur à Londres, jusqu'à Louis-Philippe, le pays tout entier se prononça en sa faveur. S'il avait triomphé, notre influence devenait absolument prépondérante en Orient. Cela était évident, et voilà précisément ce qui inquiéta l'ambition Russe, qui voulait se tailler dans la dépouille de la Turquie la part du lion, et la caduque Autriche qui, craignant tout ébranlement dans son voisinage, tenait à retarder la chute de l'Empire Ottoman, et l'Angleterre, toujours jalouse de la France, dans la Méditerranée. Elles s'entendirent à notre insu pour défendre le Sultan contre son sujet. M. Thiers, avec un vif sentiment du rôle que doit jouer la France dans le monde, voulait relever le gant. Il fut abandonné par Louis-Philippe, trahi par Guizot, et la France eut l'humiliation de voir l'Europe expulser notre protégé de toutes ses conquêtes. Louis-Philippe, il faut avoir le courage de le dire, commit une faute énorme. À partir de ce moment, l'établissement de Juillet perdit tout son prestige au dedans comme au dehors, et les hommes d'État intelligents, tel que Lord Palmerston, se mirent à compter ses jours.

Et pourtant, telle était la nécessité de l'indépendance de l'Égypte, que Méhémet Ali, quoique abandonné par nous, et vaincu par les escadres combinées de l'Angleterre et de l'Autriche, finit par obtenir une paix honorable qui lui donnait la vallée du Nil à titre héréditaire et transformait la souveraineté Ottomane en une suzeraineté presque nominale. C'est que l'Angleterre se rangea à la fin de notre côté. Elle, qui redoutait Méhémet Ali à la tête d'un Empire s'étendant jusqu'au Golfe Persique, elle le préférerait, simple gardien de la Mer Rouge, au chef trop puissant et à la fois trop peu sûr des Osmanlis. Il en résulta entre elle et nous une communauté d'intérêts qui fut parfois une alliance intime et qui, sauf de très rares et très courtes exceptions, ne laissa jamais de place à un mauvais vouloir de part ni d'autre. C'est l'indépendance de l'Égypte qui, depuis quarante ans, forme le lien le plus puissant entre le Gouvernement de la Reine Victoria et les divers Gouvernements qui se sont succédé en France.

Ainsi, très grands intérêts de très nombreux Français en Égypte et occasion continuelle de relations cordiales avec l'Angleterre, voilà d'abord ce qui donne à cette question une importance considérable. Mais il y a plus. L'Égypte est, géographiquement parlant, le centre du monde Musulman, le pont qui joint les Turcs d'Europe ou d'Asie, et les Arabes d'Arabie, et les Maures d'Afrique. Ce n'est guère

que par l'Égypte que ces trois groupes communiquent. Rien ne peut passer de l'un à l'autre que par l'Isthme de Suez et la Vallée du Nil, pas plus les mots d'ordre du fanatisme que les germes du choléra, ainsi que nous le montrions l'autre jour. Que l'Égypte retombe aux mains du Sultan, et le flot du Panislamisme, dont Abdul-Hamid est le représentant passionné, s'étend immédiatement sur toute l'Afrique. Le désert entre en ébullition et se précipite sur la Tunisie et l'Algérie. Donc, de deux choses l'une : Ou bien il faut maintenir l'indépendance de l'Égypte, en interdire l'approche aux Commissaires aussi bien qu'aux troupes du Sultan ; ou bien il faut nous préparer à faire face en Afrique au plus redoutable soulèvement dont nous ayons encore été témoins. Que de troupes il faudra mobiliser parce que nous aurons eu peur de débarquer à Alexandrie quelques compagnies d'infanterie de marine !

En perdant l'Égypte, car la livrer au Turc c'est la perdre, nous perdons en outre notre influence dans la Méditerranée. Au delà de Gabès, on cessera de compter avec nous. L'Angleterre qui est si loin de la Méditerranée y possédera Gibraltar, Malte, Chypre ; elle aura la haute main sur le Canal de Suez, jusqu'au jour où la dislocation de l'Empire Ottoman lui donnera bien plus et bien mieux. Ce jour-là, condamnés à une irrémédiable décadence, nous nous demanderons s'il ne faut pas évacuer Constantinople et Oran pour nous concentrer à Alger. . . .

S'il est des Français que cette perspective laisse indifférents, nous avouons que nous elle nous exaspère. Quoi ! après les désastres de 1870, juste expiation peut-être du régime Impérial, nous devons voir, sans raison aucune, notre pays dépouillé de ce qu'il lui reste de plus précieux en dehors de ses étroites frontières continentales ! Il va perdre son alliance unique, car qu'est-ce donc qui nous attachera encore à l'Angleterre ? Il va perdre les droits très certains qu'il possède en Égypte, et dont M. Waddington avait exigé, le 4 Juin, 1878, la reconnaissance formelle avant de se rendre au Congrès de Berlin. Il va perdre son principal boulevard contre les agressions du fanatisme Musulman, et par conséquent la sécurité de ses possessions Africaines qui lui ont coûté tant de sang. Il va perdre son influence légitime sur la mer dont il possède 1,200 kilom. de côtes. Il va tomber au rang de dernière ou avant-dernière Grande Puissance. Et il se trouve des publicistes Anglais pour nous dire que la question d'Égypte n'a pour nous qu'un intérêt sentimental, et, ce qui est odieux, il se trouve des Français, jusque dans la Chambre, dit-on, qui répètent ce propos méprisant !

Qu'a donc fait notre pays pour mériter un pareil sort ? Cette fois-ci, il n'est vraiment pas coupable, ou, s'il l'est, c'est d'avoir accordé sa confiance à un Ministre imprévoyant, irrésolu, incapable.

No. 714.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 154. Ext. 178.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 31, 1882.

I HAVE this day informed you by telegraph that, in the event of the Khedive determining to withdraw to Alexandria, you are at liberty to act according to your discretion after communicating with the French Agent.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 715.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 515. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 31, 1882.

I REPEATED to M. de Freycinet this afternoon the substance of the telegram dated yesterday, in which your Lordship directed Her Majesty's Representatives at the four Great Courts to inform the Governments to which they are accredited that Her Majesty's Government had cancelled the order to retain the three British ships of war at Suda Bay, and that the French and English Governments had informed the Porte that if the Sultan would, on his part, send a vessel of war to Egypt to carry the declarations they had requested His Majesty to make at Cairo, that vessel would have a most favourable reception.

While we were talking, a telegram was brought to M. de Freycinet, stating that five English ships had sailed from Suda Bay with sealed orders.

M. de Freycinet appeared to be perplexed and annoyed by this intelligence.

He had, he said, sent the morning before to the French Ambassador in London instructions to inform your Lordship that the French Government thought it unadvisable to send any more ships to Alexandria, inasmuch as the French Admiral had not asked for reinforcements, and as the Agent and Consul-General had reported that the arrival of fresh ships would produce a very bad effect.

His Excellency observed that a very unfavourable impression would be made upon public opinion in France by an increase which would cause the English ships to outnumber the French, and he begged me to ask your Lordship whether some means could not be found of intercepting the English ships before they actually reached Alexandria.

Finally, M. de Freycinet told me that no addition had been made to the three French ships originally sent to Alexandria, and that no telegram similar to that of your Lordship which I had mentioned had been sent by him to the French Ambassadors at the Four Courts.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

I have forwarded the substance of this despatch to your Lordship by telegraph.
L.

No. 716.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 517. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 31, 1882.

I HAD this morning the honour to receive the despatch of yesterday, marked No. 625, in which your Lordship has given me an account of a conversation you had had with M. Tissot respecting the observations made to me by M. de Freycinet on the subject of having recourse to Anglo-French rather than Turkish troops to restore order in Egypt.

I repeated the contents of your Lordship's despatch this afternoon to M. de Freycinet.

His Excellency said that in interpreting the observations he had made to me in a very confidential conversation, as a withdrawal from the agreement of the 12th instant respecting the employment of Turkish troops, your Lordship had entirely misapprehended his meaning.

He had spoken to me freely and confidentially, in order that the considerations he had suggested might be submitted to your Lordship's judgment, but he had not, he assured me, at all meant to be understood as designing to break off the previous accord without your Lordship's concurrence.

I have forwarded the substance of this despatch to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 717.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 519. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 31, 1882.

IN your telegram No. 241 of yesterday, your Lordship informed me that the commanding officer of Her Majesty's ship "Beacon" again reported from Port Saïd that a large French transport full of troops was expected at that place.

On my mentioning this to M. de Freycinet this afternoon, he repeated to me the assurance that there was no foundation whatever for these rumours of French troops having being sent to Port Saïd.

He would, however, he said, take steps to guard against any possible accident ; and accordingly he wrote in my presence a letter to the Minister of Marine, requesting

him to send positive orders that in case of transports arriving by any chance at Port Saïd with troops on board the troops should not, on any pretext whatever, be landed either at that port or at any other point in Egypt.

I have had the honour to forward to your Lordship the substance of this despatch by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 718.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 522. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 31, 1882.

M. DE FREYCINET was so good as to read to me this morning the draft of a telegram proposing the Conference on the affairs of Egypt, which he had prepared for transmission to the Representatives of France and England at the four Great Courts and at the Porte.

The telegram resembled in substance the *note verbale* on the subject which was presented to your Lordship by M. Tissot, the French Ambassador in London, and of which you did me the honour to send me a copy in your despatch No. 632 of yesterday.

M. de Freycinet told me that he should send the full text of his draft immediately to M. Tissot, with an instruction to him to submit it to your Lordship, and if you approved it, to suggest to you that the telegram should be sent off from London and Paris immediately.

I have had the honour to transmit to your Lordship by telegraph the substance of this despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 719.

M. Tissot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1.)

Mon cher Comte,

Le 31 Mai, 1882.

M. DE FREYCINET me charge de soumettre à votre acceptation le projet ci-dessous de télégramme identique à envoyer aux Ambassadeurs d'Angleterre et de France à Berlin, Vienne, St. Pétersbourg, Rome, et Constantinople :—

"L'espoir d'une solution pacifique des difficultés Égyptiennes, due uniquement à l'influence morale de nos escadres et aux bons offices de nos Agents au Caire, ne paraît pas pouvoir être raisonnablement conservée plus longtemps. Le moment semble donc venu, conformément aux prévisions de notre télégramme identique du 23 Mai, de nous concerter avec les Puissances et avec la Turquie pour arrêter en commun les mesures propres à terminer la crise. Les Cabinets de Paris et de Londres pensent que le mode le plus pratique et le plus rapide de réaliser ce concert serait de réunir à Constantinople une Conférence formée des Ambassadeurs des Grandes Puissances et du Ministre des Affaires Étrangères du Sultan.

"Cette Conférence aurait particulièrement l'avantage de permettre de déterminer les conditions dans lesquelles il pourrait être fait appel au concours spécial de la Porte.

"Elle permettrait également, dans le cas où des moyens coercitifs seraient décidément jugés indispensables, d'en régler à l'avance avec une indiscutable autorité l'objet précis et le mode d'application. Faute de cette entente préalable, on serait amené brusquement à des procédés extrêmes sans en avoir suffisamment déterminé les conditions et la portée.

"Je vous prie de vous concerter sans délai avec votre collègue de ^{France} d'Angleterre pour donner connaissance de ce télégramme au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, et lui en laisser copie s'il le désire.

"Nous espérons que les considérations qui ont motivé cette démarche frapperont également l'esprit du Ministre des Affaires Étrangères et le détermineront à donner son assentiment à notre proposition."

M. de Freycinet me priant de l'informer sans délai de votre réponse, je vous serai très reconnaissant, mon cher Comte, de me la faire connaître aussitôt que cela vous sera possible.

Bien sincèrement à vous,
(Signé) CH. TISSOT.

No. 720.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 1.)

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, May 31, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to request you will state to Earl Granville that, in compliance with the request conveyed in your letter of the 30th instant, instructions were sent by telegraph at 5.15 p.m. yesterday to Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour to give orders for one iron-clad and two small vessels to join him at Alexandria at once.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

No. 721.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1, 8 A.M.)

(No. 116.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 31, 1882, 11.55 p.m.

COUNCIL still sitting: no decision.

It seems to be the general impression here that the Sultan will now be unwilling to send troops to Egypt. He appears to be frightened by the strength and powers evinced by Arabi Pasha's party, and to dread the idea of coming into collision with the Mussulman population, by whom he seeks to be regarded as their chief defender against European aggression.

No. 722.

Consul Sandwith to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1, 12.30 p.m.)

(Telegraphic.)

Canea, Crete, June 1, 1882, 10.20 A.M.

"MONARCH," "Cygnets," "Coquette" left yesterday afternoon.

No. 723.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1, 1.15 p.m.)

(No. 19.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, June 1, 1882, 1 p.m.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 76.

M. de Giers does not doubt that the Emperor will concur in the proposed Conference. In the meantime, his Excellency begs me to ask you, confidentially, whether, M. de Novikoff having just arrived here, the Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, in whom he has entire confidence, would suffice for the Conference; and whether instructions only would be necessary, without full powers?

His Excellency begs an early answer.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1, 3:30 P.M.)

(No. 179.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 1, 1882, 1:40 P.M.

THE Khedive has stated to my French colleague and me this morning that he is informed that the military will this afternoon pronounce his deposition and proclaim Halim Pasha Khedive. He is warned that, should he present himself at the demonstration, he, and any Consuls-General who might accompany him, will be insulted and turned away. His Highness hesitates to believe the truth of the information given to him, but he begs us to advise our Governments of the extreme danger of the position in which he is placed, and to urge that the Turkish Commissioner should start immediately.

We recommended His Highness to make a similar communication to the Representatives of the other Great Powers, as all were at present acting in concert at Constantinople.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(No. 309. Ext. 179.)

Cairo, June 1, 1882.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the Khedive sent for M. Sienkiewicz and me this morning and informed us that it had come to his knowledge that the military intended this afternoon to depose him and to proclaim Halim Pasha as Khedive of Egypt. He had at the same time been warned that if he presented himself at the demonstration he would be insulted and turned away, together with any Consuls-General who might be with him at the time. The Khedive said that he hardly believed the truth of this information, but he begged us to advise our Governments of the very dangerous position in which he found himself, and to urge that the Turkish Commission should receive orders to start immediately for Egypt.

As all the Great Powers are now acting in concert at Constantinople, M. Sienkiewicz and I recommended His Highness to make a communication, similar to that which he had made to us, to the Representatives of Austria, Germany, Italy, and Russia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 254.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 1, 1882, 4:20 P.M.

FOLLOWING is M. Freycinet's proposal of telegram to Ambassadors communicated to me by French Ambassador:—

"It does not seem as if the hope of a pacific solution of the Egyptian difficulty by means only of the moral influence of our squadrons and the good offices of our Agents at Cairo can any longer be reasonably entertained. The moment appears, therefore, to have arrived, as contemplated in our identic telegram of the 23rd May, for us to concert with the Powers and with Turkey to decide in common on the measures fitted to put an end to the crisis. The Cabinets of London and Paris believe that the most practical and rapid method of realizing this concert would be to assemble at Constantinople a Conference formed of the Ambassadors of the Great Powers and of the Sultan's Minister for Foreign Affairs.

"This Conference would have the particular advantage of giving an opportunity to determine the conditions on which an appeal might be made for the special co-operation of the Porte. It would also admit, in case measures of coercion were considered to be decidedly indispensable, of the precise object and mode of application being decided beforehand with indisputable authority. Without such a previous

understanding, there might be a risk of sudden recourse to extreme proceedings without having sufficiently determined their conditions and bearing.

"I request you to concert without delay with your French colleague to inform the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the telegram and to leave him a copy of it. We hope that the considerations which have prompted this step will make a similar impression on the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and will induce him to give his assent to our proposal."

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 255.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 1, 1882, 4:25 P.M.

YOURS No. 78.

I telegraph to you separately the draft of telegram communicated to me by French Ambassador.

Tell French Government that I informed French Ambassador yesterday that, as M. de Freycinet was so urgent as to time, I would telegraph immediately to Her Majesty's Representatives. This I did yesterday in the form with which you are acquainted.

I do not quite understand the drift of the last paragraph but one of the French proposal, beginning, "This Conference," and ending with the words, "their conditions and bearing."

But, with this exception, I will instruct our Ambassadors to hold the same language.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 256.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 1, 1882, 4:25 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 75, received by me this morning, is the first intimation of any objection to sending more ships to Alexandria. I announced the intention to French Ambassador on 29th instant; see my telegram No. 226. The communication he made to me made no allusion to it.

You have already received in print Sir H. Elliot's telegram No. 38 of the 30th, showing the instructions sent to French Representatives at the four Courts. I presumed that the French ships had received similar orders, and trust that they will now do so.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 640. Extender.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 1, 1882.

I HAVE this morning received your Excellency's telegram No. 75 of yesterday, stating that M. de Freycinet is much disturbed at the news that five English ships have sailed from Suda with sealed orders. This is the first intimation which has reached Her Majesty's Government of any objection on the part of the French Government to the dispatch of additional ships to Alexandria.

As I informed you in my telegram No. 226 of the 29th ultimo, I told M. Tissot on that day that I proposed to accede to Admiral Sir B. Seymour's request, that three other ships might be sent to join him, on account of earthworks being raised opposite to the "Invincible." The communication made to me by his Excellency did not allude to the subject.

Your Excellency is aware, from Sir H. Elliot's telegram No. 38 of the 30th ultimo, that the French Representatives at the four Courts were instructed to communicate a telegram addressed to the Duc de Noailles, stating that the French Government had been informed of the wish of the Sultan to send an iron-clad to Egypt, and that they had no objection to his doing so for the purpose of conveying the intimation he had been invited to make, and that they would cordially receive a vessel sent with this object.

I presumed from this report that the French ships had received similar orders, and I have to request your Excellency to express to M. de Freycinet the hope of Her Majesty's Government that they will now do so.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 730.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.**

(No. 258.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 1, 1882, 4.20 P.M.

WITH reference to Mr. Ford's telegram No. 16, repeated to you to-day, Her Majesty's Government and Mr. Ford have done nothing to encourage Greek ships being sent to Alexandria.

No. 731.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 641. Extender.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 1, 1882.

I HAVE already caused to be repeated to your Excellency Mr. Ford's telegram No. 16 of yesterday, reporting certain telegraphic communications which had passed between the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Greek Consul-General at Cairo on the question of Greek ships co-operating with the allied squadron in the event of their being fired upon by the forts. I have now to state to your Excellency that neither Her Majesty's Government nor Mr. Ford have done anything to encourage Greek ships being sent to Alexandria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 732.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1, 5.50 P.M.)

(No. 39.)
(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, June 1, 1882, 5 P.M.

I HAVE communicated to Minister for Foreign Affairs your telegram about a Conference.

He will communicate with the other Governments before answering, but he showed himself very favourable both to the proposal itself and to the basis suggested.

No. 733.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5.)

(No. 248. Extender.)
My Lord,

Vienna, June 1, 1882.

I WENT this morning to Count Kalnoky with your Lordship's telegram stating that Her Majesty's Government had accepted the proposal of the French Government for a Conference at Constantinople upon the affairs of Egypt.

His Excellency said that he must communicate with the other Governments before answering officially, but he showed himself very favourably disposed both to the proposal itself and to the bases enumerated, which, as he observed, enumerated the principles of which he had already approved.

I urged upon him the importance of giving his official answer as soon as possible, and he promised that no time should be lost.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

* Also to Sir E. Malet (No. 181).

No. 734.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1, 5.45 P.M.)

(No. 79.)
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 1, 1882, 5 P.M.

ON the interpellation on Egyptian affairs the Ministry has obtained 298 votes to 78. Majority for the Government, 220.

No. 735.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1, 6 P.M.)

(No. 180.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 1, 1882, 6 P.M.

MY telegram No. 179.

The expected demonstration to depose the Khedive has not taken place. It is said that it is put off till Saturday, but I doubt that it was ever more than one of the threats by which the military have repeatedly attained their object.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 736.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(No. 310. Ext. 180.)
My Lord,

Cairo, June 1, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 309 of this day's date, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the expected demonstration of the military with a view to depose the Khedive, which was announced for this afternoon, has not taken place. It is alleged that it has been postponed till Saturday next, but I doubt that it was ever more than a repetition of the threats by which the military have always attained their object.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 737.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 262.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 1, 1882, 6.35 P.M.

PROCEED with proposals to French Government contained in my despatch to you No. 605 of the 26th ultimo.

No. 738.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 642. Ext. 262.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 1, 1882.

I HAVE to request that your Excellency will now act upon the instruction conveyed to you in my despatch No. 605 of the 26th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1, 6.50 P.M.)

(No. 40. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, June 1, 1882, 6.25 P.M.

ALTHOUGH the Minister for Foreign Affairs is personally favourable to a Conference, he seems afraid that the Sultan's sensitiveness about anything that he conceives to affect his dignity and independence may make it difficult to obtain his concurrence.

I said that the Austrian and German Governments could do more than any other to make the Sultan feel that it would be better for his own advantage to take part in the consultations, instead of allowing them to proceed without him.

He quite agreed with me, and will do his best.

He spoke with anxiety of the events that might occur before the Conference assembled, or while it was deliberating, asking what was to be done, for instance, if the military party proceeded to extremities, either against the Khedive or against our ships, or if they were to blockade the Canal.

I said that if events calling for immediate action were likely to occur, it was all the more essential to lose no time in assembling the Conference, which would give a European character to any steps to be taken; and that nothing would be so likely to restrain the Egyptians as the knowledge that the European Powers and the Sultan were combined for a common object.

No. 740.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5.)

(No. 250. Confidential. Ext. 40.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 1, 1882.

I HAVE stated to your Lordship that Count Kalnoky had shown himself to be personally entirely favourable to the meeting of a Conference at Constantinople upon the affairs of Egypt, but he did not conceal his apprehension that the extreme sensitiveness of the Sultan with regard to anything which he conceives to affect his own dignity and independence may make it difficult to obtain his concurrence in it.

I said that if the Sultan was under the impression that the English and French Governments had not sufficiently taken into account what was due to his position as Sovereign of Egypt, Austria and Germany could do more than any other country to make him feel how much it was to his advantage to take part in the proposed consultations, instead of allowing them to proceed without him.

He concurred in the remark, and your Lordship, I am sure, may feel satisfied that any influence the Imperial Government may possess at Constantinople will be exerted to the utmost in the required direction.

Count Kalnoky then went on to express anxiety respecting the events which might occur in Egypt before a Conference could assemble, or while it was deliberating, asking what was to be done if, for instance, the military party proceeded to extremities either against the Khedive or against our ships, or if they were to block the Canal.

I said that if any sudden or unforeseen emergency were to arise it would, of course, have to be met as seemed best under the circumstances, whatever they might be, but the probability that events calling for immediate action might occur only rendered it the more essential that no time should be lost in assembling the Conference which would give a European character to any steps that had to be taken.

Nothing, moreover, would be so likely to deter the Egyptians from resorting to extremities as the knowledge that the European Powers and the Sultan were combined for a common object.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 1.)

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, June 1, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the decypher of a telegram dated the 1st June, from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, respecting the throwing up of earthworks at Alexandria by the Egyptian troops, &c.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure in No. 741.

Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Paraphrase of Telegram.)

Alexandria, June 1, 1882.

"BEACON'S" report respecting French troops without foundation.

Egyptians have now thrown up four earthworks in addition to the forts, giving as reason previous order to fortify.

When the earthworks are armed the present position of the wooden [?unarmoured] ships would be untenable, if fired upon without warning.

I do not know English policy resulting from events of Sunday. Here military rule.

No. 742.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1, 10.15 P.M.)

(No. 34.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, June 1, 1882, 5 P.M.

THE French proposal for a Conference has not yet reached the Italian Government. [I have] therefore given to the Minister for Foreign Affairs a copy of your Lordship's telegram No. 84 of yesterday, stating the terms in which it has been accepted by Her Majesty's Government. His Excellency will at once communicate with the other three Cabinets, and until he knows their views cannot say what the answer of the Italian Government may be. He would not even express any personal opinion either for or against, but I gathered from his observations that, as the general principles laid down in your Lordship's Circular of the 11th February have already been accepted by the Powers, it might be thought desirable to have more information as to the precise purpose for which the Conference is to meet; for instance, was it to decide upon the measures for re-establishing the authority of the Khedive, and by whom they were to be executed? And meanwhile, what is to happen if a case of urgency arises before the Conference has arrived at its resolutions? He seemed to think that a Conference would be a too dilatory mode of proceeding under the present pressing circumstances, but said that Italy would certainly not stand in the way of any course which might commend itself to the other five Powers.

No. 743.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 2.)

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, June 2, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the decypher of a telegram dated 2nd instant from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour. This telegram is in reply to Admiralty telegram of the 1st instant, copy of which is inclosed.

Copy is also inclosed of Admiralty telegram No. 20.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 743.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.

(Paraphrase of Telegram.)

Admiralty, June 1, 1882.

CO-OPERATE in case of necessity with agent of telegraph to secure maintenance of telegraphic communication with Europe. Agent has instructions.

Inclosure 2 in No. 743.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.

(Paraphrase of Telegram.)

Admiralty, June 1, 1882, 7 P.M.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 49, arrange with French Admiral to dispose iron-clads so as to silence batteries if they open fire.

Her Majesty's Government has asked the Sultan to send a Commissioner and an iron-clad to Alexandria, but he hesitates.

Her Majesty's Government remains of opinion that force should be sent to Egypt by the Sultan, and trusts that this will be promptly arranged by Conference at Constantinople.

Inclosure 3 in No. 743.

Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Paraphrase of Telegram.)

Alexandria, June 2, 1882.

IN reply to your telegram No. 21, arrangement made with French Admiral [? Sunday] to have steam ready in ten minutes. We shall probably have that warning.

"Monarch" has arrived. Will move unarmoured ships on the arrival of French iron-clad ordered here.

No change in the situation.

Earthworks will be armed in three days.

No. 744.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 2, 11 A.M.)

(No. 181.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 2, 1882, 9.30 A.M.

THE Agent of the Khedive at Constantinople has telegraphed to say that the Imperial Commissioner will leave for Egypt to-day.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

No. 745.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 2, 1.57 P.M.)

(No. 80.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 2, 1882, 11.50 A.M.

YOUR telegram No. 255 of yesterday.

Conference on Egyptian affairs.

M. de Freycinet begs you to consider his draft of telegram as altogether cancelled.

He is telegraphing to the five French Representatives in the terms of your telegram to the British Representatives of the 31st ultimo, which is recited in your telegram to me No. 246 of that day.

No. 746.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 527. Ext. 80.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 2, 1882.

IN pursuance of the instruction contained in your Lordship's telegram No. 255 of yesterday, I mentioned to M. de Freycinet this morning that your Lordship had informed M. Tissot yesterday, that in consequence of the urgency of the French Government, you would telegraph the proposal for a Conference to Her Majesty's Representatives immediately.

I added that accordingly your Lordship had already done so when the draft prepared by him had been communicated to you.

M. de Freycinet begged me to ask your Lordship to consider his draft as cancelled, and he authorized me to inform you that he would adopt for his telegram to the French Representatives the terms employed by your Lordship in telegraphing to the Representatives of Her Majesty.

I have had the honour to forward to your Lordship by telegraph the substance of this despatch.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 747.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 2, 1.45 P.M.)

(No. 81.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 2, 1882, 12.30 P.M.

TWO French ships of war from the Piræus and one from Toulon have been ordered to Alexandria.

No. 748.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 529. Ext. 81.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 2, 1882.

HAVING spoken to M. de Freycinet this morning in the terms of your Lordship's telegram No. 256 of yesterday, I have been informed by him that two French ships of war from the Piræus and one from Toulon have been ordered to Alexandria.

I have forwarded to your Lordship by telegraph the substance of this despatch.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 749.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 264.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 2, 1882, 2.45 P.M.

PLEASE convey to M. de Freycinet our warm appreciation of the cordial feelings towards this country so gracefully expressed by him yesterday, so far as we have learned them from the short abstract given in to-day's papers, and which were apparently so well received by the Chamber.

No. 750.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 643. Ext. 264.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 2, 1882.

I HAVE to request that your Excellency will convey to M. de Freycinet the warm appreciation of Her Majesty's Government of the cordial feelings towards this

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country so gracefully expressed by his Excellency in the French Chambers yesterday on the occasion of the interpellation on the Egyptian question, so far as Her Majesty's Government have had an opportunity of learning them from the short abstract of the proceedings given in to-day's papers, and which expressions were apparently so well received by the Chambers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 751.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 2, 3 P.M.)

(No. 82.)
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 2, 1882, 1.2 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 262 of yesterday.

Proposal to the Powers to invite the Sultan to prepare troops for Egypt.

I have given to M. de Freycinet a copy of the draft embodied in your despatch No. 605 of the 26th May.

He asked whether your Lordship intended the communication to be made to the Powers before or after the meeting of the Conference. I answered that I understood you to mean it to be made immediately.

I mentioned to him the suggestion as to appointing two military men to advise the Consuls-General during the sojourn of Turkish troops in Egypt.

He has kept the draft for consideration.

No. 752.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 531. Ext. 82.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 2, 1882.

I HAD last night the honour to receive instructions by telegraph from your Lordship to proceed to communicate to the French Government the suggestion that it should be proposed to the Powers to invite the Sultan to prepare troops for Egypt.

Accordingly I put into M. de Freycinet's hands this morning a copy of the draft of an instruction to the Representatives at the Four Courts, which is embodied in your Lordship's despatch No. 605 of the 26th ultimo.

I communicated also to his Excellency the suggestion that it would be advisable, if Turkish troops were sent to Egypt, to appoint two military men to advise the British and French Representatives during the sojourn of those troops in the country.

M. de Freycinet begged me to allow him to keep the draft for further consideration.

In the meantime he would, he said, ask me whether your Lordship proposed that the communication to which it related should be made to the Powers before or after the meeting of the intended Conference.

I answered that I understood your Lordship to mean that it should be made immediately.

I have already had the honour to forward to your Lordship by telegraph the substance of this despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 753.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Thornton.

(No. 84.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 2, 1882, 4.25 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 19 of yesterday.

Lord Dufferin will be provided with full powers, but Her Majesty's Government

would have no objections to the Chargé d'Affaires attending the Conference pending the arrival of a full power.

No. 754.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 2, 4.30 P.M.)

(No. 39.)
(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, June 2, 1882, 3.25 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's No. 75 of the 31st May.

Constantinople Conference.

Count Hatzfeldt tells me that he is waiting to hear from Vienna and St. Petersburg before he can give a definitive answer about the proposed Conference.

No. 755.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5.)

(No. 197. Ext. 39.)

My Lord,

Berlin, June 2, 1882.

I SAW Count Hatzfeldt to-day, who returned on Wednesday from Milan to Berlin, and his Excellency told me that the French proposal for a Conference at Constantinople was under consideration, but that he could express no opinion until he had heard what the Austrian and Russian Governments thought of it.

I am, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

No. 756.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 2, 5 P.M.)

(No. 182.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 2, 1882, 3.30 P.M.

I HEAR that Mr. Blunt leaves London to-day for Egypt. He informed me, when here, that he had promised Arabi to fight under him against the Porte should a conflict arise. Have I no legal means of compelling him to leave the country?

No. 757.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 2, 5 P.M.)

(No. 183.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 2, 1882, 4 P.M.

IN October last your Lordship's telegram No. 59 instructed me to return the visit of the Turkish Commissioner if he called. The consequence was that we did not exchange visits, as he maintained that it was for me to call on him first.

It will be very awkward if the same difficulty arises on the present occasion, and I therefore mention it again to ask for instructions.

No. 758.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(No. 312. Ext. 183.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 2, 1882.

ON the 4th October last your Lordship instructed me by telegraph to return the visit of the Turkish Commissioner if he called upon me. His Excellency maintained that I should have been the first to call, and the result was that we did not exchange visits.

As the recurrence of this difficulty on the arrival of Dervish Pasha would be very

awkward, I venture to request instructions with regard to the matter on the present occasion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 759.

*Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.**

(No. 194.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 2, 1882, 5 P.M.

MY telegrams Nos. 184 and 192.

French Government are agreed with Her Majesty's Government upon draft.

It is now to stand the same as in my telegram No. 254 to Lord Lyons, down to "Sultan's Minister for Foreign Affairs," and then to proceed:—"This Conference will be charged with determining ('aura pour mandat') the measures to be taken in order to secure a settlement of the affairs of Egypt on the following bases."

Then quote the Circular of the 11th February, from "maintenance of the rights of the Sultan" to "Egyptian institutions."

Concert with your French colleague for immediate communication accordingly to the Government to which you are accredited, giving copy if desired.

No. 760.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 188.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 2, 1882, 6.55 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 182 of to-day.

Mr. Blunt has stated that he will not go to Egypt.

No. 761.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 2, 1882, 7 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 183 of to-day.

You should call first on Turkish Commissioner.

No. 762.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

E
(No. 280.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 2, 1882.

I INFORMED the Turkish Ambassador yesterday afternoon of the proposal of the French Government for a Conference on Egyptian affairs, and of our acceptance of it on the terms with which your Excellency has been made acquainted by telegraph.

I told Musurus Pasha that I was aware that the Sultan entertained some objections to the idea of a Conference on Egypt, but that the fact of its being summoned to meet at Constantinople would, I hoped, go far to remove any feeling of opposition or doubt on His Majesty's part. A Conference meeting at the Turkish capital with the concurrence of the Porte was clearly different in every way to one which the Powers might be advised to convoke without the Sultan's consent outside the Ottoman dominions.

I expressed my hope that Musurus Pasha would represent to his Government the expediency of acting in cordial co-operation with England. I remarked that if the Sultan were to make difficulties and raise obstacles, it would be difficult to find arguments to meet the pressure that would be put upon us to take immediate and

* Also to Sir H. Elliot (No. 90), Sir A. Paget (No. 90), Lord Ampthill (No. 81), Sir E. Thornton (No. 85).

independent action in consideration of the pressing nature of the circumstances and the engagements under which we lay.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 763.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 157.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, June 2, 1882.

I APPROVE the language used by your Excellency, as reported in your telegram No. 40 of yesterday, in your conversation with Count Kálnoky respecting the proposal for a Conference at Constantinople on the Egyptian question.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 764.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 178A.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, June 2, 1882.

THE Italian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and offered me his congratulations on the proposal for a Conference on Egyptian affairs, which his Government regarded as entirely satisfactory, and a great success for Her Majesty's Government.

His Excellency then read to me a despatch which he had received from M. Mancini, containing the views of the Italian Government upon the question generally, but of which, he said, he was not authorized to give me a copy.

The despatch stated the objections of the Italian Government to foreign intervention in Egypt. If any intervention became necessary, the least objectionable, in their view, would be that of Turkey, as being scarcely an intervention in the usual acceptance of the term, and also as that which would be most in harmony with Egyptian feeling, both national and religious.

In such a case, M. Mancini continued, the European concert would have its part ready traced. That part would be to take care that the intervention of Turkey should be exercised only for the maintenance of order, and for the re-establishment of the Khedive's authority, and that no measures were taken to destroy the reforms already effected, or to arrest the growth and prudent development of national institutions.

The Italian Government thought it, therefore, very desirable that an agreement should be come to between the Powers and Turkey as to the length and the objects of any Turkish action in Egypt. Far, however, from rejecting the intervention of the Sultan in Egyptian affairs, they were ready to adhere to a proposal of the Powers for the purpose as a sort of guarantee of the double principle of the maintenance of the European concert and of the abandonment of any isolated action.

I thanked General Menabrea for this communication, and said I was glad to find that the views of the two Governments were so much in accord. I asked his Excellency what he understood to be the meaning of the remark at the close of the despatch as to the abandonment of isolated action. General Menabrea said that he had no doubt that reference was intended to such isolated projects as had been attributed to M. Gambetta.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 765.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 3.)

(No. 532.)
My Lord,

Paris, June 2, 1882.

I HAD the honour yesterday to inform your Lordship by telegraph that on the interpellation on their Egyptian policy the French Ministry had a large majority.

The figures announced from the Chair at the time differed, as usual, from the corrected figures inserted afterwards in the "Journal Officiel."

In fact, the Chamber adopted by 282 votes to 68 the following order of the day:—

"La Chambre, confiante dans les déclarations du Gouvernement, passe à l'ordre du jour."

I have the honour to inclose the authentic Report of the debate, which has appeared this morning in the "Journal Officiel."

M. Jules Delafosse, the author of the interpellation, attacked with some virulence the French alliance with England, and maintained that the affairs of Egypt ought to be regulated by France in union only with Turkey.

M. de Freycinet defended the English alliance and the recent proposal to assemble a Conference of the Great Powers and of Turkey on the Egyptian question.

He described the object with which the fleets had been sent to Alexandria in the following terms:—

"Oui, nous sommes allés à Alexandrie, conjointement avec l'Angleterre, non pour y faire une occupation armée, je vous supplie de le croire, mais pour protéger nos nationaux, pour témoigner que nous ne reconnaissons pas le mouvement révolutionnaire qui tendait à s'établir dans ce pays, et pour montrer surtout que la France et l'Angleterre étaient unies."

He declined to give any indication of the means of action which might be resorted to, but declared very emphatically that French military intervention was not one of them.

"Je ne m'expliquerai point à la tribune," he said, "sur les divers moyens auxquels on pourrait être conduit, mais il y a un moyen que j'exclus; ce moyen c'est une intervention militaire Française en Égypte."

This declaration produced an explosion of indignation from M. Gambetta.

M. de Freycinet explained that of course he meant no more than that France would not isolate herself, that she would not by herself settle the Egyptian question by force.

Subsequently, in answer to M. Ribot, he specified the basis of the Conference in the following terms:—

"Quand nous avons projeté d'aller à une Conférence, il n'a jamais pu entrer dans notre pensée d'y aller sur une autre base que celle de la conservation de l'indépendance actuelle de l'Égypte. Je l'avais déjà dit le 11 Mai, et je l'ai répété au commencement de ma première allocution: j'ai dit que l'objectif que nous ne perdrons jamais de vue, c'est de maintenir les immunités et les libertés qu'ont accordées à l'Égypte les Firmans reconnus de l'Europe."

"C'est la base *sine qua non* sans laquelle nous n'accepterons aucune solution."

"Dès le mois de Février, à la suite d'un échange de communications qui a eu lieu entre la France et l'Angleterre d'une part, et les Grandes Puissances de l'autre, chacune a pris pour base le maintien du *statu quo*, en le définissant, le maintien des Firmans reconnus de l'Europe, c'est-à-dire le Firman de 1873 et celui de 1879; ce sont là les éléments fondamentaux qui font partie du droit Européen."

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 766.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 3, 8 A.M.)

(No. 117.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 3, 1882, 12.5 A.M.

MY French colleague has not yet received any instructions authorizing him to [moot] the question of a Conference with this Government. I have not, therefore, yet made any official communication to the Porte, though I have privately acquainted the Minister with the views of England and France on the subject.

No. 767.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 3, 8 A.M.)

(No. 118.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 3, 1882, 1 A.M.

THE Spanish Minister came here to-night, evidently at the instance of the Sultan, for the purpose of making me aware of His Majesty's extreme dislike to a Conference, the idea of which he repelled with the utmost energy. He added that, if only the Powers would give him time, he had both the will and the means to put an end to the Egyptian difficulty; that he intended at once to dispatch a Commissioner for this purpose; and that he was prepared, if necessary, to resort to the most energetic measures in order to restore the *status quo*.

His Majesty, his Excellency said, spoke in very friendly terms of England, and expressed his desire to act in accordance with her wishes.

I imagine that the mention of the Conference has at last put an end to the Sultan's vacillations, and it is possible a Commissioner may start to-night or to-morrow.

No. 768.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 3, 10 A.M.)

(No. 185.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 3, 1882, 8.30 A.M.

THE Khedive informs me that Dervish Pasha leaves Constantinople this morning in the Imperial yacht "Izzedin" direct for Alexandria.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

No. 769.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 3, 3.30 P.M.)

(No. 119.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 3, 1882, 1 P.M.

DERVISH PASHA, who has lately returned to Constantinople from Albania, and Lebib Effendi, Second President of the Criminal Appeal Court, will start in a few hours for Egypt as Imperial Commissioners.

The Sultan has given me to understand, through the Spanish Minister, that he expects that the foregoing action upon his part, coupled with the repulsion he has expressed towards the idea of a Conference, will induce Her Majesty's Government at all events to postpone pressing such an arrangement upon him until it shall be seen whether the steps he is about to take for getting rid of the Egyptian difficulty succeed or not.

I informed the Spanish Minister that I would acquaint your Lordship with what had fallen from him; but that I must decline to pronounce any personal opinion upon the view suggested; and that both the French Ambassador and I had already in our hands an instruction from our respective Governments to propose a Conference at once to the Porte.

(First paragraph repeated to Cairo.)

No. 770.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 3, 6.10 P.M.)

(No. 41.)
(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, June 3, 1882, 4.50 P.M.

THE French Ambassador having received a telegram nearly in the same terms as your Lordship's to me No. 90, we have communicated them to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

His Excellency observed that upon these he had nothing to say against the Conference in principle nor against the basis proposed; it would be necessary to come to some understanding respecting the nature of the measures to be suggested before the instructions to the Ambassadors were drawn up.

I represented that the first thing to do was to intimate an acceptance of the Conference and to endeavour to obtain the adhesion of the Porte; while the precise views and wishes of the two Governments could be ascertained in the meanwhile.

His Excellency said that he was only anxious that when the Ambassadors met in Conference there should be seen to be perfect unanimity among them, and in order to insure this their instructions ought to be as identic as possible.

No. 771.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received June 3, 6.40 P.M.)

(No. 20.)
(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, June 3, 1882, 6 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 85.

My French colleague and I have to-day communicated the contents of the identic telegrams to M. de Giers, who stated that he is authorized by the Emperor to accept with satisfaction the proposal of a Conference.

He has not yet official answers from the other Powers, but hopes that they will concur.

A full power will be sent as soon as possible to the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, which can hardly reach him till the 11th instant, but he will be informed by telegraph of its dispatch.

No. 772.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 3.)

(Confidential.)

Admiralty, June 3, 1882.

My Lord,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the decypher of a telegram dated the 3rd instant, from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, respecting the throwing up of mortar batteries, the desire of Greek Commodore to join in resistance if attacked, and the serious aspect of affairs. It will be observed that Sir Beauchamp Seymour asks for instructions.

I am, &c.
(Signed) HUBERT DORMER.
(Pro Sec.)

Inclosure in No. 772.

Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 3, 188, 6.15 P.M.

BATTERY (or batteries), apparently for mortars, going up fast.

French Admiral (has) ascertained that Greek Commodore intends asking permission (to) join (in) returning fire if we are attacked.

Would like Government's views, remembering Sardinian policy (in) Crimea. Matters becoming serious.

No. 773.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

E
(No. 283 A.)

Foreign Office, June 3, 1882.

My Lord,

I TOLD the Turkish Ambassador to-day of the reports which had been received by Her Majesty's Government of the construction of batteries at Alexandria in proximity to the anchorage of the English and French squadrons. I requested his Excellency to call the attention of the Porte to this proceeding, and to point out that, if persisted in, it was calculated to lead to a collision.

I observed that we were endeavouring to arrange that if any measures of force became necessary for the restoration of order in Egypt, recourse should be had to the Sultan for their execution, but that if such a collision as I had referred to should occur, we should be compelled, as a point of national honour, to take the matter entirely into our hands.

Musurus Pasha promised to telegraph at once to his Government on the subject

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 770*.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 3.)

(No. 257. Ext. 41.)

Vienna, June 3, 1882.

My Lord,

THE French Ambassador having received his instructions to propose to the Austro-Hungarian Government to take part in a Conference to be held at Constantinople on the affairs of Egypt, after concerting with him I communicated to Count Kálnoky your Lordship's telegram No. 254 to Lord Lyons, as corrected in your yesterday's telegram No. 90 to me.

The general tenour of M. de Freycinet's telegram was the same as your Lordship's, with the omission, however, of the preamble alluding to the probable insufficiency of the moral influence of the presence of the ships at Alexandria.

Count Kálnoky repeated that he had nothing to say against the assembling of a Conference in principle, nor against the basis proposed for it, but he thought that it would be necessary to come to some understanding upon the nature of the measures to be suggested before the instructions to the Ambassadors were drawn up.

He considered it of great importance that when they met there should be seen to be perfect unanimity among them, and in order to insure this their instructions ought to be as identic as possible.

I represented that the first thing to do was to intimate an acceptance of the Conference, and to endeavour to obtain the adhesion of the Porte to it, while the precise views and wishes of the two Governments which proposed it could be ascertained in the meanwhile.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 774.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 660.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 3, 1882.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith a draft of the instructions which Her Majesty's Government propose to address by telegraph to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople for his guidance at the approaching Conference; and I have to request that your Excellency will communicate these instructions to M. de Freycinet, together with my despatch No. 605 of the 26th ultimo, which Her Majesty's Government also propose to telegraph for Lord Dufferin's guidance, and inquire whether M. de Freycinet has any amendments to suggest in either of them.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure in No. 774.

Draft of Despatch from Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June , 1882.

YOUR Excellency is well aware of the views which Her Majesty's Government entertain with regard to the state of affairs in Egypt, and of the basis on which they desire to see the restoration of the *status quo*.

Time is so urgent, that within these limits they desire to leave much to your discretion, in full and friendly communication with the Representatives of the other Powers, who have always been ready to recognize a certain initiative on the part of England and France.

In conformity with the Circular of the 11th February, it is right that the Sultan should be a party to any proceeding or discussion which represents the united action and authority of Europe. In conformity with this view, His Imperial Majesty has been invited to name a Representative at the Conference.

Any objection which the Sultan may have felt to a Conference should be removed by the fact of its being held at Constantinople, and that a formal invitation to attend it has been forwarded to the Porte. They, therefore, confidently expect that the Turkish Government will see the absolute urgency of proceeding with promptitude to agree with the other Powers upon measures necessary to maintain the authority of the Sultan and of the Khedive, and to restore order in Egypt on the basis of the normal *status quo*.

The Sultan has already sent a Commissioner to Egypt in His Majesty's yacht. The action thus already taken by the Sultan at the suggestion of England and France shows that he is aware of the gravity of the situation; indeed, it is evident that if the tie now subsisting between Egypt and the Sovereign Power is to be preserved, the Sultan must be ready and willing to require obedience from the military rebels who now defy his Viceroy.

These considerations would in themselves, it is to be supposed, afford sufficient inducement to energy, but should the Porte show any tendency to a dilatory or obstructive policy, it might be advisable that an intimation should be made that unless rapid decision be taken the Conference will cease to sit at Constantinople.

We do not, however, anticipate any such disposition on the part of His Majesty, and you will take care, in any proposals which are made, to have due regard to his position and dignity as Sovereign.

I am, &c.

No. 775.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 162.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 3, 1882.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 274 of the 20th ultimo, stating that after consultation with your French colleague you had made representations to the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs with the view of preventing the military prisoners

convicted by the court-martial from being sent out of the country in an Egyptian steamer, as you considered that their lives would be thereby endangered.

I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government approve your proceedings in this matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 776.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 195.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 3, 1882, 8 P.M.

BATTERIES being raised at Alexandria.
If not stopped, may produce collision.

No. 777.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 3, 11 P.M.)

(No. 36.)
(Telegraphic.)

Rome, June 3, 1882, 8.15 P.M.

THE French Chargé d'Affaires and I have delivered this afternoon copies of the identic telegrams proposing Conference about Egypt to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who assured us it would have his most favourable consideration, and he believed also that of the other Cabinets, with whom he would immediately communicate.

If there was opposition, he thought it would come from the Porte, who had announced dispatch of a Commission to Egypt on a "conciliatory mission." He would make known at Constantinople that the proposal for the Conference had reached him, and the disposition of Italian Government towards it.

No. 778.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 3, midnight.)

(No. 83.)
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 3, 1882, 10.30 P.M.

M. DE FREYCINET writes semi-officially as follows:—

"The French Government are disposed to adhere to the draft of Lord Granville which determines the conditions to which the dispatch of Turkish troops to Egypt should be subjected; but before accepting the draft definitively, they would desire to know the answers of the Powers to our proposal of a Conference."

No. 779.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 534. Ext. No. 83.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 3, 1882.

I HAD the honour to report to your Lordship yesterday that M. de Freycinet had kept for consideration your Lordship's draft of an instruction to the Representatives at the Four Courts, with a view to inviting the Sultan to prepare troops for Egypt.

His Excellency has made to me this evening a communication respecting it in the following terms:—

"Le Gouvernement Français est disposé à adhérer au projet de Lord Granville qui détermine les conditions auxquelles serait subordonné l'envoi de troupes Turques en Egypte. Mais avant de donner son acceptation, il désirerait connaître les réponses des Puissances à notre proposition de Conférence."

I have had the honour to transmit to your Lordship by telegraph the substance of this despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 780.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 4, 9.40 A.M.)

(No. 120.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 3, 1882, 11.55 P.M.

AFTER consulting with my French colleague, I read to-day to Saïd Pasha the communication which you desired me to make by your telegram No. 194 of the 2nd instant relative to the holding of a Conference on Egyptian affairs at Constantinople. His Excellency replied that he would have wished to have anticipated what I had said to him by another communication which he was instructed to make to me and to the other Representatives of the Powers by the Sultan to the following effect, namely:—

That the Porte had taken into serious consideration the suggestion made to it by the English and French Governments, as contained in your Lordship's identic telegram No. 163 of the 23rd ultimo; that, while the Ministers were considering whether they could obtain the desired results by a telegraphic message to Egypt, a pressing telegram arrived from the Khedive begging the Sultan to announce by telegraph that His Majesty was about to send a Commissioner to Egypt. The Sultan, being faithful to his determination only to employ moral force, had allowed his Ministers to submit to him a proposal for the dispatch of a Commissioner to Egypt, which His Majesty had sanctioned yesterday, and the Commissioner was to start to-day. In the presence of this decision of the Sultan, it appeared to Saïd Pasha that the reunion of a Conference was not opportune, that it would complicate the situation, and that it would be wise [to] allow the Representative of the Sultan to reach Egypt, and to wait until we could see whether his mission attained the desired result. The person chosen by the Sultan was Dervish Pasha, an officer of high rank, who would have more authority with certain persons than a civil dignitary. His instructions directed him to support the Khedive, to maintain the *status quo*, to re-establish order, and bring about a general pacification. He had been furnished with a Proclamation in which the will of the Padishah would be made known. He was to consult the Khedive as to the best means by which the foregoing objects were to be reached; he had, further, discretionary authority to arrest, and even to send to the Soudan, those persons from whom resistance was to be feared. In answer to a special question I addressed to him as to whether the Turkish Commissioner had been instructed to act in concert with the French and English Agents, his Excellency said that, inasmuch as the Khedive was under great obligations to the Agents of France and England for their assistance and "bons offices," it followed as a matter of course that he would do so.

On leaving, I found in the ante-room the Representatives of all the other Powers, whom his Excellency had summoned for the purpose of making a declaration to them similar to that which he had made to me.

I have compared notes with the French Ambassador as to what the Minister for Foreign Affairs said to each of us, and we have found that he held almost identical language to both. It is possible, however, that Saïd Pasha stated to me the objections of the Porte to a Conference in even stronger terms than to my French colleague, and he is evidently most anxious to learn what impression the dispatch of a Commissioner will make upon your Lordship, and whether it will induce Her Majesty's Government to postpone pressing the Porte to agree to the Conference. I made him understand that the other European Governments having received an invitation [?] to that which I had conveyed to his Excellency, I had to confine myself to making the announcement without entering into any discussion in regard to it. He begged me to convey to him at once your Lordship's reply.

No. 781.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 4, 3 P.M.)

(No. 121.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 4, 1882, noon.

DERVISH PASHA and Lehib Effendi started this morning, not in a frigate, but in a fast [?] yacht. They are accompanied by Server Pasha (ex-President of the Council of State) and Essad Effendi, the person referred to in Sir E. Malet's telegram to your Lordship No. 152 of the 24th ultimo.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 4, 6.30 P.M.)

(No. 186.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 4, 1882, 3.30 P.M.

I HAVE received following telegram from the Admiral, dated to-day at 9 A.M. :—

"Notwithstanding our friendly observations, batteries are rising facing the port where no previous fortifications existed. Act as you deem desirable as to representing the fact to competent authority."

I sent following reply :—

"My French colleague and I have consulted. We are of opinion that there is no authority to whom it would be useful to apply. Arabi has already, on application, refused to discontinue what he calls the repairs of earthworks. His Highness Tewfik Pasha has ordered all warlike preparations to be discontinued, and his orders are entirely disregarded."

I have received following telegram from the Admiral, dated noon to-day :—

"Following telegram has been received from Admiralty. Please give me your opinion on it without delay :—

"If instructed to forbid armament of earthworks, can you enforce threat, and at what risk, military and political? Give your full opinion on the situation."

I have sent following telegram in reply :—

"I am of opinion that it would be inopportune at the present moment to provoke a collision which would possibly be the result of forbidding the armament of earthwork. The Turkish Commissioner will probably be here on Tuesday. It is to be hoped that he will put an end to the present military dictatorship as a first and absolutely essential step towards the restoration of the *status quo*."

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(No. 317. Ext. 186.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 4, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that at 9 A.M. this day I received a telegram from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, informing me that, notwithstanding our friendly observations, earthworks were being erected facing the port, where no previous fortifications existed, and requesting me to represent the matter to the competent authorities.

After consultation with my French colleague, I replied that there was no authority to whom representations could be usefully made, that Arabi Pasha had already, on application, refused to discontinue what he calls the repairs of the earthwork, and that, notwithstanding the Khedive's injunction to discontinue all warlike preparations, His Highness' orders have been entirely disregarded.

At noon of the same day the Admiral again telegraphed to me that he had received a message from the Admiralty, asking whether, if instructed to prevent the armament of the earthwork, he would be in a position to enforce the threat, and if so, what the risk would be, military and political, and requesting me to give him my opinion on the subject.

I replied that it would be inopportune at present to provoke a collision, which would possibly be the result of preventing the armament of the earthwork. That, as the Turkish Commissioner was expected to arrive in Egypt on Tuesday, it was to be hoped that the present military dictatorship will be put an end to, as a first and absolutely essential step for the restoration of the *status quo*.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5.)

(No. 184.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, May 31, 1882.

I HAD the honour to receive your Lordship's telegram No. 68 of the 28th instant on the evening of that day. I sought an interview with M. de Giers that night, but was unable to find his Excellency. On the following day, which was a fête-day, I called upon him at his house, and communicated to him the contents of your Lordship's telegram.

My French colleague had just left him, having acquainted him with a similar telegram, though more in detail, which he had received from M. de Freycinet, who had also transmitted to him a copy of the telegram upon the same subject which he had addressed to the French Ambassador at Constantinople.

M. de Giers then informed me that, having consulted with the other three Powers, and having taken the orders of the Emperor with reference to the contents which I had previously communicated to him of your Lordship's telegrams Nos. 57 and 65, he could now inform me officially that the Russian Government were of opinion that the policy intimated in those telegrams, and the steps which it was therein announced had been taken by the English and French Governments, were wise and correct, such as ought to have been followed and taken, and entirely in accordance with the views and opinions of His Imperial Majesty and of his Government; and that they were perfectly satisfied with the explanations given by your Lordship in your telegram No. 65, which had been a source of especial gratification to them. His Excellency added that his Government would now await any further proposals which England and France might deem it expedient to make with a view to the maintenance of the *status quo* and peace in Egypt, and were desirous of giving to such proposals all the support which it might be in their power to accord.

M. de Giers stated that the German Government had given a very positive and straightforward answer with regard to the contents of your Lordship's two telegrams Nos. 57 and 65, and in support of the views expressed therein. The answers from Rome and Vienna had not yet been so precise, but he had taken it for granted that the Austrian and Italian Governments acquiesced in those views, and should inform them of the telegram which he was then sending to the Russian Ambassadors in London and Paris in accordance with the statement which he had then made to me.

With regard to the contents of your Lordship's telegram No. 68, his Excellency said that he considered it to be a part of the same policy of which His Imperial Majesty had already given his approval; that he himself concurred in the expediency of the step recommended to the Sultan, and he should therefore immediately send a telegram to the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople to concert with his colleagues of Germany, Austria, and Italy, and to recommend to the Porte the prompt adoption of the measure recommended to him by the English and French Ambassadors. His Excellency would direct him to carry out this instruction, even if only one of the three Representatives above mentioned, for instance, the German Representative, should have received the necessary instruction to make a similar communication to the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5.)

(No. 186.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, June 1, 1882.

IN compliance with the instruction contained in your Lordship's telegram No. 72 of the 30th ultimo, I yesterday informed M. de Giers that the three ships of war which had previously been ordered to remain at Suda Bay would now proceed to Alexandria.

I also informed his Excellency that the English and French Governments had told the Sultan that if he would also send a vessel of war to carry the declarations which they had requested His Majesty to make at Cairo, the ship would have the most favourable reception. M. de Giers stated that he would convey the above information to His Majesty the Emperor.

His Excellency told me at the same time that he had just seen my Turkish colleague, who had been constantly appealing on the part of his Government to that of Russia for support with regard to Egypt, and that he had taken that opportunity of recommending Chakir Pasha to telegraph at once to his Government and advise them to comply with the request of the English and French Governments that the Sultan should send declarations in support of the Khedive, and should order the military chiefs to present themselves at Constantinople for the purpose of explaining their conduct.

M. de Giers added that, personally, Chakir Pasha seemed to acquiesce in the soundness of the advice, and promised to telegraph in that sense to his Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

No. 786.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville—(Received June 5.)

(No. 170.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 2, 1882.

I HAD the honour to receive yesterday morning your Lordship's telegram No. 82 of the previous day, stating the terms in which the proposal of the French Government for a Conference upon the affairs of Egypt had been accepted by Her Majesty's Government, and, in compliance with your Lordship's instructions, I communicated the same to M. Mancini in an interview I had with his Excellency yesterday afternoon.

Before I did so, M. Mancini asked me if I knew whether the Sultan intended to adopt the advice which had been given by the six Powers, viz., to send a Commissioner to Egypt to support the Khedive, and to require the presence at Constantinople of the three military chiefs and the ex-President of the Council, to give an explanation of their conduct.

The adoption of this course would, M. Mancini said, have at all events the advantage of clearing and simplifying the situation. If Arabi Pasha and his colleagues obeyed, the dangerous element in Egypt would be thereby at once removed, and the necessity for an armed intervention be averted, while, if they did not submit, they would be placing themselves in open rebellion against their Sovereign (for the defence of whose rights they now pretended they were opposing the Khedive), and in this case the Sultan might perhaps be reckoned upon for acting cordially and loyally with Europe for the suppression of the present military despotism.

M. Mancini spoke some words of praise, as he had done on previous occasions, respecting the National party (as distinct from the Military party) represented by the Chamber of Notables, whose bearing under present circumstances appeared to entitle them to the sympathy and encouragement of Europe.

Having told M. Mancini that I had no information as to the decision of the Sultan upon the advice tendered him by Europe, I proceeded to read your Lordship's telegram, and when I had done so, he asked if I could leave him a copy of it, which I did.

His Excellency desired me to thank your Lordship for having thus acquainted him with the views of Her Majesty's Government. He would at once, he said, communicate with the other three Powers in order to ascertain their views respecting the proposed Conference, but until he knew them he could not state what the answer of the Italian Government might be.

I said that I of course did not wish to draw from him any compromising expression, but at the same time I should be glad to know what his personal impression upon the subject was. His Excellency replied that he could not give any opinion either for or against it until he was acquainted with that of the other Cabinets.

He went on to say, however, by way of general observation, that it appeared to him that as the general principles laid down in your Lordship's Circular of the 11th February last, and now reproduced in your Lordship's telegram, had already been accepted by the Powers, it might perhaps be thought desirable that the precise purpose for which the Conference was to meet should be more distinctly specified. For instance, was it to decide upon the measures to be taken for giving effect to the views of Europe and the Porte for re-establishing order in Egypt, supposing that could only be done by the employment of material force, and by whom those measures were to be

executed; and, meanwhile, another question might be asked, viz., what is to happen if a case of emergency arises before the Conference has arrived at its resolutions?

His Excellency spoke of the time which he said must necessarily elapse in the preparation of instructions, &c., before the Conference could meet; in short, he seemed to think that a Conference would be a too dilatory mode of proceeding under the present pressing circumstances; but he added that Italy would certainly not be an obstacle in the way of any course which might commend itself to the other five Powers.

In reply to this, I said I of course could not answer the questions he had mentioned, but that it appeared to me that the first of them in all probability indicated precisely the object for which the Conference had been suggested, viz., to settle the question and the mode of execution, should such become necessary, and there would surely be less time lost, I added, in doing this on the spot at Constantinople, when once the general principles were agreed upon between the Governments, than by any other means.

His Excellency, in referring to the employment of armed intervention, repeated the language he has invariably held, and which I have frequently reported, viz., that every possible effort should be made to avoid it in any shape or form; but that should the absolute necessity for it arise as the only means of re-establishing order and the authority of the Khedive, then the course which appeared to him least open to objection would be to employ a Turkish force, under the strict control and supervision of the European Powers as to the scope and duration of its operations.

M. Mancini then spoke of the precarious position of the Khedive Tewfik, of what it would be, even when he was relieved of his present thralldom, and of the idea of replacing him by Halim Pasha.

Against the latter his Excellency expressed himself in the strongest possible terms. He was, he said, the incarnation of the very worst type of the old Turkish school; and to deliver Egypt over into his hands would be to consign her to the fate of oppression, tyranny, and degradation of the worst-administered Turkish province. He made great allowances for the difficulties in which Tewfik had been placed. It was very easy, he said, to talk of his want of energy and firmness, but if he was abandoned by all around him, and became, so to say, a prisoner in the hands of an unscrupulous military adventurer, what was he to do? For his own part, M. Mancini said, he could see no reason why Tewfik, when once his authority was restored, and he was supported by a well-selected and strong Ministry, countenanced by the European Powers, should not continue to make quite as good a Ruler as many of the constitutional Sovereigns of Europe.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 787.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville—(Received June 5.)

(No. 200.)

My Lord,

Berlin, June 3, 1882.

IN obedience to the instructions conveyed to me in your Lordship's telegram No. 81 of yesterday, 2nd June, I called on my French colleague, Baron de Courcel, and compared with him the drafts we had received from our respective Governments on the subject of the proposed Conference at Constantinople for communication to the Imperial German Government.

Having agreed that the French and English texts were identic, we communicated them accordingly to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and left copies of them with his Excellency.

Copy of the identic text as communicated by us is herewith inclosed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

Inclosure in No. 787.

*Identic Communication.**Berlin, June 2, 1882.*

IT does not seem as if the hope of a pacific solution of the Egyptian difficulty by means only of the moral influence of our squadrons and good offices of our Agents at Cairo can any longer be reasonably entertained. The moment appears therefore to have arrived, as contemplated in our identic telegram of the 23rd May, for us to concert with the Powers and with Turkey to decide in common on the measures fitted to put an end to the crisis. The Cabinets of London and Paris believe that the most practical and rapid method of realizing this concert would be to assemble at Constantinople a Conference formed of the Great Powers and of the Sultan's Minister for Foreign Affairs.

This Conference will be charged with determining the measures to be taken in order to secure a settlement of the affairs of Egypt on the following bases, laid down in the identic telegram addressed to the Four Powers on the 11th February:—

1. The maintenance of the rights of the Sultan and of the Khedive, of international engagements and the arrangements existing under them, whether with England and France alone, or with those two nations and the other Powers;
2. The preservation of the liberties secured by the Firmans of the Sultan; and
3. The prudent development of Egyptian institutions.

No. 788.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5.)

(No. 397.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, May 30, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that some of the officers, who were recently exiled from Egypt in consequence of the sentence of the court-martial pronounced against them, arrived here this morning from Alexandria. They are lodged at Government expense, and, it is said, will receive posts in the Ottoman service.

Among these officers is Osman Pasha Refki, late Minister of War under Riaz Pasha. On arriving he had an interview with the Minister of War, and was to be received by the Sultan in the course of the afternoon of yesterday.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 789.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5.)

(No. 399.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, May 30, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have carried out the instructions conveyed to me in your Lordship's telegrams No. 161, Confidential, of the 22nd; Nos. 163, 165, 166 of the 23rd; No. 170 of the 24th, and No. 176 of the 28th instant, with reference to the crisis in Egypt, as already announced to your Lordship in preceding telegrams.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 790.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5.)

(No. 403. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, May 30, 1882.

IN reply to your Lordship's query contained in your telegram No. 174 of the 25th instant as to what I meant by "material guarantees" for the eventual evacuation of Egypt by any Turkish troops which might be sent thither, I beg to state that I

desired to intimate my conviction that, if once he got his soldiers into Egypt, the Sultan would have so many temptations to re-establish his prestige in Africa and Arabia by keeping them there, and thus re-asserting, in the eyes of his Mussulman subjects in those regions, his supremacy over the local Government, that it would be unsafe to count upon any Convention as a security for their retirement, and that it would be advisable, under these circumstances, for France and England to consider beforehand as to the means of compulsion at their disposal.

What I had in my mind at the time was the possibility of laying an embargo on so much of the Egyptian Tribute as found its way into the Ottoman Treasury, but I have since ascertained that the whole of it is paid into the Bank of England.

This being the case, I confess I am at a loss to suggest upon what other special guarantees we could fall back beyond the usual processes of intimidation used on such occasions.

The foregoing explanation being too long for conveyance by telegram, I have consigned it to a despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 791.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5.)

(No. 245 A. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Vienna, May 30, 1882.

COUNT KALNOKY, while speaking of the affairs of Egypt, observed to me to-day that there was in some quarters a feeling that he might have shown himself more ready to express an approval of the dispatch of the English and French fleets to Alexandria.

He should be sorry if he were supposed not to be hearty in wishing to support the two Governments in the object that they had in view, or that it should be thought that his hesitation proceeded from anything but a doubt whether the step in question was likely to lead to a satisfactory result, and whether, on the contrary, it might not be the cause of fresh embarrassments and complications.

He had not been able to bring himself to feel any confidence that the mere presence of ships-of-war at Alexandria could be counted upon to overawe the dominant party at Cairo, unless it was to be regarded as the precursor of some more formidable form of intervention either by the Porte or by the Powers, while, as regarded the latter, all intention of landing troops had been disclaimed.

The position of the two Powers, and, indeed, of all Europe, had been weakened by the persistency with which the French Government continued to reject the notion of a Turkish intervention being, under any circumstances, admissible, for although it was known to the Cabinets that the Sultan might ultimately be invited to take measures of coercion under the control or guidance of the Powers, this had been concealed from those upon whom the knowledge might produce an effect.

The position of affairs had not been improved by the want of consistency that had been observable in the French policy. The Powers had been invited to concur in attempting to support Tewfik Pasha and to maintain the *status quo*, together with the existing Firmans and the international engagements; but it very soon became an open secret that the French Government were desirous that Tewfik Pasha should be deposed, and that the Firman of succession should be set aside in order that Halim Pasha should be made Khedive.

Such a mode of proceeding would appear to Count Kalnoky to be most objectionable, and little calculated to give increased stability to the institutions of Egypt.

He did not know much of Halim Pasha, but the consideration that if he were now to be made Khedive he would feel himself bound by ties of gratitude to France, to whom alone he would owe his elevation, did not appear to operate as a recommendation in his Excellency's mind.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 792.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 5.)

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, June 5, 1882.

WITH reference to Sir Beauchamp Seymour's telegram of the 3rd instant, copy of which was sent to the Foreign Office at 6 p.m. on that evening, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to request you will lay before Earl Granville the inclosed copies of telegrams interchanged between the Admiralty and the Commander-in-chief, Mediterranean, since that date, respecting affairs in Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 792.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.

(Paraphrase of Telegram.)

Admiralty, June 3, 1882, evening.

REPORT whether, if instructed to forbid armament of earthworks, you are able to enforce threat, and, if so, at what risk, military and political?

Do you wish for reinforcements?

Give your full opinion of the situation.

Inclosure 2 in No. 792.

Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Paraphrase of Telegram.)

Alexandria, June 4, 1882, 12.10 P.M.

RECEIVED your telegram of yesterday at 11 this morning. Two guns mounted this morning. One, perhaps two, French iron-clads expected to-morrow.

In reply to inquiry, we could enforce threat as things are at present, but unless timely notice were given, the effect on the foreign populations would probably be disastrous. I will report fully as soon as I have had communication with the Consul-General.

Inclosure 3 in No. 792.

Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Paraphrase of Telegram.)

Alexandria, June 4, 1882, 9.49 P.M.

IN further reference to your telegram of yesterday, the Consul-General considers it would be inopportune at the present moment to provoke collision which would possibly be the result of the armament of the earthworks being forbidden by us. Consul-General relies on the Turkish Commissioner, whose arrival is expected on Wednesday, 7th instant, putting an end to the present military dictation.

The power of the Viceroy is decreasing. His order for discontinuance of all warlike preparations has been disregarded.

The virtual ruler is Arabi, and he persists in what he terms the repair of the old fortifications.

Under these circumstances, and in view of the necessity of giving long notice to foreigners, without which France would not, I think, co-operate, also as three batteries will probably be armed to-night, my opinion is that we must take our chance.

No change in position of ships; consider that the squadron should be near.

Propose ordering "Alexandra" and "Inflexible" to Aboukir, and the other ships to Cyprus.

Excitement among foreigners and Egyptians at Alexandria and Cairo.

Inclosure 4 in No. 792.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.

(Paraphrase of Telegram.)

Admiralty, June 4, 1882, 2 P.M.

DO the French expect any iron-clads besides the two arranged in our original agreement with them?

Inclosure 5 in No. 792.

Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Paraphrase of Telegram.)

Alexandria, June 5, 1882, 10.15 A.M.

THE French iron-clad "Alma" and the unarmoured dispatch-vessel "Hirondell" have arrived. The French iron-clad "Thétis" is hourly expected.

Inclosure 6 in No. 792.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.

(Paraphrase of Telegram.)

Admiralty, June 5, 1882, 2 P.M.

ORDER the squadron from Suda Bay, Crete, to cruize off the north coast of Egypt, and to communicate for orders with Alexandria.

No. 793.

Prince Lobanow to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5.)

Mon cher Comte,

JE m'empresse de vous communiquer le télégramme ci-joint que je reçois de M. de Giers.

Ce Dimanche.

Votre bien dévoué,
(Signé) LOBANOW.

Inclosure in No. 793.

M. de Giers to Prince Lobanow.

(Télégraphique.)

St. Pétersbourg, le 22 Mai, 1882.

LA proposition de réunir à Constantinople une Conférence pour le règlement des affaires Egyptiennes sur les bases admises par les Puissances au mois de Février dernier, vient de nous être communiquée par les Ambassadeurs d'Angleterre et de France.

J'ai répondu que, pour sa part, le Gouvernement Impérial y adhère, dans l'espoir que les autres Gouvernements y adhéreront également.

No. 794.

Saïd Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, June 5.)

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 3 Juin, 1882.

MES dépêches successives, que vous avez été chargé de communiquer au Gouvernement près duquel vous êtes accrédité, ont dû l'édifier, j'aime à l'espérer, sur les vues et les intentions du Gouvernement Impérial dans les affaires Egyptiennes.

Maintenir l'ordre et le *statu quo* dans cette province, qui fait partie intégrante de l'Empire Ottoman, et raffermir l'autorité du Khédive, telles sont les conditions, d'ailleurs, qui se rattachent essentiellement aux droits et aux devoirs de la Cour Souveraine.

C'est encore pour arriver un moment plus tôt, d'une manière efficace, à ce but, que

le Gouvernement Impérial vient de décider l'envoi en Égypte d'un dignitaire de l'État, le Maréchal Dervish Pacha.

Les instructions nécessaires ont été données au Maréchal dans le sens qui précède, et aujourd'hui même il quitte Constantinople pour se rendre à sa destination.

Veuillez communiquer la présente dépêche à son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères.

No. 795.

Saïd Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, June 5.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 3 Juin, 1882.*
UN télégramme de ce jour vous a fait connaître l'envoi, d'ordre Impérial, du Maréchal Dervish Pacha en Égypte, et la mission d'apaisement dont il est chargé. J'ai cru devoir en donner officiellement connaissance à MM. les Représentants des Grandes Puissances à Constantinople.

Simultanément avec cette communication de ma part, MM. les Ambassadeurs d'Angleterre et de France m'ont, de leur côté, remis copie d'un télégramme en date de ce jour, proposant la réunion d'une Conférence des Ambassadeurs à Constantinople pour déterminer les mesures à prendre en vue d'arranger le règlement des affaires d'Égypte sur les bases que le dit télégramme énumère.

Nous avons le ferme espoir que la mission de Dervish Pacha suffira à ramener la situation normale en Égypte à la satisfaction commune.

Étant donné ce fait et les résultats praticables et efficaces que nous sommes en droit d'en attendre, nous ne saurions nous expliquer la nécessité de réunir une Conférence pour les affaires Égyptiennes, alors que le règlement de ces affaires rentre dans les prérogatives et les droits de souveraineté de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, prérogatives et droits que les Puissances elles-mêmes, dans leur appréciation saine et équitable, ont déclaré, solennellement et à plusieurs reprises, devoir respecter et maintenir intactes.

Avant tout, et dans l'ordre naturel des choses, c'est la mission décidée par le Souverain légitime et territorial qui doit primer toute autre considération, et c'est précisément le langage que j'ai tenu à MM. les Représentants des Grandes Puissances.

Nous espérons donc que le projet de Conférence en question sera abandonné, et que les Puissances, dans leur haute et bienveillante sollicitude pour les droits et les intérêts de l'Empire, aussi bien que pour le *statu quo* en Égypte, partageront notre manière de voir dans cette circonstance.

C'est vers ce point que votre Excellence portera toute son attention en s'enonçant dans le sens qui précède auprès de son Excellence M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, à qui elle est autorisée à laisser copie de la présente dépêche.

No. 796.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5, 2:30 P.M.)

(No. 84.) *Paris, June 5, 1882, 12:30 P.M.*
(Telegraphic.)

THE Turkish Ambassador urged M. de Freycinet this morning to postpone the Conference, on the ground that the dispatch of the Sultan's Commissioner to Egypt rendered its meeting superfluous and inconvenient.

M. de Freycinet answered that, on the contrary, this circumstance rendered the immediate meeting of the Conference particularly advisable; first, because it would strengthen the hands of the Commissioner by the evidence it would give of the intimate union between the Powers and the Sultan; and secondly, because, if the Commissioner should fail, it would be of the utmost importance that the Conference should have already been constituted, and should thus be ready to act immediately. He added, however, that after the Conference had been duly constituted, it would of course be open to the Turkish Plenipotentiary to propose a short adjournment in case of need.

M. de Freycinet has just told me this.

No. 797.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 536. Ext. 84.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 5, 1882.

M. DE FREYCINET told me this morning that he had just had an interview with Essad Pasha, the Ottoman Ambassador, who had come to urge him, in the name of the Porte, to consent to the postponement of the proposed Conference on Egyptian affairs.

The argument used by Essad Pasha was, M. de Freycinet told me, that the dispatch of the Sultan's Commissioner to Egypt rendered the assembling of the Conference superfluous and inconvenient.

M. de Freycinet had, he said, replied that, on the contrary, this very circumstance rendered it, in his opinion, particularly desirable that the Conference should meet immediately, and this for two reasons: first, because the hands of the Commissioner would be strengthened by the evidence thus afforded of the intimate union between the Sultan and the Powers; and, secondly, because, if unhappily the Commissioner should fail, it would be of the utmost importance that the Conference should have been already constituted, and should thus be ready to act immediately.

Finally, M. de Freycinet told me that he had pointed out to Essad Pasha that, after the Conference had once been duly constituted, it would always be open to the Turkish Plenipotentiary to propose, in case of need, a short adjournment.

I have had the honour to forward to your Lordship by telegraph the substance of this despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 798.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5, 2:30 P.M.)

(No. 85.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 5, 1882, 12:40 P.M.

EGYPT: My telegram No. 83 of yesterday.

Your despatch No. 660.

M. de Freycinet promises me a definitive answer about both drafts to Lord Dufferin after the sitting of the Council to-morrow morning.

No. 799.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 538. Ext. 85.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 5, 1882.

THIS morning, in obedience to the instruction contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 660 of the day before yesterday, I put into M. de Freycinet's hand the draft which accompanied it of instructions which Her Majesty's Government propose to address by telegraph to the Earl of Dufferin for his guidance at the approaching Conference respecting the affairs of Egypt.

I informed M. de Freycinet, moreover, that Her Majesty's Government proposed to telegraph also to Lord Dufferin, for his guidance, the draft, which I had communicated to his Excellency on the 2nd instant, of instructions to the Representatives at the Four Great Courts with regard to inviting the Sultan to prepare troops for Egypt.

I proceeded to ask M. de Freycinet whether he had any amendments to suggest in either of these drafts.

He answered that he would give me a definitive answer about both after the sitting of the Council of Ministers to-morrow morning.

I have had the honour to forward to your Lordship by telegraph the substance of this despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 800.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5, 4.25 P.M.)(No. 86.)
(Telegraphic.)*Paris, June 5, 1882, 2.45 P.M.*

MY telegram No. 85 of to-day.

M. de Freycinet has now sent the Political Director to me to say that he will give the formal answer about the drafts to-morrow, as he promised; but that in the meantime he wishes to suggest to you that to ask the Sultan to prepare troops for Egypt under the conditions specified might increase His Majesty's repugnance to the Conference and retard its meeting.

No. 801.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 540. Ext. 86.)

Paris, June 5, 1882.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my telegram No. 85 and my despatch No. 538 of to-day, I have the honour to report that, not long after I had left M. de Freycinet this morning, I received a visit from M. Decrais, who came from his Excellency to say that he would, as he had promised, give me a formal answer respecting your Lordship's two drafts on Egyptian matters after the Council to-morrow morning, but that, in the meantime, he wished to ask your Lordship to consider whether an invitation to the Sultan at this moment to prepare troops for Egypt, under the conditions specified, might not increase His Majesty's repugnance to the proposed Conference, and thus retard its meeting.

I have had the honour to forward to your Lordship by telegraph the substance of this despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 802.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5, 3.10 P.M.)(No. 187.)
(Telegraphic.)*Cairo, June 5, 1882, 1.30 P.M.*

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 193 of yesterday, repeating No. 195 of the 3rd instant to Lord Dufferin.

The Sultan has telegraphed to the Khedive to insist upon the warlike preparations at Alexandria being stopped, saying that one shot might lose Egypt.

The Khedive has informed Arabi Pasha of this message from His Majesty, and has repeated his official order on the subject of making no armament. Arabi has in consequence ordered warlike preparations at Alexandria to be discontinued.

The Sultan seems to be unaware that Arabi is in possession of absolute power, and openly defies the Khedive.

The officers continue to say all orders of the Sultan which tend to the departure of their chiefs and the subjugation of the army will be resisted by force if necessary.

All measures short of this, however, will ultimately lose Egypt to the Sultan, for if the rebels gain a partial success now they will not stop till they have erected an independent Arab State.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 803.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(No. 319. Ext. 187.)

Cairo, June 5, 1882.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 193 of yesterday, repeating your Lordship's telegram No. 195 of the 3rd instant to Her Majesty's Ambassador at

Constantinople, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that the Khedive received a telegram from the Sultan last night, requesting His Highness to insist that the warlike preparations carried on at Alexandria be stopped, as one shot fired might lose Egypt.

His Highness communicated the Sultan's message to Arabi Pasha, and reiterated his official order to him to desist from making further armament.

In consequence of this, Arabi Pasha has sent orders to Alexandria to discontinue warlike preparations.

It is evident that the Sultan is not aware that Arabi Pasha is in possession of absolute power over the army, and that he openly defies the authority of the Khedive.

The officers continue to boast that they will resist by force, if necessary, all orders of the Sultan tending to the departure of their chiefs and the subjugation of the army.

Measures short of this however will, in the end, lose Egypt to the Sultan, for if the rebels gain a partial success now, they will not rest until they have established an independent Arab State.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 804.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5, 4 P.M.)(No. 188.)
(Telegraphic.)*Cairo, June 5, 1882, 3.30 P.M.*

DERVISH PASHA is accompanied by his son; the rest of the suite includes Lebib Effendi, Cadri Bey, Sheikh Ahmed Essad, four Aides-de-camp, one private secretary, one telegraphist, and twenty servants.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 805.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5, 5.45 P.M.)(No. 122.)
(Telegraphic.)*Constantinople, June 5, 1882, 3.30 P.M.*

AT the last moment Ahmet Ratib took the place of Server Pasha on the Commission to Egypt, and Kaimp Effendi, as well as a certain Ahmet, was added.

No. 806.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 179.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 5, 1882.

UNDER the circumstances described in your Excellency's despatch No. 160 of the 23rd ultimo, I approve your having communicated to the Italian Government the substance of Lord Dufferin's telegram of the 18th ultimo respecting the intention of the Sultan to maintain a friendly attitude towards the Western Powers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 807.

Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Confidential.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 5, 1882.

EARL GRANVILLE has had before him your letter of the 3rd instant, inclosing a copy of a telegram from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour respecting the throwing up of mortar batteries at Alexandria, and the desire of the Greek Commodore to join in returning the fire of the batteries should the British and French squadrons be

attacked. His Lordship directs me to request that you will state to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that Her Majesty's Government desire that in the event of the Greek Commodore offering his assistance it should be courteously declined by the British Admiral, and I am to suggest that instructions in this sense should be addressed to Sir Beauchamp Seymour by the Board of Admiralty.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 808.

M. de Freycinet to M. Tissot.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by M. Tissot, June 6.)

(Télégraphique.) *Paris, le 5 Juin, 1882, 4:50 soir.*
L'AMBASSADEUR de Turquie m'a apporté ce matin la réponse de son Gouvernement au sujet de la Conférence. La Porte pense que la Mission envoyée par elle en ce moment en Égypte rend la Conférence inutile. J'ai fait observer à Essad Pacha: (1) que cette Conférence ne pourrait qu'augmenter les chances de succès de la Mission puisque elle montrait l'Europe et la Turquie unies pour les mesures ultérieures qu'un échec éventuel de la Mission pourrait entraîner; (2) qu'en cas d'insuccès effectif de la Mission, il y avait tout avantage à ce que le concert Européen pût prendre sans délai la suite de l'affaire au lieu de perdre à ce moment un temps précieux pour les préliminaires que nécessite toujours la réunion d'une Conférence. Je n'ai pas ajouté, quoique cela n'eût fait que compléter ma pensée, que la Conférence aurait pour troisième avantage d'assurer une homogénéité plus complète entre les démarches auxquelles va se livrer la Porte en Égypte et les vues des grandes Puissances. J'ai insisté en terminant pour que Essad Pacha voulût transmettre à son Gouvernement l'expression du sentiment très net que j'avais de la nécessité de ne pas retarder davantage une mesure à laquelle toutes les Puissances avaient déjà donné leur adhésion.

No. 809.

M. de Freycinet to M. Tissot.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by M. Tissot, June 6.)

(Télégraphique.) *Paris, le 6 Juin, 1882, midi 35.*
JE vous prie de communiquer à Lord Granville, si vous ne l'avez déjà fait, mon télégramme d'hier, résumant ma réponse à Essad Pacha. Si Lord Granville en approuve le sens je lui propose de télégraphier immédiatement à nos Ambassadeurs pour qu'ils développent les considérations qui y sont contenues aux Puissances auprès desquelles ils sont accrédités et demandent à ces Puissances de prescrire à leurs Ambassadeurs à Constantinople de se joindre aux nôtres afin d'obtenir de la Porte une très prompte acceptation de la proposition de Conférence.

Pour gagner du temps Lord Granville pourrait télégraphier dès maintenant et m'aviser aussitôt pour que je puisse en faire autant de mon côté, de façon à ce que les Ambassadeurs de France et d'Angleterre agissent partout de concert.

No. 810.

M. de Giers to Prince Lobanow.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Prince Lobanow, June 6.)

(Télégraphique.) *St. Pétersbourg, le ^{23 Mai} 4 Juin, 1882.*
LA Porte croit qu'après la mission de Dervisch Pacha en Égypte la réunion de la Conférence n'aurait plus de raison d'être, et nous prie par conséquent de la décliner.

J'ai répondu qu'ayant déjà accepté en principe la proposition de l'Angleterre et de la France, nous devions, avant de nous prononcer, attendre l'opinion des autres Gouvernements.

No. 810*.

Saïd Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, June 6.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 5 Juin, 1882.*

REÇU télégramme de la nuit du 3.

Nous nous sommes immédiatement adressés au Caire pour savoir ce qui en était des informations transmises à Lord Granville au sujet des nouvelles batteries qu'on élèverait sur les hauteurs d'Alexandrie contre la flotte Anglo-Française.

Son Altesse le Khédive vient de nous répondre officiellement qu'on ne construit ni n'arme point de nouvelles fortifications, qu'il ne s'agit que de quelques réparations et que même celles-ci ont été suspendues.

En portant ce fait à la connaissance de sa Seigneurie, vous voudrez bien en même temps lui exprimer l'espoir que nous avons de voir les Commandants de l'escadre Anglo-Française éviter avec soin tout ce qui serait de nature à provoquer le moindre conflit qu'il est de l'intérêt commun de prévenir.

No. 811.

Mr. Swainson to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 6.)

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, June 6, 1882.

WITH reference to my letter of yesterday's date, transmitting copies of telegrams interchanged between the Admiralty and Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour on the 3rd, 4th, and 5th instant, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to request you will state to Earl Granville that, in a telegram dated Alexandria, the 5th June, 8.15 P.M., Sir Beauchamp Seymour reports that, in compliance with their Lordships' order conveyed in telegram of yesterday, he has ordered the squadron at Suda Bay to rendezvous 20 miles north-north-west of Alexandria, detaching one vessel to communicate with the Commander-in-chief.

2. In a further telegram of this day's date, Sir Beauchamp Seymour reports that the erection of earthworks at Alexandria has this day been suspended.

I am, &c.

(Signed) E. N. SWAINSON.

No. 812.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 202.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 6, 1882, 12.20 A.M.

TURKISH Ambassador has communicated to me two telegrams, the first announcing mission of Dervish Pasha to Egypt, the second stating the expectation of the Porte that this step would be sufficient to restore matters to their normal condition, and expressing the hope that the idea of a Conference will be abandoned.

I told Musurus Pasha that I heard of the mission of Dervish Pasha with great satisfaction; that it was entirely in consonance with our views and wishes, and that I trusted it might be successful. I said that the invitations to the other Powers to join in a Conference had already been sent out and accepted. I did not see how they could now be recalled, nor was it desirable to do so, for if the efforts now being made by the Sultan were found to be insufficient to effect the desired result, it would be necessary, without a day's delay, that the Powers should discuss with the Porte the further measures to be taken by the Sultan to maintain his authority. I added that if Dervish Pasha's mission resulted in a settlement completely in accordance with the views of the Powers, and affording a prospect of permanence, the *raison d'être* for the Conference would cease; and if it were found that there were good hopes of such a settlement being speedily attained by his unassisted efforts, there would, no doubt, be no objection to a short adjournment of the Conference to watch the result.

No. 813.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 287. Ext. 202.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 6, 1882.

THE Ottoman Ambassador has communicated to me two telegraphic despatches which he has received from the Porte. The first announces the mission of Dervish Pasha to Egypt, and the second expresses the expectation that this mission will be sufficient to restore matters to their normal condition, and the hope that the idea of assembling a Conference will be abandoned.

I told Musurus Pasha that it was with great satisfaction that I had learnt the dispatch of Dervish Pasha to Egypt. It was, I said, entirely in consonance with the views and wishes of Her Majesty's Government, and I trusted the mission might be successful.

The invitations to the other Powers to join in a Conference having already been sent out and accepted, I did not, I said, see how they could now be recalled. Moreover, it was not desirable that they should be, for if the efforts now being made by the Sultan were found to be insufficient to effect the desired result, it would be necessary, without a day's delay, that the Six Powers should discuss with the Porte the further measures to be taken by His Majesty to maintain his authority.

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I added that should the mission of Dervish Pasha bring about a settlement completely in accordance with the views of the Powers, and such as to afford a prospect of permanence, the reasons for a Conference would cease to exist, and if it were found that there were good hopes of such a settlement being speedily attained by the unassisted efforts of Dervish Pasha, there would doubtless be no objection to the Conference adjourning for a short time in order that the result of the mission might be watched.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 814.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 279.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 6, 1882, 3 P.M.

MY despatch No. 660 of 3rd instant.

In last paragraph but one of draft to Lord Dufferin, substitute word "sit" for "exist" at Constantinople.

No. 815.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 6, 4.15 P.M.)

(No. 87.)
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 6, 1882, 1.45 P.M.

DRAFT of instruction to Lord Dufferin inclosed in your despatch No. 660 of 3rd instant.

French Government consider that, in face of the communication made by the Turkish Ambassadors yesterday, it would be inopportune to send such an instruction at the present moment to Constantinople; and they suggest, in lieu of it, a step respecting which M. de Freycinet is telegraphing to the French Ambassador in London in the following sense:—

"Communicate to Lord Granville my telegram of yesterday. I am of opinion that our Ambassadors should develop the considerations contained in it to the Powers to which they are accredited, and should ask them to send to their Representatives instructions to join our Ambassadors in order to obtain from the Porte a prompt acceptance of the Conference.

"If Lord Granville approves, he might telegraph at once to the English Representatives, and inform me of his having done so, in order that I might telegraph to ours."

The French Government think that it might have been better to wait to know the result of this step before sending instructions in the sense of the draft embodied in your despatch No. 605 of the 26th ultimo, although they concur in the terms of that draft.

I recited to M. de Freycinet this morning the substance of your answer to the Turkish Ambassador, as recorded in your telegram to Lord Dufferin No. 202 of to-day.

No. 816.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 6, 6.15 P.M.)

(No. 123. Strictly Secret and Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 6, 1882, 2.45 P.M.

HOBART PASHA tells me that the Sultan has been discussing with him the means of sending troops to Egypt under Moukhtar Pasha, and has expressed himself as determined to put down the revolt by force if Dervish Pasha's mission fails. On the other hand, it is the conviction both of German Chargé d'Affaires and of Austrian Ambassador that His Majesty would decline to send troops, particularly under any system of control. My own opinion is that, though he might fight for terms, he would

No. 815*.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 6.)

(No. 542. Ext. 87.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 6, 1882.

I WENT this morning to M. de Freycinet, by appointment, to receive the answer on the subject of your Lordship's two drafts respecting Egyptian affairs, which he had promised to give me after the sitting of the Council of Ministers.

M. de Freycinet spoke first of the draft of an instruction to Lord Dufferin for his guidance at the proposed Conference. He told me that he and his colleagues were of opinion that it would not be opportune to send such an instruction at the present moment to Constantinople; and he added that they desired to suggest, in lieu of this, a step which M. Tissot, the French Ambassador in London, would be directed immediately to propose to your Lordship.

I was, M. de Freycinet went on to say, acquainted with the substance of the answer he had made to the Ottoman Ambassador's request that the Conference at Constantinople might be abandoned. M. Tissot would be instructed to propose to your Lordship that the French and English Ambassadors at the four Great Courts should be ordered to make representations in the sense of that answer to the Governments to which they were accredited, and to ask those Governments to direct their Representatives at Constantinople to unite with their French and English colleagues in endeavouring to obtain from the Porte a prompt acceptance of the Conference.

M. Tissot would, moreover, be desired to suggest that, if your Lordship approved of this step, you might telegraph at once to the four English Representatives, and might let M. de Freycinet know that you had done so, in order that he, on his part, might telegraph to the Representatives of France.

M. de Freycinet proceeded to tell me that the French Government thought it would be better to wait to see the result of this step before sending instructions in the sense of your Lordship's other draft, to invite the Sultan to prepare troops for Egypt. They concurred, M. de Freycinet said, in the terms of that draft, but they were afraid that to address the invitation to the Sultan at this moment, and lay down the conditions specified in the draft, might increase His Majesty's repugnance to the Conference, and retard the meeting of it.

I recited to M. de Freycinet, in the terms of your Lordship's telegram to Lord Dufferin No. 202 of to-day, the answer which you had made to the Turkish Ambassador in London when he communicated to you the request of the Porte that the Conference might be abandoned.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

agree to send them, especially if an Anglo-French occupation was the alternative threatened.

(Repeated to Cairo.)

No. 817.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 6, 5.15 P.M.)

(No. 124.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 6, 1882, 3 P.M.

THE German Chargé d'Affaires saw the Sultan yesterday, and he tells me he is convinced that His Majesty has a *bond fide* intention to support Tewfik Pasha, and that the Minister for Foreign Affairs has given a true version to the Representatives of the Powers of Dervish Pasha's instructions.

(Repeated to Cairo.)

No. 818.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 281.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 6, 1882, 6.50 P.M.

FRENCH Ambassador has made to me the communication referred to in your telegram No. 87.

I answered that I would telegraph at once to our Representatives at the four capitals to read to the respective Ministers for Foreign Affairs my answer of yesterday to Turkish Ambassador, and to submit to them the importance of joining with the Governments of France and England in pressing the Porte to accede at once to the Conference.

I said I should also be glad to know whether M. de Freycinet is not of opinion that, although our Representatives at Constantinople should not at present receive the two instructions on which we are agreed, those instructions should nevertheless be at once communicated confidentially to the four Powers for their concurrence, in order that no time may be lost when the Conference is agreed to, in case the mission of Dervish Pasha does not result in a complete success in the sense desired by the Powers.

No. 819.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 605. Ext. 281.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 6, 1882.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 87 of this day, stating the reasons for which the French Government consider that it would be inopportune at the present moment to send to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople the draft instruction which you were directed to submit to M. de Freycinet in my despatch No. 660 of the 3rd instant, and stating that M. Tissot had been instructed by telegraph to communicate with me in order to secure the co-operation of the Four Powers in urging the Sultan, through their Representatives, promptly to accept the Conference.

Your Excellency's telegram further records M. de Freycinet's concurrence in the terms of the draft instruction to the four Representatives proposed in my despatch to your Excellency No. 605 of the 26th ultimo, respecting a conditional invitation to the Sultan to send troops to Egypt, although it appeared to be his Excellency's opinion that it might be advisable to await the result of the steps to be taken to secure the Conference before sending the instructions respecting the Turkish troops.

I have now to state to your Excellency that the French Ambassador has made me the communication which your telegram led me to expect.

I stated, in reply, that I would telegraph at once to the British Representatives at the four Courts to read to the respective Ministers for Foreign Affairs the answer which I yesterday returned to the Turkish Ambassador on the subject of the

Conference, and to submit to them the importance of joining with the Governments of England and France in urging the Porte to accede at once to the Conference.

I stated to M. Tissot that I should also be glad to know whether M. de Freycinet is not of opinion that, although the Representatives of the two countries at Constantinople should not at present receive the two instructions on which the English and French Governments are agreed respecting the Conference and the sending of troops, those instructions should nevertheless be at once communicated confidentially to the Four Powers for their concurrence, in order that no time may be lost, when the Conference is agreed to, in case the mission of Dervish Pasha does not result in a complete success in the sense desired by the Powers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 820.

E

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 288.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 6, 1882.

THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and communicated to me the telegram, of which I inclose a copy, relative to the batteries which were being constructed at Alexandria so as to command the anchorage of the English and French squadrons.*

I asked his Excellency to offer to the Sultan my best acknowledgments for His Majesty's prompt attention to the request of Her Majesty's Government; and I said that I entirely agreed with the opinion expressed in the telegram that any collision would be injurious at this moment to the common interest.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 821.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Thornton.

(No. 178.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 6, 1882.

THE Russian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and asked me in what position affairs now stood as regards Egypt.

I told his Excellency of the communications which I had received from Musurus Pasha, and of my reply, with which your Excellency has already been made acquainted by telegraph.

Prince Lobanow urged strongly the expediency of adhering to the plan of a Conference.

I said that I valued a Conference as a means rather than as an end; that I thought the Sultan's prompt and favourable action was in considerable measure to be attributed to the proposal having been made; and that I thought the same reason might afford a useful stimulus to Dervish Pasha and the Porte in their endeavours to effect a speedy and satisfactory settlement. If those efforts were unsuccessful, or the arrangement proposed not satisfactory, it was desirable that the Conference should at once discuss further measures. But if Dervish Pasha succeeded in attaining by his unassisted endeavours a settlement such as was referred to on a basis acceptable to the Powers, I did not see that there was any further object to be gained.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

* No. 810*.

No. 822.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Thornton.

(No. 179.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 6, 1882.

THE Russian Ambassador called upon me yesterday, and communicated to me a telegram which his Excellency had received from M. de Giers, to the following effect:—

"The Porte believes that after Dervish Pasha's mission the meeting of the Conference will have no further *raison d'être*, and begs us, in consequence, to decline to agree to it. I have replied that, having already accepted in principle the proposal of England and France, we must wait to learn the views of the other Governments before pronouncing our own."

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 823.

*Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.**

(No. 89.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 6, 1882, 7.15 P.M.

READ to Minister for Foreign Affairs my reply to Turkish Ambassador respecting Conference which was telegraphed to you last night, and submit to him that it is important that the four Powers should join England and France in pressing the Porte to accede at once to the Conference.

Your French colleague will receive similar instructions.

No. 824.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 287.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 24, 1882.

THERE are two incidents connected with the present crisis which have not been mentioned in any of my communications to your Lordship, but to which considerable importance is apparently attached by the military party who desire to depose the Khedive.

About a month ago a woman who was well known in Cairo as a sorceress was arrested and sent out of the country by the order of the Khedive, who acted, it is alleged, in an arbitrary manner, without having recourse to the proper forms of justice in causing her to be tried and dealt with according to sentence.

It appears that the woman in question had obtained great influence in the Palace, and had, by her pretended spells and incantations, completely perverted the common sense of many of the inmates. She had also great influence in the town, and obtained large sums from the ladies of the different harems by her arts. She also coupled with her necromancy proceedings of a more material and disreputable nature, and made her house a house of rendezvous.

There is, I believe, no doubt that she was sent to Suez and embarked for Jeddah by the police on a simple order of the Khedive.

Again, at about the same time, a number of jewelled pipe-stems were stolen at the Palace, and the thief, on being discovered, was sent no one knows exactly whither, also by simple order of the Khedive.

These two cases were much dwelt upon by Arabi Pasha in the interview with my French colleague and me, which I had the honour to report in my despatch No. 258 of the 15th May, the Pasha asserting that they showed the arbitrary nature of the Khedive's character, and the insecurity of citizens under his rule.

We observed to the Pasha that the Government was itself to blame in the matter for having police authorities who executed an order which was against the law, and that it was clearly within the power of the Government to prevent the recurrence of such incidents by keeping their subordinates under proper control. He rejoined that, knowing the intention of the Khedive in the case of the woman, they had ordered the police not to act as they did; and that what occurred proved that the Khedive was

* Also to Sir H. Elliot (No. 98), Sir A. Paget (No. 98), and Sir E. Thornton (No. 92).

more powerful than the Government,—a proposition to which we could only reply by saying that his Excellency could not make it seriously.

It appears, however, that the Government and the military party rely upon these two incidents as strong points in their indictment against the Khedive, and as proving that he is not fit to be entrusted with the guardianship of the liberties of the people.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 825.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 303.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 30, 1882.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 171 of the 28th instant, I have the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship a copy of a Reuter's telegram dated yesterday, containing a letter from the Under-Secretary of the Ministry of the Interior, forwarding a declaration from Arabi Pasha, denying that either he or any military officer menaced the several corporations who went to the Khedive on the 28th instant with a view to obtain the reinstatement of Arabi as Minister of War.

The utter falseness of this assertion renders all comments on my part superfluous.

This assertion may be placed by the side of that which the Pasha made to me and to M. Sienkiewicz, recorded in my despatch No. 258 of the 15th instant, that neither he nor any of the other Ministers had harboured the intention of deposing the Khedive.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 825.

Télégramme.

Le Caire, le 29 Mai, 1882.

M. le Directeur,

PAR ordre du Ministère de la Guerre, j'ai l'honneur de vous prier de vouloir bien publier la communication dont vous trouverez ci-joint copie.

Agrérez, &c.

Le Sous-Secrétaire d'État au Ministère de l'Intérieur,
(Signé) HUSSEIN.

"Le Caire, le 29 Mai, 1882.

"Par une lettre officielle adressée au Sous-Secrétaire d'État du Ministère de l'Intérieur, le Ministre de la Guerre déclare dénuée de tout fondement l'assertion que l'armée aurait menacé les Oulemas, la Chambre, les Notables, les députations des écoles et du commerce indigène, dans le but d'obtenir la réintégration d'Arabi Pacha comme Ministre de la Guerre. Il affirme, au contraire, que ce sont ces mêmes notabilités qui, ayant confiance en lui, l'ont prié de reprendre son ancien poste pour assurer le maintien de l'ordre public, et que c'est de leur plein gré qu'elles ont fait cette démarche auprès de Son Altesse le Khédivé, sans avoir jamais reçu aucune menace ni d'Arabi Pacha ni d'aucun des officiers de l'armée."

No. 826.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 407. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, May 31, 1882.

WITH reference to Sir E. Malet's telegram No. 152 of the 21th instant, I have the honour to state that Achmet Essad Effendi, to whom he refers, was the confidential servant of the present Sultan before he came to the throne. He was employed to act as His Majesty's "Vekil" at Mecca, as one of the sweepers of the Prophet's tomb.

On returning from Mecca he passed through Egypt, and placed himself in communication with Arabi Bey, who seems of set purpose to have made several speeches in his presence to the soldiery, in which he vehemently set forth his own and their devotion to the Sultan.

Impressed by these demonstrations of loyalty, Achmet Essad Effendi returned to Constantinople, and probably confirmed the Sultan in his desire to maintain friendly relations with Arabi Bey and his party.

With that view he was recently sent back again to Egypt; but having left Constantinople on the pretext that he was going to Egypt for his health, none of his friends even were aware of his real destination.

I have succeeded in obtaining the instructions with which he was furnished, copy of which is inclosed; but it is to be presumed that he was the bearer of additional confidential verbal messages.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

Inclosure in No. 826.

Instructions en date de Redjeb 4, 1299, données à Ahmed Essad Effendi, Représentant du Ferashet Impérial (service qui incombe au Sultan au Tombeau du Prophète).*

IL est nécessaire en premier lieu de faire savoir aux Notables de l'Égypte les matières suivantes:

Le but du Gouvernement Impérial c'est de réaliser la tranquillité et la prospérité des Égyptiens de toutes les manières, et de faire échouer les entreprises et intrigues pernicieuses des étrangers. Ainsi qu'il est notaire aux Ministres Égyptiens, plus les liens du Khédivat avec la Porte augmentent, plus ils se délivrent des convoitises des étrangers. Il est vrai que l'envoi des flottes étrangères dans les eaux de l'Égypte a eu lieu à l'encontre de la volonté de la Sublime Porte; cependant, attendu que le droit de souveraineté de la Sublime Porte sur l'Égypte reste intact, aucune modification politique ne saurait avoir lieu en Égypte sans le consentement de la Porte. Sa Majesté le Sultan ne s'occupent, nuit et jour, que des mesures justes et efficaces, et elle ne perd point de vue la tranquillité et sûreté de l'Égypte. Quant à l'envoi d'une force armée ce n'est qu'une invention pernicieuse et malveillante, attendu que la Porte ne désire point indisposer ses sujets et elle ne veut pas non plus annuler ou diminuer les droits accordés au Khédivé en vertu de Firmans Impériaux; mais s'il arrive qu'on refuse d'admettre les droits sacrés de souveraineté de Sa Majesté le Sultan, c'est alors seulement que la Sublime Porte s'empresserait de recourir aux mesures nécessaires. La Sublime Porte a pleine confiance aux hommes du Gouvernement de l'Égypte, mais elle ne saurait voir d'un œil d'approbation le différend qui a surgi entre le Khédivé et ses Ministres, attendu que si de pareils faits se répètent ils ne sauraient que faire beaucoup de mal à l'Égypte, et donner lieu à l'augmentation des critiques des malveillants. En outre, il est naturel que la bienveillance et confiance que Sa Majesté le Sultan entretient envers Son Altesse le Khédivé ne diminue point à cause de ces événements, mais que tout au contraire, elle augmente. Voilà le langage que vous aurez à tenir aux Notables; ensuite lorsque, après avoir obtenu la permission, vous vous présenterez au Khédivé; vous lui remettrez la lettre Impériale entre les mains et vous ferez le discours suivant:—

"Discours.

"Sa Majesté le Sultan, notre auguste Maître, ne cesse de réfléchir sur la condition de ses sujets, et il tâche de leur procurer tout le bien-être possible. Ainsi, lorsqu'il constate que les efforts de votre Altesse aussi ne tendent qu'à l'augmentation de la force et de la prospérité Musulmane, ne fait qu'en ressentir une grande satisfaction. C'est pourquoi elle a envoyé son serviteur à votre Altesse pour lui exprimer sa haute satisfaction. Je suis, en outre, chargé de faire part à votre Altesse que notre auguste Maître et bienfaiteur n'a jamais eu la pensée de concéder à un autre les droits et autorité de votre Altesse sur l'Égypte. En même temps je suis chargé d'exprimer des remerciements d'abord à votre Altesse, et ensuite aux Notables et hommes de marque de l'Égypte pour le dévouement dont ils ont fait preuve. Je me crois très heureux d'avoir été honoré d'une mission si importante."

* Ahmed Essad Effendi est parti Jeudi dernier pour l'Égypte en mission secrète.

No. 827.

Mr. Cookson to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 13.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 1, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith extended copies of telegrams* in cypher, which I lately transmitted to your Lordship, and of two despatches, dated respectively the 28th and 30th instant, addressed to Sir E. Malet.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHAS. A. COOKSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 827.

Mr. Cookson to Sir E. Malet.

Sir,

Alexandria, May 28, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report that at about 6 p.m. yesterday I was informed that there was great excitement among the troops at Alexandria, and that there was reason to fear some extraordinary proceedings on their part. I immediately sent Mr. Huri, the Dragoman of this Consulate, to inquire about the matter from the Governor of Alexandria. Mr. Huri returned with the news that the officers and soldiers of the garrison of Alexandria, consisting of two regiments (altogether nearly 3,000 strong), stationed at the Palace of Ras-el-Tin and in the Rosetta Gate Barracks, had telegraphed to the Khedive that they would not recognize any other Minister of War but Arabi Pasha, and that they gave His Highness twelve hours to re-instate him in office. I at once sent a message through Captain Molyneux, R.N., of Her Majesty's ship "Invincible," to inform Sir B. Seymour of what I had heard, and went myself to the Prefecture. I found there M. Kleczkowski, the French Acting Consul, already there with the Sub-Governor (the Governor, Omar Loutfi Pasha, having been summoned to Cairo the day before) and the Prefect of Police, who confirmed what I had heard, but professed themselves quite unable to say what were the intentions of the troops if their ultimatum was not agreed to by the Khedive. I asked the Acting Governor whether he could guarantee order and the safety of the foreign population. He replied that he had exhausted every effort to calm the officers and soldiers, but that he had entirely failed, and that he could not answer for their conduct, but that otherwise he saw no reason to fear any disturbance. We told the Sub-Governor that we had not any fear for the safety of foreigners, as there was sufficient force at hand to protect them, but that we should be glad to have an interview with the Colonels of the two regiments in order to point out to them the folly of their conduct, and the Acting Governor consenting to communicate this proposal to them, we agreed to return in an hour to meet them. I spent this interval in telegraphing to Earl Granville and to you, and at about 9 p.m. we returned to the Prefecture, where we found the Austrian and Italian Consuls. We were told that the Sub-Prefect of Police had seen the two Colonels, who said it was impossible for them to come and see us, because they were afraid of disorder among the troops if they left them, and that they were waiting for an answer to their telegram to the Khedive. I asked again if the Sub-Governor had any idea what were the intentions of the troops, and was told that the Colonels had distinctly refused to disclose this. After impressing on the Sub-Governor the necessity of preserving order among the population, and avoiding anything that might lead to a panic, we left. On returning home I telegraphed to you and to London the result of our interview. Before going to bed I sent a messenger down to Ras-el-Tin, and ascertained that no movement whatever was taking place there or in the town.

This morning Mr. Huri has been to see the Prefect of Police, Saïd Pasha Khandil, who told him that a telegram had been received from the late Sub-Minister of War in the name of Arabi Pasha, recommending the troops to maintain order and discipline, and from the Khedive that he was holding a Council, and that everything would be arranged. The Colonels had answered that they would wait the result of this Council. The Prefect of Police expressed his confidence that there would be no disorder.

I have no doubt that the proceedings of the soldiers are part of a general plan on

* One only printed.

the part of the army to intimidate the Khedive, and that no designs hostile to foreigners are entertained, and consequently I entertain at present no fears of any disturbance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHAS. A. COOKSON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 827.

Mr. Cookson to Sir E. Malet.

Sir,

Alexandria, May 30, 1882.

IN continuation of my despatch of the 28th instant, I have the honour to report that on that morning I called upon Admiral Sir B. Seymour and conferred with him as to the best means of protecting British subjects in case of an attack on Europeans. He repeated what he had already told me, that he was not prepared to land any force, but that he would protect the embarkation of women and children and others who might seek refuge on board ships in the harbour. This refuge would, however, be obviously impossible in the case of firing going on between the forts and the fleet. The Admiral sent an officer on shore with me, and we selected a spot on the quays at the end of the broad street at right angles with the Rue des Sours, and leading straight to the large caracol in that street. At 11 a.m. I communicated this arrangement to a number of British residents who came to the Consulate, and took that opportunity of assuring them that I did not in the least apprehend that there was any danger of having to make use of it. I received many visits that day from British subjects and from my foreign colleagues, to whom I repeated the same assurances.

The general alarm which prevailed throughout the day was allayed in the evening by the news that the Khedive had reinstated Arabi Pasha as Minister of War, and thus removed any reason for hostile proceedings on the part of his followers.

Yesterday, the 29th instant, the Greek and Swedish Consuls-General called upon me and asked my opinion as to advisability of organizing some scheme of self-defence in case of a sudden attack on the European population. The plan proposed was to choose a European quarter of the city as a refuge and barricade, and defend it by organized bodies of armed men. In consequence of their visit I took the opinion of Sir B. Seymour, and he offered to give me the assistance of a competent officer to advise us as to the details. He also in the afternoon sent me the instructions, of which I inclose a copy, as to the arrangements for protecting the embarkation.

In the evening a petition (of which a copy is inclosed) was presented to me on behalf of the principal British merchants here for transmission to Earl Granville. It asks that Her Majesty's Government would take steps for the more efficient protection of their lives. I telegraphed to know whether you disapproved of my forwarding it, and on receiving an answer you did not disapprove, I telegraphed it in cypher to London last night.

This morning I received a note from Admiral Sir B. Seymour, requesting me in the most friendly way to call the attention of the Governor to the erection which had been going on since yesterday of an earthwork battery near Ras-el-Tin, bearing directly upon the European quarter of the town and the merchant-ships in the harbour. I immediately saw his Excellency the Governor, who told me that he had already spoken on this subject to the Colonels, and had told them that if the work was not discontinued he would make a representation to the Minister of War that he thought it was likely to create an impression that Europeans were in danger. This afternoon his Excellency told Mr. Huri, whom I sent to inquire what had been done on the subject, that the Colonels had replied to him that they were only repairing the works, but that he was not satisfied, and had written to Arabi Pasha on the subject. The work is still actively going on.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHAS. A. COOKSON.

No. 828.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

E

(No. 172.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 4, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's telegram No. 90 of the 2nd instant, giving me instructions as to the identic proposal to be made

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with the French Chargé d'Affaires to the Italian Government to take part in a Conference at Constantinople for the settlement of the affairs of Egypt, and to inform your Lordship that the Marquis de Reverseaux called upon me yesterday morning, soon after 10 o'clock, to show me his instructions on this subject, and to request me, if I had received mine, to arrange for a joint interview with the Minister for Foreign Affairs for the purpose of communicating them.

I at once telephoned to M. Mancini, asking if he could receive us at his own house at about half-past 1 o'clock, his usual hour, but he was unable to do so in consequence of a meeting of the Cabinet, and he appointed us for 5 o'clock at the "Consulta."

We accordingly waited on his Excellency at that time, and the Marquis de Reverseaux having read to him the French text, we each handed to him a copy of our despatches.

I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy of the English text which I placed in his hands.

His Excellency, upon receiving them, expressed his thanks, and assured us that the proposal would have his most favourable consideration, as he believed it would that of the other Cabinets, whose sentiments he had evidently taken means to ascertain since the subject has been first mooted, but with whom, he said, he would lose no time in communicating now that the proposal had been brought formally before him.

His Excellency went on to say that if there were any opposition to it he thought it would come from the Porte, which had just announced its intention of sending Dervish Pasha as the Sultan's Commissioner to Egypt with a "conciliatory mission," in the hope, apparently, of being able to effect a pacific arrangement, and by this means to avert the necessity for the Porte of having to pronounce either one way or another upon the question of the Conference.

M. Mancini added that he would desire Count Corti to inform the Turkish Government of his having received the formal proposal for the Conference, and of the favourable disposition of the Italian Government towards it.

The Marquis de Reverseaux and I were both struck by the tone of M. Mancini's language yesterday in speaking of the Conference, being much more satisfactory than it was when the question was originally mentioned to him, although your Lordship will remember that he said from the first, as reported in my despatch No. 170 of the 2nd instant, that "the Italian Government would certainly not be an obstacle in the way of any course which might commend itself to the other Five Powers."

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 828.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 2, 1882, 5 P.M.

It does not seem as if the hope of a pacific solution of the Egyptian difficulty by means only of the moral influence of our squadrons and good offices of our Agents at Cairo can any longer be reasonably entertained. The moment appears, therefore, to have arrived, as contemplated in our identic telegram of the 23rd May, for us to concert with the Powers and with Turkey to decide in common on the measures fitted to put an end to the crisis.

The Cabinets of London and Paris believe the most practical and rapid method of realizing this concert would be to assemble at Constantinople a Conference formed of the Ambassadors of the Great Powers and of the Sultan's Minister for Foreign Affairs.

This Conference will be charged with determining ("aura pour mandat") the measures to be taken in order to secure a settlement of the affairs of Egypt on the following bases:—

The maintenance of the rights of the Sultan and of the Khedive, of international engagements, and the arrangements existing under them, whether with England and France alone or with those two nations and the other Powers, the preservation of the liberties secured by the Firmans of the Sultan, together with the prudent development of Egyptian institutions.

I request you to concert without delay with your French colleague to inform the

No. 829*.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 7.)

(No. 259. Ext. 42.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 6, 1882.

THE Turkish Ambassador yesterday communicated to Count Kálnoky the Circular telegram of the Porte intimating that the mission of the Sultan's Commissioner to Egypt rendered the assembling of a Conference unnecessary.

Count Kálnoky appears to have spoken to Edhem Pasha almost precisely in the same way as your Lordship had done to Musurus Pasha upon receiving the same communication.

He said that it had given him great pleasure to learn that the Sultan had sent a Commissioner with a view to the support of the Khedive and the maintenance of the *status quo* in Egypt, and he sincerely hoped that the step might prove sufficient to obtain the results that the Conference was designed to secure; and he strongly urged the Ambassador to impress upon his Government that they should do everything in their power to meet the wishes of England and France.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 332*.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 7.)

(No. 202. Ext. 40.)

My Lord,

Berlin, June 7, 1882.

IN accordance with the instructions which I had the honour of receiving from your Lordship late on the night of the 6th instant, I informed Count Hatzfeldt this afternoon of the reply you had made to the Turkish Ambassador, when his Excellency notified to your Lordship the mission of Dervish Pasha to Egypt, and expressed, on behalf of the Porte, a hope that the idea of a Conference would be abandoned.

I had previously made known to my French colleague the nature of your Lordship's instructions, and had learnt from Baron de Courcel that he had also been instructed to submit to Count Hatzfeldt the views of the French Government as to the necessity of urging the Porte to accede at once to the Conference.

With regard to your Lordship's answer to Musurus Pasha, and to the suggestion that the Four Powers should support Great Britain and France in their endeavour to persuade the Sultan to acquiesce in the idea of the Conference, in spite of Dervish Pasha's mission, Count Hatzfeldt remarked that Germany had hitherto shown her readiness to support the measures which had been initiated conjointly by Great Britain and France, including the proposal for a Conference; and, personally, his Excellency said he had no reason to suppose that she would adopt a different course in the present instance, should the other Powers interested not raise any objections to the joint proposal of the two Western Powers.

Before, however, giving a decided answer on the subject, Count Hatzfeldt said that it would be necessary for him to consult Prince Bismarck, who had returned to Berlin, and also to ascertain what view was taken of the matter by Austria, Italy, and Russia.

His Excellency added that, should the Sultan persist in his objections to the assembling of the Conference, he did not see how the Powers could well force His Majesty into acquiescence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPHILL.

Minister for Foreign Affairs of this telegram, and to leave him a copy of it. We hope that the considerations which have prompted this step will make a similar impression on the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and will induce him to give his assent to our proposal.

No. 829.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7.)

(No. 41.)

(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, June 6, 1882.

THE language of the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Turkish Ambassador appears to have been very nearly identic with yours to Musurus Pasha.

He has strongly urged the Porte to be guided by the wishes of England and France.

No. 830.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7, 3.20 P.M.)

(No. 88.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 7, 1882, 2.35 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 279 of yesterday.

I have asked the French Foreign Office to substitute "sit" for "exist."

No. 831.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cookson.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 7, 1882, 4.45 P.M.

ARE there any heavy guns in position on the new earthworks? Question in House of Commons to-morrow.

No. 832.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7, 4.50 P.M.)

(No. 40.)

(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, June 7, 1882, 4.12 P.M.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 89 of yesterday, I have read to Minister for Foreign Affairs your Lordship's reply to Turkish Ambassador.

His Excellency wished me to say from him that, as Germany has hitherto shown her readiness to support the measures initiated by England and France conjointly, including the idea of a Conference, he personally is of opinion that if the other Powers agree as to its being advisable to urge the Porte to accede at once to the Conference, Germany will not raise objections; but before giving a decided answer he must ascertain the views of the other Powers, and also submit the matter to the Chancellor, who is at present in Berlin. His Excellency added that he did not see how the Porte could be forced into acquiescing in the idea of a Conference.

No. 833.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7, 5 P.M.)*

(No. 21.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, June 7, 1882, 4 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 92.

My French colleague and I have jointly complied with the instructions of our Governments.

M. de Giers replied that he was of opinion that it would be wise to constitute the Conference, notwithstanding that a Turkish Commissioner has been sent to Egypt. He will take the orders of the Emperor, and hopes to be able to telegraph to-night or

* For Extender, see No. 833*, p. 322 A.

to-morrow morning to the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, instructing him to concert with his colleagues, when similarly instructed, with a view to urging the Porte to agree to the immediate meeting of the Conference.

M. de Giers seems anxious as to what answer may be given by Germany upon this matter.

(Sent to Lord Amphill.)

No. 834.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7, 5.30 P.M.)*

(No. 43.)
(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, June 7, 1882, 3 P.M.

AFTER concerting with the French Ambassador, I read to the Minister for Foreign Affairs your Lordship's telegram giving your reply to the Turkish Ambassador about the Conference.

He will join in pressing the Porte to accede at once to the Conference.

No. 835.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7, 5.35 P.M.)*

(No. 44.)
(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, June 7, 1882, 4.30 P.M.

THE newspapers report the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to have intimated in the House of Commons that the Conference might perhaps be held elsewhere than at Constantinople.

The Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs says his acceptance of the Conference presupposes that of all the other Powers, including Turkey, and he does not think he could join one without her.

He believes that the other Powers would be of the same opinion.

No. 836.

Mr. Swainson to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 7.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, June 7, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a copy of a despatch from Admiral Sir B. Seymour, dated at Alexandria, the 29th May, 1882, reporting his proceedings and the state of affairs in Egypt up to that date.

I am, &c.

(Signed) E. N. SWAINSON.

Inclosure in No. 836.

Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Invincible," at Alexandria, May 29, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that within the last thirty-six hours the state of affairs in Cairo and here has become much more serious than it was when on Saturday morning (27th) I telegraphed to you that affairs "were improving."

2. On Saturday evening, at 7 o'clock, I received the following telegram from Her Majesty's Agent at Cairo:—

"The Viceroy has just received a telegram from the Colonels of regiments and police at Alexandria stating they refuse to accept resignation of Minister of War, and that they give His Highness twelve hours to reply, after which they do not answer for the public security. I do not apprehend from this that the military mean to proceed to overt acts, but it would be well to be ready."

* For Extender, see p. 322 B.

No. 833*.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 7.)

(No. 193. Ext. 21.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, June 7, 1882.

ON the receipt of your Lordship's telegram No. 92 of yesterday's date I called upon my French colleague, who, I found, had just received a telegram from M. de Freycinet, instructing him to communicate to M. de Giers, in concert with myself, the details of a conversation he had had with the Turkish Ambassador at Paris relating to the meeting of the proposed Conference at Constantinople similar to that which your Lordship had had with Musurus Pasha.

We agreed to call upon M. de Giers together, and we then read to him the two telegrams relating to this matter. We at the same time expressed the hope of our Governments that instructions might be sent to the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople to urge upon the Porte how desirable it would be that the meeting of the Conference should not be deferred, notwithstanding that a Turkish Commissioner had already been sent to Egypt for the purpose of conveying there the orders of the Sultan.

M. de Giers said that he had seen the Turkish Ambassador on the 4th instant, and had urged him to recommend his Government to place confidence in England and France and the other European Powers, and to agree to their request with regard to the Conference; and that on Chakir Pasha's inquiring whether Turkey was not the Sovereign, he had answered that the Powers certainly recognized her in that character, but that her sovereignty would be more surely maintained by the support of the European Powers.

With regard to the present request conveyed to him by my French colleague and myself, his Excellency gave it as his own opinion that the establishment of the Conference would be a wise and useful measure, notwithstanding the mission of Dervish Pasha to Egypt; but that he must submit the matter to the Emperor, and concert with the other three Powers as to the decision which should be taken.

But upon our submitting to him that the case was urgent, and that it was desirable that the instructions should reach M. Onou as soon as possible, M. de Giers said that he would take the orders of His Imperial Majesty, and hoped to be able to telegraph this evening or to-morrow morning to the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople instructing him to concert with his colleagues who might have received similar instructions, and to endeavour to induce the Porte to agree at once to the proposal of our two Governments.

M. de Giers had received an unofficial opinion from Vienna that the Austrian Government would support the proposal, but he seemed anxious as to what Prince Bismarck might decide, considering that Germany appeared to have more influence at this moment with the Porte than any other Power. I therefore thought it expedient to repeat my telegram No. 21 to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

Inclosure in No. 833*.

Memorandum delivered by Sir E. Thornton to M. de Giers, June 3, 1882, in concert with the French Ambassador.

IT does not seem as if the hope of a pacific solution of the Egyptian difficulty by means only of the moral influence of the squadrons and the good offices of the Agents of England and France at Cairo can any longer be reasonably entertained. The moment appears, therefore, to have arrived, as contemplated in the identic telegram of the 23rd May, for England and France to concert with the Powers and with Turkey to decide in common on the measures fitted to put an end to the crisis.

The Cabinets of Paris and London believe that the most practical and rapid method of realizing this concert would be to assemble at Constantinople a Conference formed of the Ambassadors of the Great Powers and of the Sultan's Minister for Foreign Affairs.

This Conference will be charged with determining the measures to be taken in order to secure a settlement of the affairs of Egypt on the bases indicated by Lord Granville's despatch of the 11th February last, viz.:—

1. The maintenance of the rights of the Sultan and the Khedive, of international engagements and of the arrangements existing under them, whether with England and France alone, or with those two nations and the other Powers.
2. The preservation of the liberties secured by the Firmans of the Sultan.
3. The prudent development of Egyptian institutions.

No. 834*.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 7.)

(No. 261. Ext. 43.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 7, 1882.

AS instructed by your Lordship, after concerting with my French colleague, I have read to Count Kálnoky the telegram by which you conveyed to Lord Dufferin the language that you had held to Musurus Pasha upon his communicating the views of the Porte upon the subject of the Conference.

His Excellency said, as I had the honour to inform you yesterday, that he had spoken almost precisely in the same sense to Edhem Pasha, and that he would join in urging the Porte to give its consent to the assembling of the Conference.

He expressed, however, great doubt of the representation being successful, as the accounts he received from Constantinople made him believe the Sultan to be in a frame of mind little disposing him to listen to it.

I repeated that, as I had so often remarked already, the prospect of success would greatly depend upon all the Powers holding the same language to him.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 835*.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 7.)

(No. 263. Ext. 44.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 7, 1882.

THE local newspapers of this morning publish a telegram from London, according to which Sir Charles Dilke is reported to have intimated in the House of Commons that the Conference upon the affairs of Egypt might possibly be held elsewhere than at Constantinople.

Upon reading it I was on the point of telegraphing to your Lordship my conviction that if by this it was meant that a Conference might be held without the Porte taking part in it, the assent of Austria could not be counted upon; but as I had occasion to see Count Kálnoky later in the day, I deferred doing so till after I had spoken to him.

He stated that he had seen the telegram, but that his acceptance of the Conference had presupposed that of all the other Powers, including Turkey, and that he did not think it would be possible for him to join in one without her.

He believed also that the other Powers would take the same view of the question.

I said that newspaper telegrams, reporting answers given in the House of Commons, could not be taken as accurate, and that if Sir Charles Dilke had spoken as reported, he had very possibly done so with the view of making the Porte apprehend the adoption of a decision which would certainly be distasteful to it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

As there was considerable excitement at Alexandria as soon as this was known, I stopped all leave to officers and men, and gave orders to the "Condor" and "Helicon" to have steam ready at ten minutes' notice, as it is my intention, should we be fired upon from the forts, to send the "Helicon" out of range, and to let the "Condor" do her work under weigh.

The "Invincible" is so admirably placed, with her port broadside bearing on the Lighthouse Battery and on an earthwork which is now being thrown up abreast her at 1,100 yards distance, while her starboard guns would command Fort Caffarelli, that I do not propose to move her. At the same time, on being applied to for advice as to his proceedings, by the commander of the Peninsular and Oriental steamer "Mongolia," I recommended him to have her steam up in readiness to move out if firing should begin, and I have arranged that, if an *émeute* should take place in the city, the families of the English and other residents shall be received on board of her. Measures have also been taken for their embarkation.

3. On Sunday, the 28th instant, there was a certain amount of panic among the foreign residents in Alexandria and at Ramleh, a village 3 miles from the walls, which was not shared in by the English officials in the service of the Khedive, or their families. Great excitement appears to have prevailed at Cairo, but, as their Lordships have been kept fully acquainted, through the Foreign Office, with what has taken place there, I will not enter further upon the subject.

4. Shortly after daylight on the 29th a working party of artillery and about 200 labourers commenced to throw up an earthwork between the bathing-house west-south-west of the Palace of Ras-el-Tin and the loop-holed barrack. At the same time there was considerable movement in the forts commanding the entrance, which were not garrisoned on our arrival.

5. At 11 A.M. on the 29th intelligence was received at Alexandria that, after considerable pressure, the Khedive had consented to reinstate Arabi Pasha as Minister of War.

I need not expatiate upon the importance of this step, which entirely reverses the policy pursued by His Highness during the last few days.

6. Under the circumstances described, I consider it desirable that the squadron here should be increased, and I telegraphed to their Lordships accordingly. A suggestion to the same effect had been made by my colleague Rear-Admiral Conrad to his Government.

7. The telegraph reports that all is quiet at Cairo; here, with the exception that the earthwork is being proceeded with, there is nothing to indicate a critical state of affairs.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. BEAUCHAMP P. SEYMOUR.

No. 837.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 161.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 7, 1882.

THE Austro-Hungarian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and told me that Count Kálnoky had received a communication from the Turkish Ambassador at Vienna similar to that made to Her Majesty's Government, announcing the mission of Dervish Pasha to Egypt, and deprecating a Conference as unnecessary.

Count Kálnoky had replied that Dervish Pasha's mission, as a measure for the maintenance of the *status quo*, and of the authority of the Khedive, would be satisfactory to the Austro-Hungarian Government.

With regard to the Conference, he had said that, as it was proposed on a basis which the Austro-Hungarian Government have from the beginning approved, they had agreed to it provided the other Powers did so too. They did not consider that the answer returned to the French and English Ambassadors at Constantinople constituted a definite refusal on the part of the Porte, and they hoped that the wisdom and moderation of the Sultan would induce His Majesty to avoid any act or language in regard to the Conference which would tend to create irritation or to strain the relations between the Porte and the two Powers.

I informed Count Károlyi of the substance of my telegraphic instruction to your Excellency of yesterday's date, and I expressed my great satisfaction at finding that

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our views were, to all appearance, so entirely in harmony with those of the Austro-Hungarian Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 838.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 7, 11 P.M.)

(No. 189.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 7, 1882, 5 P.M.

THE Imperial Commissioner is expected here this evening. Nothing trustworthy can be ascertained respecting intentions of military. The balance of opinion is that they will resist. Military preparations continue at Damietta, and soldiers appear in increasing numbers along Suez Canal. Military reserves also continue to arrive in Cairo. It is advisable that the Commissioner should be instructed, above all things, to provide for the safety of the person of the Khedive before negotiations arrive at a point showing that resistance is inevitable, because, when once that point is attained, the military will very likely retain the Khedive as a hostage, if they do not at once resort to extremities against him.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 839.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 325. Ext. 189.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 7, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that Dervish Pasha, the Imperial Turkish Commissioner, arrived in Alexandria to-day, and is expected in Cairo this evening. No trustworthy information can be obtained as to the intentions of the Military party; the balance, however, of public opinion inclines to the belief that it will resist. The military preparations continue at Damietta, soldiers appear in increasing numbers along the Suez Canal, and the reserves continue to arrive here.

It is advisable that Dervish Pasha should receive instructions from the Porte to provide above all things for the personal safety of the Khedive before the negotiations arrive at such a point as to show that resistance is inevitable, because, when that point is attained, the military will very probably seize the Khedive as a hostage, and even resort to extreme measures against His Highness.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 840.

M. de Freycinet to M. Tissot.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by M. Tissot, June 8.)

(Télégraphique.)

Paris, le 7 Juin, 1882, 5.40.

JE réponds à la seconde partie de votre télégramme d'hier soir par laquelle vous mentionnez que Lord Granville demande s'il n'y a pas lieu d'envoyer, dès maintenant, confidentiellement aux quatre Puissances, les deux instructions sur le fond desquelles nous sommes d'accord.

En ce qui concerne celle tendant à peser sur la Porte en indiquant que si elle met obstacle par ses lenteurs à la marche des travaux de la Conférence, cette Conférence devra prendre son siège ailleurs qu'à Constantinople, je pense qu'il conviendrait, afin de ne pas donner à la communication un caractère trop comminatoire pour la Turquie, que les instructions données par les deux Gouvernements fussent conçues dans le même sens, mais non identiques, ainsi que nous avons fait hier pour les télégrammes tendant à la réunion de la Conférence. Je suis donc prêt à télégraphier à nos Ambassadeurs dans le même sens que Lord Granville, aussitôt qu'il m'aura informé qu'il va télégraphier de son côté. Une remarque que je me permettrai sur le texte Anglais, c'est qu'il ne serait pas exact de dire que la Commission Turque a été envoyée à la suggestion de la France, attendu que nous n'avons pas fait

de suggestion semblable; nous nous sommes bornés à faire savoir à la Porte que si elle envoyait, comme on lui en prêtait le dessein, un navire porteur d'un message pacificateur, ce navire serait accueilli par nous d'une façon amicale. Quant à l'autre instruction, relative aux conditions à mettre à l'envoi éventuel de troupes Turques je pense, comme Lord Granville, qu'elle doit être conçue en termes identiques. Je suis tout prêt à m'approprier le texte Anglais, auquel je propose seulement deux légères modifications, dont Lord Granville appréciera, je n'en doute pas, l'opportunité:—

Après les mots "shall be jointly invited" intercaler ceux-ci: "Si cela est nécessaire." C'est afin d'éviter de frapper de discrédit et de déclarer à l'avance impuissante la mission Turque.

Après les mots: "By the Powers" qui suivent immédiatement, intercaler ceux-ci: "réunis en Conférence."

Je craindrais, en effet, que le seul mot de "jointly" ne fit pas ressortir suffisamment, aux yeux des Puissances, la pensée de Lord Granville.

No. 841.

M. de Freycinet to M. Tissot.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by M. Tissot, June 8.)

(Télégraphique.)

Paris, le 7 Juin, 1882, 7.15 soir.

JE reçois à l'instant du Marquis de Noailles le télégramme ci-après:

"J'ai reçu ce matin votre télégramme du 6 Juin, 11.50 soir, avec des nuances dans les expressions. Les réponses données jusqu'ici à la Porte par les Puissances admettent qu'il y a lieu d'attendre le résultat de la mission de Dervish Pasha avant de se prononcer pour la Conférence."

Dans ces conditions, je considère qu'il y a lieu d'ajourner les deux communications au sujet desquelles je vous ai télégraphié aujourd'hui à 5 heures. Elles risqueraient de trouver les Puissances mal préparées à les recevoir. Je vous prie de faire part de cette impression à Lord Granville qui, je n'en doute pas, la partagera.

No. 842.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 8.)

(No. 37.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, June 7, 1882.

I READ this afternoon to the Minister for Foreign Affairs your Lordship's telegram No. 96, giving reply to the Turkish Ambassador respecting Conference, and submitted to him importance of the four Powers joining England and France in pressing the Porte to accede to it at once. French Chargé d'Affaires made a similar communication at the same time.

His Excellency's reply, after a long discussion, was that, in view of the peremptory manner in which the Porte had refused the Conference, he must consult the other three Powers upon the present application from England and France. That if they acceded to it, the Italian Government would not refuse to join them in giving the advice desired; but that in his opinion it would be perhaps better to wait three or four days in order to see if Dervish Pasha's mission was likely to produce the result anticipated by the Porte (which he doubted), and in which case he thought the Powers would then be in a much stronger position to urge the Conference than they are at present.

We insisted on importance of there being no delay, but the above is all we could obtain.

Mr. Cookson to Earl Granville.—(Received June 8, 10 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 8, 1882, 8.20 A.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram of yesterday evening just received.

New guns have been placed in position on new earthworks, but it is impossible to ascertain their calibre, as they are concealed, and no one has been allowed to approach the works. Several attempts have been made to reconnoitre, but without success.

No. 844.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 8, 11 A.M.)

(No. 190.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 8, 1882, 9.30 A.M.

ONE-FOURTH of the year's land revenue in the Province of Upper Egypt is due in June. Owing to the flight of the European grain-dealers from the interior, there were no adequate means open to the proprietors of disposing of their produce, and therewith paying the revenue. The Viceroy, with the concurrence of the Control, has suspended one-half of the instalment due in June for the moment. It will be recovered as soon as the European grain-dealers recommence operations in Upper Egypt on the restoration of order.

No. 845.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 8, 2.10 P.M.)

(No. 126.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 8, 1882, 11.40 A.M.

YESTERDAY I communicated to the Porte the substance of your telegram No. 202, giving reasons which induced your Lordship to consider it advisable that the Conference should meet, notwithstanding the dispatch of the Turkish Commissioner to Alexandria.

Said Pasha desired me to thank your Lordship for having acquainted him with your views, which he admits to be just and reasonable. His Excellency added that the Porte must still decline the Conference in principle; and he expressed his conviction that its reunion would not be found necessary.

No. 846.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 8, 1 P.M.)

(No. 191.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 8, 1882, 1 P.M.

THE Imperial Commissioner arrived at noon to-day.

No. 847.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 8, 2.55 P.M.)

(No. 192. Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 8, 1882, 1.25 P.M.

A SMALL band of 150 Turks had been secretly got together to defend the Khedive in case of extremity. Two nights ago His Highness received news which caused him alarm, and asked for them to be sent to Palace. About thirty had arrived secretly, when counter-orders were given, and they left. Apparently spies reported the circumstances, as to-day thirty-one of the men have already been arrested. Khedive has now nothing to rely upon for even short defence. It is more than ever urgent that the Imperial Commissioner should provide in the first place for the Khedive's safety.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 328. Confidential. Ext. 192.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 8, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that His Highness the Khedive had secretly organized a small band of 150 Turks to defend his person in any extremity. Having received news two nights ago which alarmed him, His Highness asked for them to be dispatched to his Palace; thirty of them had secretly arrived, when a counter-order was issued, which caused them to be immediately withdrawn.

It appears that the circumstance must have been reported by spies, since to-day thirty-one arrests have been made amongst them. In consequence of this, the Khedive is at present without any guard on which he can rely even for a brief resistance, and it has become more than ever imperative that the Ottoman Commissioners should in the first place take measures for the safety of His Highness.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 849.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 8, 5.30 P.M.)

(No. 193.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 8, 1882, 3.30 P.M.

THE Imperial Commissioner is beginning badly as far as outward appearances go. Arabi had sent Yakoub Pasha, the Under-Secretary of State for War, to Alexandria to meet him. The Khedive had sent his own Grand Master of the Ceremonies, and had given instructions that Yakoub Pasha was not to be presented or to travel in the special train. It appears, however, that Yakoub Pasha has never left the Imperial Commissioner since his arrival, and to-day actually drove in the Khedive's carriage with him to the Palace of Gezireh, where the Commissioner is to reside.

The Khedive begs me to represent that if the Commissioner is at the outset to parade friendly communication with the military who are in open rebellion, His Highness' cause must be immediately and sensibly weakened.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 850.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 329. Ext. 193.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 8, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that Dervish Pasha, the Imperial Commissioner, has begun badly, so far as outward appearances enable a judgment to be formed. Arabi Pasha, the Minister of War, had delegated Yakoub Pasha, the Under-Secretary of State for War, to proceed to Alexandria to meet the Turkish Commissioner. The Khedive had sent Zoulikar Pasha, His Highness' Grand Master of Ceremonies, and had instructed him not to present Yakoub Pasha, or to allow him to travel in the special train from Alexandria to Cairo. It appears, however, that, since the arrival of the Imperial Commissioner, Yakoub Pasha has been constantly with him, and, on their arrival to-day in Cairo, actually drove with Dervish Pasha in the Khedive's carriage to the Ghezirah Palace, where the Imperial Commission is to reside during its stay in Cairo.

His Highness the Khedive has, in consequence, begged me to represent that if the Imperial Commissioner is at the outset to parade friendly communication with the Military party, who are in open rebellion to His Highness' authority, His Highness' cause must immediately and sensibly be weakened.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 851.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.(No. 209.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 8, 1882, 5 P.M.*

WITH reference to Sir E. Malet's telegram No. 192 of this day, you should state to the Porte that Her Majesty's Government do not doubt that Dervish Pasha will take all the measures in his power for the safety of the Khedive.

No. 852.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 291. Ext. 209.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 8, 1882.

I TRANSMIT herewith a copy of a telegram from Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, representing the necessity of immediate steps being taken by the Imperial Commissioner to secure the personal safety of the Khedive.*

I have to request that your Excellency will state to the Porte that Her Majesty's Government feel no doubt that Dervish Pasha will take all the measures which may be in his power for the protection of His Highness.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 853.

Mr. Swainson to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 8.)

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, June 8, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the decypher of a telegram, dated the 8th instant, from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, respecting the armament of the new earthworks commanding the Alexandria Harbour.

I am, &c.
(Signed) E. N. SWAINSON.

Inclosure in No. 853.

Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Paraphrase of Telegram.)

Alexandria, June 8, 1882.

IN reply to telegram asking whether there are any guns in position on new earthworks, guns are mounted within two new works, first commencing between light-house and Palace, but only two visible, of light calibre.

Works near Arsenal, and by windmill, incomplete.

An officer has been endeavouring to obtain information, but without success.

No. 854.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 683.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 8, 1882.

THE French Ambassador has communicated to me the two telegrams, copies of which are herewith inclosed,† which contain the reply of the French Government to the inquiry which I requested M. Tissot, in conversation on the 6th instant, to make of M. de Freycinet, as to whether his Excellency was not of opinion that the contemplated instructions to the English and French Representatives at Constantinople in regard to bringing pressure to bear upon the Sultan in the matter of the

* No. 838.

† Nos. 840 and 841.

Conference, and to a possible invitation to His Majesty to send troops, under certain conditions, to Egypt, might not be at once communicated confidentially to the Four Powers for their concurrence, as a saving of time in the event of the failure of Dervish Pasha's mission.

I informed M. Tissot that, as M. de Freycinet appeared inclined towards delay in the communication of the instructions in question, I would take time to consider the answer which his Excellency had been good enough to return to my inquiry.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 855.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 290.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 8, 1882.

MR. WYNDHAM, in his despatch No. 356 A of the 15th ultimo, reports a conversation which he held with Saïd Pasha when his Excellency called to inform him of the views of the Turkish Government in regard to the state of affairs in Egypt, as telegraphed to the Sultan's Ambassadors. I have to request your Excellency to inform Mr. Wyndham that I approve the language which he used to Saïd Pasha, as described in that despatch.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 856.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 293.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 8, 1882.

THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and read to me a telegram which he had received from the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs. The telegram commenced by expressing the thanks of the Porte for my assurances of our desire to maintain the sovereign rights of the Sultan in Egypt, and for my observations to Musurus Pasha on the subject of Dervish Pasha's Mission, and on the proposal for a Conference.

The Porte, it continued, had every reason to hope that Dervish Pasha would succeed in obtaining the result desired, namely, the restoration of tranquillity, the maintenance of the *status quo* and of the Khedive's authority. The Porte see, however, no occasion for and no practical utility in a Conference on Egyptian affairs, and do not consider that the effective exercise of the authority of the legitimate Sovereign of the country or the well-defined object of the Mission just sent afford any ground for such a method of proceeding. The telegram concluded by expressing a hope for the concurrence of Her Majesty's Government, who could not fail to recognize the wisdom and moderation of the attitude of the Porte towards a province which belongs to the Sultan, and the identity of the object for which we were working, namely, the restoration of Egypt to its normal condition, without resort to unnecessary and inopportune measures.

Musurus Pasha supported the view set forth in this telegram by all the arguments in his power. He stated that he himself felt confident of the success of Dervish Pasha, but that if the latter met with difficulties or objections he must be able to threaten the arrival of an army, and that such a measure must be taken by the Sultan of his own accord as the Sovereign of the country, and not acting as the mandatory of the Powers.

I told Musurus Pasha that he would find from the papers which had been laid before Parliament, and would be published to-morrow, that Her Majesty's Government had from the very beginning been desirous of maintaining the Sultan's sovereign rights, and had advocated the employment of Turkish troops if recourse to force should unfortunately become necessary. We had throughout maintained, and still held this opinion. But I said that it was out of the question that the Sultan should be left to intervene in Egypt, and deal with it as he pleased, without security for due regard to the views of the Powers. Her Majesty's Government, moreover, were not acting by themselves in this matter; they stood pledged to other countries.

I added, in conclusion, that I adhered to the answer which I had given to his Excellency on the 6th instant, and I was of opinion that the success of Dervish Pasha in making an arrangement on the principles laid down by the Powers and by the Sultan would be most desirable for the Porte, and for all those interested in the welfare of Egypt.

I repeated that in that case it appeared to me that the *raison-d'être* of the Conference would cease to exist.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 857.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 9, 10.30 A.M.)

(No. 194.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 9, 1881, 8 A.M.

THE Khedive was not satisfied with the manner of the Imperial Commissioner at the first interview yesterday. His Highness, however, immediately returned the visit, and spoke his mind.

He said that he had been much displeased at the conduct of the Commissioner in taking with him in the train and in the carriage Yakoub Pasha, the delegate of Arabi; that he desired to know at once if the Commissioner intended to act up to the assurances of support given by the Sultan; that otherwise His Highness must take his own line and not see him again. The Commissioner rose and declared that he would execute the Sultan's instructions faithfully; that he was there to restore the power of the Khedive; that he would do it, and that he would put himself at the head of the Khedive's troops, if necessary, to fight for His Highness against the rebels; that he was sure that they would obey, as he spoke in the name of the Sultan, and that he should have no need of a single Turkish soldier to help him.

The Khedive is considerably reassured by the issue of this second interview.
(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 858.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 330. Ext. 194.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 9, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that at the first interview yesterday between the Khedive and Dervish Pasha, His Highness was not quite satisfied with the tone of the Imperial Commissioner. The Khedive returned the visit immediately, and spoke very plainly what was on his mind. His Highness said that he was much displeased at the conduct of Dervish Pasha in taking with him Yakoub Pasha, Arabi Pasha's Delegate, in the special train, and in His Highness' carriage from the train to the Palace of Ghezirah, which has been assigned to the Commissioner as his residence during his stay at Cairo. His Highness said that he wished therefore to know if the Commissioner was prepared to act in accordance to the assurances of support to His Highness given by His Majesty the Sultan, that otherwise His Highness must adopt his own line and refuse to see Dervish Pasha any more. Upon this Dervish Pasha rose and declared to His Highness, with great emphasis, that he would faithfully execute the Sultan's instructions; that he had come to restore the authority of the Khedive; that he was determined to do it, and that, if necessary, he would place himself at the head of His Highness' troops to subdue the rebels. Dervish Pasha further observed that he was sure that the troops would obey, as he spoke in the name of the Sultan, and that he did not think he would require the assistance of a single Turkish soldier to help him.

The result of this second interview with Dervish Pasha has considerably reassured the Khedive.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 859.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 9, 2.20 P.M.)

(No. 128.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 9, 1882, 12.57 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 209 of the 8th June.

Immediately on receipt of Sir E. Malet's No. 192 of the 8th June, I informed Saïd Pasha of our Agent's apprehensions.

His Excellency replied that he had once attended to my representations; but he added that the Porte's news from Cairo did not lead them to think that the Khedive was in any danger.

No. 860.

*Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.**

(No. 95. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 9, 1882, 3.10 P.M.

STATE confidentially to the Government to which you are accredited that our chief objection to not pressing for the Conference is that if it were abandoned the principal stimulus to the Porte effecting a satisfactory arrangement would be lost.

No. 861.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.†

(No. 183. Ext. 105.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 9, 1882.

I HAVE to request that your Excellency will state, confidentially, to the Government to which you are accredited, that the chief objection entertained by Her Majesty's Government to not pressing for the Conference, is that, supposing it to be abandoned, the principal stimulus to the Porte effecting a satisfactory arrangement of the present crisis in Egypt would be lost.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 862.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 9, 6 P.M.)

(No. 195.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 9, 1882, 5 P.M.

MY French colleague and I visited the Imperial Commissioner this afternoon. I impressed upon his Excellency the urgent necessity of providing for safety of Khedive.

He said that His Highness was no longer in danger since his (the Commissioner's) arrival. I begged him not to trust to the assurances of the military on this point.

His Excellency made two remarks of importance:—

First, he said that Khedive could not continue with his present privileges.

Secondly, he stated that there were two corps d'armée ready to come to Egypt on his giving the signal.

He spoke with conviction of succeeding in his mission.
(Sent to Constantinople.)

* Also to Sir H. Elliot (No. 104), Sir E. Thornton (No. 99), and Sir A. Paget (No. 105).
† Also to Sir E. Thornton (No. 181); Sir H. Elliot (No. 166); and Lord Ampthill (No. 237).
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Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 332. Ext. 195.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 9, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that this afternoon M. Sienkiewicz and I paid a visit to Dervish Pasha, the Imperial Commissioner. I impressed upon his Excellency the urgent necessity of providing for the personel safety of the Khedive. Dervish Pasha replied that, since his arrival, the Khedive was no longer in danger. I begged his Excellency not to place confidence in the assurances of the Military party in this respect, but to effectually secure His Highness against the danger of any surprise.

During our interview Dervish Pasha made two remarks which are of importance:—

First, that the Khedive could not continue with his present privileges; and secondly, that there were two corps d'armée ready to come to Egypt on his Excellency's giving the signal.

His Excellency spoke with confidence of succeeding in the mission on which he had been dispatched to Egypt by the Sultan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 864.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Thornton.

(No. 180.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 9, 1882.

HER Majesty's Government desire that you will express to M. de Giers their appreciation at the manner in which his Excellency conveyed to you, as reported in your despatches Nos. 184 and 186 of the 31st ultimo and 1st instant, the announcement that the Russian Government agreed to the proposals of Her Majesty's Government with regard to Egyptian affairs.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 865.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 203.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 9, 1882, 7.15 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 195.

Did first remark of Imperial Commissioner apply to "privileges" or to "Ministers"?

No. 866.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 9, 11 P.M.)

(No. 38.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, June 9, 1882, 4 P.M.

THE French Chargé d'Affaires has just been informed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs that he will send this afternoon instructions to Count Corti to join English and French Ambassadors in urging the Porte to accede at once to the Conference, provided the Representatives of the other three Powers have the same instructions.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 10.)

(No. 547.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 6, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report that yesterday, in obedience to the instruction given to me by your Lordship's telegram of the 2nd instant (No. 264), I conveyed to M. de Freycinet the appreciation by Her Majesty's Government of the cordial feelings towards England expressed by him in the speech on the Egyptian question which he delivered in the Chamber of Deputies on the 2nd instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 868.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 10.)

(No. 40.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, June 9, 1882.

I HAVE received a private letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, stating that he has sent instructions to Count Corti to concert with his three colleagues in advising Porte to agree to the meeting of the Conference.

I presume, therefore, I need not act on the instructions conveyed in your Lordship's telegram, Confidential, of to-day.

No. 869.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 10, 11 A.M.)

(No. 196.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 10, 1882, 9 A.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 203 of yesterday.

The Commissioner's Dragoman in translating undoubtedly used the word "privileges," but I am inclined to think that it was a clumsy translation, and that the Commissioner meant the privileges usurped by the military, not those appertaining to the Viceroyalty. His Excellency would hardly have unveiled to us, in a first interview, a deliberate design to infringe the Firmans and the *status quo*, even if he entertained it.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 870.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 332. Ext. 196.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 10, 1882.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 203 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to state that there is no doubt that the Dragoman of Dervish Pasha used the word "privileges," but I am inclined to think that the translation did not render the meaning properly, and that Dervish Pasha alluded in reality to the privileges usurped by the Military party, and not to those appertaining to the Viceroyalty. Even if Dervish Pasha entertained such an idea, he would hardly have unveiled to us in our first interview a deliberate design to infringe the Firmans and the *status quo*.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 871.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 10, 2:30 P.M.)(No. 197. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)*Cairo, June 10, 1882, noon.*

WE are entering on a new phase, which requires much caution. My French colleague evinces a keen suspicion of the designs of the Imperial Commissioner. It is rumoured that his Excellency intends to assume the command of the Egyptian army, and even to become Minister of War. My colleague, much alarmed, says that the moment may come when he will have to refuse to approve or even to acquiesce in the Commissioner's action.

At this point the interests of England and France diverge. All we require in Egypt is the stability of the *status quo*. The object would be gained if an officer of the Sultan maintained the subjection of the army, and the interference of the Porte were limited to this action. Whereas France would resolutely oppose the permanency of such a method of keeping order. I apprehend that the divergence of views of the two Governments would show itself when the question of withdrawing the squadrons arrives. For we might be content and glad to leave Dervish Pasha in command, and the French might refuse to withdraw as long as he remained.

But the other Powers would probably be as satisfied as ourselves with the above solution.

It would therefore be wise of the Sultan to convene the Conference at once, in order to have at hand the means of obtaining the withdrawal of the ships as soon as the situation here has arrived at a stage which meets with the satisfaction of all the Powers except one.

I have let the Khedive know that there is every reason to believe that the instructions of the Sultan are *bond fide*, and have advised him to show confidence in the Commissioner, and to let him work out his object in his own way.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 872.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)(No. 336. Confidential. Ext. 197.)
My Lord,*Cairo, June 10, 1882.*

IT appears to me that the Egyptian question is entering upon a new phase, in which much caution is required. The suspicions of my French colleague have already been aroused as to the intentions of Dervish Pasha, the Imperial Commissioner. It is reported that his Excellency proposes himself to take the command of the army, or even, if necessary, to become Minister of War. M. de Sienkiewicz views this contingency with much alarm, and has warned me that there is a point beyond which he will be unable to approve, or even to recognize, the action of the Commissioner.

It is, in fact, at this point that the interests of France and England diverge. Her Majesty's Government require nothing more than the restoration of the *status quo* upon a secure footing, and this object would be attained if the army were controlled by an officer of the Sultan without any further interference on the part of the Porte. The French Government, on the other hand, would resolutely oppose any such plan as a permanent method of maintaining order.

The divergence of views of the two Governments will probably manifest itself when the withdrawal of the English and French squadrons is under discussion. For the French Government might refuse to recall their ships as long as Dervish Pasha remained in command, whereas Her Majesty's Government might be content and glad to leave his Excellency behind.

The other Powers, however, would in all probability accept this solution with no less satisfaction than Her Majesty's Government.

The Sultan, therefore, would do well to lose no time in convening the Conference, so that, as soon as affairs here are sufficiently settled to gain the approval of the Powers, it could act as the means of obtaining the withdrawal of the ships—an end which would be within its competence to effect, if all the Powers, with the exception of France, approved of such a course.

I have informed the Khedive that Dervish Pasha's instructions are regarded as

bond fide, and I have recommended His Highness to show confidence in him, and to allow him complete liberty in the execution of his mission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 873.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 10, 3:25 P.M.)(No. 129.)
(Telegraphic.)*Constantinople, June 10, 1882, 1:15 P.M.*

THE Representatives of the four Powers will repair to the Porte to-day to insist on the necessity of the immediate reunion of the Conference. A rumour has been current that Austria and Germany are cold in the cause; but I have satisfied myself that the Representatives of those two Governments will press the point upon the Ottoman Government with desirable earnestness. Both Baron Calice and M. de Hirschfeldt quite understand the force of the reasoning in your Lordship's telegram No. 210.

No. 874.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.(No. 211.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 10, 1882, 5 P.M.*

I HAVE to-day told Turkish Ambassador that the news received from Cairo seemed very encouraging; that it would certainly be a great success for the Sultan if, by a pacific mission, he was able to solve the question according to the policy which His Majesty and all the Powers desired, namely, that of the maintenance of the *status quo*.

I said that anything short of this might lead to serious complications, which it was the interest of every one to avoid; but that I had now great hopes of a satisfactory settlement.

No. 875.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.(No. 302. Ext. 211.)
My Lord,*Foreign Office, June 10, 1882.*

THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me to-day. I told his Excellency that the latest intelligence which I had received from Cairo appeared to be very reassuring, and that it would certainly be a great success for the Sultan if, by the pacific mission of Dervish Pasha, His Majesty should be able to solve the Egyptian question according to the policy which the Sultan and all the Powers desired, namely, the maintenance of the *status quo*. Anything short of this, I observed, might lead to serious complications, which it was the interest of all to avoid, but I now had great hopes that a satisfactory settlement might be arrived at.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 876.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 10, 5:30 P.M.)(No. 198.)
(Telegraphic.)*Cairo, June 10, 1882, 5 P.M.*

THE Imperial Commissioner received the Ulema this morning, in number about sixty. One of them, a noted follower of Arabi, began a speech extolling the action of the army as having preserved Egypt from the infidel, upon which the Commissioner rose, and saying that he was there to give orders and not to listen to advice, had the man forcibly turned out of the room by an attendant of colossal stature, who appears to be always present on those occasions.

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Everything continues to show that the Commissioner is acting *bond fide* to support the Khedive and subdue the rebellion.
(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 877.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 337. Ext. 198.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 10, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report that the Ulemas, about sixty in number, visited the Imperial Commissioner this morning. One of them, well known as a follower of Arabi, proceeded to deliver a speech extolling the course pursued by the army as having preserved the country from falling into the hands of the Infidel. Upon this the Commissioner rose from his seat and, in forcible language, reminded those present that he had come to issue orders and not to listen to preaching: the offending Ulema was thereupon seized and forced to retire by an attendant of colossal stature, who appears to be always at hand.

There is every reason to believe that the Commissioner will, *bond fide*, support the authority of the Khedive, and endeavour to put down the present rebellion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 878.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 11, 4.30 P.M.)

(No. 199.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 11, 1882, 12.25 P.M.

REPETITION of my telegram of to-day to Mr. Cookson:—

“(Secret.)”

“The Swedish Consul-General has arrived from Alexandria and has submitted to a meeting of Representatives of the Great Powers the plan for a common defence of Europeans at Alexandria for our approval. The Representatives are all of opinion that the preparation for such a defence, involving the arming of 3,000 to 4,000 persons, is a most dangerous course, and likely at any moment in itself to cause a collision. They all send instructions to their Consuls to take no part in it. You will therefore abstain from taking any further steps in regard to plan in question, and rely upon assistance which will be given by Admiral in case of necessity for safety of British subjects, and act under his advice as to measures to be taken. It is desirable that the sudden abandonment of a plan which has to a certain extent become known should not be announced. You will therefore keep this instruction secret, and you should endeavour to calm apprehension by pointing out that there is no quarrel between Europeans and natives, and that the negotiations are now entirely in the hands of the Imperial Commissioner acting in name of the Sultan.

“Communicate this instruction to Admiral.

“(Repeated to Secretary of State.)”

No. 879.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 338. Secret. Ext. 199.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 11, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the Swedish Consul-General arrived here to-day from Alexandria, and submitted a scheme for the general defence of Europeans there for the approval of the Representatives of the Great Powers.

The Representatives were unanimous in the opinion that the arming of 3,000 to 4,000 persons, involved in preparing such a defence, was a most dangerous act, and one that was in itself likely at any moment to provoke a collision. They therefore all instructed their Consuls not to take any part in the plan, and I telegraphed to

Mr. Cookson in consequence to abstain from any further participation in it, and, in case of danger to British subjects, to rely upon the assistance which will be lent by the Admiral, under whose advice he should act as to the proper measures to adopt.

As I considered it desirable that the sudden rejection of a plan, which, to a certain extent, had become known, should not be publicly announced, I instructed Mr. Cookson to keep the foregoing secret, and at the same time to endeavour to allay apprehension by explaining that no quarrel exists between the natives and Europeans, and that the negotiations are, at the present moment, entirely in the hands of Dervish Pasha, the Imperial Commissioner, who is acting with the Sultan's name. I requested Mr. Cookson to communicate this instruction to Admiral Sir B. Seymour.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 880.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 11, 7.15 P.M.)

(No. 130. Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 11, 1882, 3 P.M.

LAST night the Sultan sent to me his Private Secretary, who told me that it had taken His Majesty an hour to repeat the message he was charged to deliver. It consisted of a review of the past relations of England and Turkey; of an expression of astonishment at the unnatural confederacy between England and France; of a desire that the Egyptian question should be settled by a friendly understanding between England and Turkey, to the exclusion of France and of all the other European Powers; of a recognition, which was admitted to be tardy, that in spite of all that had come and gone, England was His Majesty's best ally; and it concluded with an offer of Sultan's firm and enduring friendship, and a promise to pay due heed to the counsels of the English Government. This offer, with the foregoing exposition of his views, His Majesty begged might be transmitted to your Lordship by telegraph.

I replied that I was glad the Sultan had at last accepted the correct view of the relations which ought naturally to exist between the two Governments; that our alliance with France was of very ancient date, and was a fact outside Oriental politics; that our joint action with France in Egypt had resulted in our being able to obtain large concessions from France in the Sultan's interests, and in preventing her from embarking on a far more aggressive policy; that she had agreed to the dispatch of a Turkish Commissioner, and, if necessary, of Turkish troops, at our instance; that as for the Conference, it was an arrangement advantageous rather than otherwise to Turkey; the majority of the Powers, with England at their head, would be benevolently disposed towards Turkey; and that, in any event, it was useless to discuss the question, inasmuch as all Europe was unanimous in [?] desiring the Conference. I added (speaking merely in my personal capacity, and not on behalf of Her Majesty's Government) that if the Porte would frankly allow the Conference to be constituted, I did not see why it should not be adjourned until the result of Dervish Pasha's mission should be ascertained.

Reshid Bey then explained that the friendship and close alliance which His Majesty offered was independent of the Conference question; that for some time past His Majesty had begun to entertain misgivings as to the wisdom of his reserved attitude towards England; that the Porte and his most capable advisers had long been recommending a different line of conduct, and that at last he had come round to their opinion. Reshid Bey further stated that the idea of being asked to send Turkish troops to Egypt, though at one time agreeable to His Majesty, had now become very displeasing to him, as he believed that it had been suggested with a perfidious desire to entrap him into active hostilities with the Mahomedan population of Africa. I replied that such absurd delusions upon His Majesty's part might have most unfortunate results [?]; that His Majesty and the Porte had frequently expressed their opinion that if armed intervention were necessary it ought to be conducted by Turkey; and that serious opposition was scarcely to be expected.

Reshid Bey then expressed the Sultan's extreme anxiety to obtain an answer to this overture, and that if it came in time to-morrow morning Sultan would be glad that I should bring it to him myself.

I consider the foregoing to indicate a desire (1) to detach England from France, and (2) a genuine conviction, which the most respectable of those about him have at

last been able to impress upon the Sultan's mind, that it is for his interests to be on friendly terms with England.

It is very important that Her Majesty's Government should carefully consider this new departure, and if it sees any practical way of reciprocating the Sultan's amicable mood, that I should be instructed accordingly; but it would be unwise merely to amuse him with vague professions of good-will.

No. 881.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 11, 4.30 P.M.)

(No. 181.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 11, 1882, 3.20 P.M.

SIR E. MALET'S telegram No. 194 of the 10th June.

French colleague shows the same inclination to criticize and suspect Dervish Pasha's proceedings as does the French Egyptian Agent. He objects to his threat of usurping the office of Minister of War and of sending for a Turkish corps d'armée.

While admitting that we should carefully watch Dervish Pasha's proceedings, I observed that his only chance of success was to assume a high and decided tone; that when the Minister for Foreign Affairs told us that Dervish Pasha would take an early opportunity of packing off Arabi and his accomplices to the Soudan, we had neither of us protested, though that would be an act of high-handed executive interference; that, in dealing with Orientals, a Turkish official like Dervish Pasha would best know how to attain his ends. Apparently he was really endeavouring to re-establish the authority of the Khedive, and it would be but fair to give him a certain latitude in regard to the course he adopted.

No. 882.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 11, 7 P.M.)

(No. 200.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 11, 1882, 4 P.M.

THE Imperial Commissioner seems as yet to be endeavouring to induce Arabi and those who act with him to listen to reason. No Proclamation has been made, and* orders have been issued. The military will, it is said, declare for resistance. Whether they ultimately yield or not, they will no doubt keep up this menace to the last.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 883.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 339. Ext. 200.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 11, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, up to the present, the Imperial Commissioner appears to be using his efforts to persuade Arabi Pasha and his associates to listen to reason. No orders have been issued nor any proclamation made. It is said that the Military party will refuse submission. There is no doubt that they will keep up the threat of resistance to the last, whether they ultimately yield or not.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

* Qy. "no" omitted

No. 884.

Vice-Consul Calvert to Earl Granville.—(Received June 11, 11.15 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 11, 1882, 10.40 P.M.

SERIOUS riot this afternoon between Arabs and Europeans; many persons wounded. Mr. Cookson badly wounded in head, also three of our Consular constables. Police did not interfere to protect Europeans. Engineer of "Superb" killed. Cannot yet ascertain who else killed or wounded. Troops have come to restore order. Governor and Consuls have been concerting measures. Governor promises public security, but is, I think, quite powerless to maintain order.

No. 885.

Vice-Consul Calvert to Earl Granville.—(Received June 11, 11.15 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 11, 1882, 11.15 P.M.

DELEGATES from Khedive, Dervish and Arabi Pashas are now on way from Cairo to Alexandria by express train. Egyptian troops are patrolling town. Many European houses and shops plundered by Arab mob. Greek Consul-General wounded.

No. 886.

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Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12.)

(No. 189.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, June 5, 1882.

I HAD the honour to receive your Lordship's telegram No. 76 at midnight of the 31st ultimo. In compliance with your instructions, I waited on M. de Giers the next day and communicated to his Excellency its contents. He at once said that he did not doubt that His Imperial Majesty would concur in the proposal accepted by Her Majesty's Government for a Conference at Constantinople on the affairs of Egypt at which the six Powers and the Porte should be represented; for he said that such a measure would be in entire accordance with His Majesty's views. He would, however, at once inform His Majesty of my communication, and would concert with the other Powers what answer should be given to the proposal.

At that time my French colleague had not made a similar communication to M. de Giers, but I supposed that he would do so in the course of that or the next day.

M. de Giers informed me that M. de Novikow, with his family, had just arrived from Constantinople; indeed he was at that moment in the waiting-room; and he thought it would be very hard on him to ask him to return to his post at once. He therefore begged me to inquire of your Lordship, confidentially, whether there would be any objection to the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople being the Russian Representative at the Conference, and whether it would be necessary to send him a full power, or whether instructions which could be more expeditiously forwarded by telegraph would be sufficient. His Excellency stated that he had entire confidence in M. Onou, who was extremely intelligent, and perfectly acquainted with the matters which would be considered by the Conference.

I at once acquainted your Lordship with M. de Giers' inquiries by telegraph, and received an answer on the morning of the 3rd instant. I communicated its contents to M. de Giers the same afternoon.

Early on the same day my French colleague called on me, and read me a telegram instructing his Excellency to concert with me the communication to M. de Giers of the decision of the two Governments to propose a Conference at Constantinople, composed of the Representatives of the six Powers and the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the affairs of Egypt. I informed his Excellency of the step I had already taken on the 1st instant, but Admiral Jaurès replied that M. de Freycinet had doubtless delayed the transmission of the instructions to him on account of the questions which were to be put to him in the French Chambers on the 2nd instant. Whilst he was with me I received your Lordship's telegram No. 85, and we then agreed that we would call upon M. de Giers on the same afternoon, and would acquaint him with the contents of the identic telegrams which we had received.

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I have the honour to inclose copy of the Memorandum which I then left with M. de Giers. Admiral Jaurès also delivered to him a copy of the telegram addressed to him by M. de Freycinet.

M. de Giers replied that, as far as the Russian Government were concerned, they accepted with satisfaction the proposal for a Conference, and that he had been authorized by the Emperor to make this statement. His Excellency added that, in consequence of the communication which I had made to him on the 1st instant, he had already telegraphed to the Russian Representatives at Berlin, Vienna, and Rome upon the subject. He had not yet received any official answer, but had been informed that Prince Bismarck had expressed himself very decidedly in favour of the Conference, and that Count Kálnoky had also thought well of it. As yet his Excellency had received no answer from Rome as to the feeling of the Italian Government with respect to it, but he did not doubt that the three Powers, as well as the Sultan, would concur in the proposal for a Conference.

M. de Giers informed my French colleague and myself that a full power for M. Onou would be prepared immediately, but that it could reach Odessa only in time for the steamer which leaves that port on Saturday, and would probably reach Constantinople on Sunday the 11th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

No. 887.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12.)

(No. 422.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 6, 1882.

ON receipt of Admiral Beauchamp Seymour's telegram stating the fact of batteries being erected at Alexandria opposite Her Majesty's ship "Invincible," I at once called the attention of the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the gravity of the circumstance, and pointed out to him that if the Anglo-French fleets were fired upon the most serious complications would inevitably ensue.

I have since learnt that the Sultan has telegraphed to the Khedive requesting him to order Arabi Pasha to discontinue the works, which has been done.

This action on the part of the Sultan was taken, I believe, after the receipt of a telegram from Musurus Pasha, which drew His Majesty's attention to the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 888.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12.)

(No. 423. Very Confidential.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 6, 1882.

REFERRING to my telegraphic despatch No. 120 of the 3rd instant, in which the Minister for Foreign Affairs announced the intention of the Sublime Porte to dispatch a Commissioner to Egypt, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that Saïd Pasha intimated to me confidentially that, after due consideration, they had not thought it prudent to summon Arabi Pasha to Constantinople, as it was very doubtful whether he would have obeyed the order.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 889.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12.)

(No. 424.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 6, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, in compliance with the instructions contained in your telegram No. 194 of the 2nd instant, I made a com-

munication to the Ottoman Minister for Foreign Affairs, of which I inclose a copy, proposing that a Conference should be held at Constantinople on the affairs of Egypt.

His Excellency having expressed a wish to be furnished with a copy of it, I accordingly left one with him.

The French Ambassador also made a communication to his Excellency, which was identic with mine.

A copy of it is herewith inclosed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 889.

The Earl of Dufferin to Saïd Pasha.

Constantinople, June 3, 1882.

IT does not seem as if the hope of a pacific solution of the Egyptian difficulty, by means only of the moral influence of our squadrons and good offices of our Agents at Cairo, can any longer be reasonably entertained. The moment appears, therefore, to have arrived, as contemplated in our identic telegram of the 23rd May, for us to concert with the Powers and Turkey to decide in common on the measures fittest to put an end to the crisis. The Cabinets of London and Paris believe the most practical and rapid method of realizing this concert would be to assemble at Constantinople a Conference formed of the Ambassadors of the Great Powers and of the Sultan's Minister for Foreign Affairs.

This Conference will be charged with ("aura pour mandat") determining the measures to be taken in order to secure a settlement of the affairs of Egypt on the following bases: the maintenance of the rights of the Sultan and of the Khedive; of international engagements and the arrangement existing under them, whether with England and France alone, or with those two nations and the other Powers; the preservation of the liberties secured by the Firman of the Sultan, together with the prudent development of Egyptian institutions.

Inclosure 2 in No. 889.

M. de Freycinet to M. de Nouilles.

(Télégraphique.)

Paris, le 2 Juin, 1882, 4 h. soir.

L'ESPOIR d'une solution pacifique des difficultés Égyptiennes, due uniquement à la présence de nos escadres à Alexandrie et aux bons offices de nos Agents au Caire, ne paraît pas pouvoir être raisonnablement conservé plus longtemps. Le moment semble donc venu, conformément aux prévisions de notre télégramme identique du 23 Mai, de nous concerter avec les Puissances et avec le Turc pour arrêter, en commun, les mesures propres à terminer la crise. Les Cabinets de Paris et de Londres pensent que le mode le plus pratique et le plus rapide de réaliser ce concert serait de réunir à Constantinople une Conférence formée des Ambassadeurs des Grandes Puissances et du Ministre des Affaires Étrangères du Sultan. Cette Conférence aurait pour mandat de déterminer les mesures à prendre en vue d'assurer le règlement des affaires d'Égypte sur les bases suivantes, savoir: (1) maintien des droits du Sultan et du Khédive ainsi que des engagements internationaux, et des arrangements qui en résultent, soit avec la France et l'Angleterre seules, soit avec ces deux nations réunies aux autres Puissances; (2) respect des libertés garanties par les Firmans du Sultan; (3) développement prudent des institutions Égyptiennes.

No. 890.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12.)

(No. 201.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 11, 1882, 8 P.M.

DISORDERS at Alexandria. Dervish Pasha has ordered Arabi to send stringent order for the protection of Europeans. The Khedive has sent an Aide-de-camp to Alexandria. Particulars not yet known here.

No. 891.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12, 8 A.M.)

(No. 202.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 11, 1882, 11.20 P.M.

LATEST news from Alexandria, dated 11 P.M., states that order has been established by the troops.

I have no news from the Consulate.

No. 892.

Vice-Consul Calvert to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12, 8 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 12, 1882, 1 A.M.

TOWN quiet, excepting in lowest quarter of town, where fighting still continues. Cavalry sent to suppress rioting. Several English ladies and children sought refuge in Consulate, and some have returned home. Arrangements have been made to embark them if necessity arises. Governor guarantees their security.

No. 893.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12, 8 A.M.)

(No. 132.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 11, 1882, 11.30 P.M.

ANOTHER Aide-de-camp was sent off last night, in an Imperial yacht, with orders (as I am informed on good authority) to Dervish Pasha to settle the Egyptian troubles with the utmost despatch, in order to avoid the necessity of a Conference.

No. 894.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12, 8.15 A.M.)

(No. 133. Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 11, 1882, 11.55 P.M.

THE Sultan sent his Secretary again to me to-night. I asked him what decision His Majesty had arrived at with respect to the Conference. He said that the Sultan was rather against it than for it, but that he would accept it in principle if it really became a necessity; that in three or four days the ultimate results of Dervish Pasha's action would become apparent, and that, until then, the Sultan would strongly deprecate its reunion, as it would damage Dervish Pasha's prestige.

He then declared the real object of his visit, which was to supplement his communication of last night by a proposal that, in the event of the Conference taking place, Turkey and England should agree beforehand as to the settlement to be arrived at. By this means they would be in a position to impose their wishes upon the other Powers. The Sultan, he said, wished this suggestion also to be telegraphed to your Lordship. I promised compliance; but I added that all that we desired was the restoration of the *status quo* on the basis already communicated to the Porte and to the European Powers.

In replying, please make it clear that your answer to this telegram is not the answer to my telegram No. 130 of this morning.

No. 895.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12, 9.30 A.M.)

(No. 203.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 12, 1882, 7.50 A.M.

FOLLOWING telegram from Dr. Mackie, dated midnight:—

"Cookson seriously wounded; head severely cut several places; lost deal blood; one finger broken; both hands much injured; body full of bruises. Is in bed, and kept quiet."

No. 896.

Vice-Consul Calvert to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12, 11.15 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 12, 1882, 10.25 A.M.

WOMEN and children who sought refuge in the Consulate have been escorted aboard ship under the protection of the soldiery. The military still maintain order. Mr. Cookson is convalescent, but confined to bed; injuries not serious. Only danger now apparently would be from further hostilities between Arabs and Europeans, in which the Europeans might prove the strongest, and military might come to aid their compatriots.

No. 897.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12, 11.30 A.M.)

(No. 204.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 12, 1882, 9.30 A.M.

FOLLOWING sent to Admiral Seymour:—

"The Viceroy says that if men land from the ships, or the garrison at Alexandria apprehends hostile action, there will be a general conflagration throughout the country.

"The Representatives of Powers are now going to Dervish Pasha to attempt to obtain a temporary arrangement by which the security of the Christians may be insured."

No. 898.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 12.)

(No. 340. Ext. 204.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 12, 1882.

IN consequence of the riot which took place yesterday at Alexandria, the Khedive says that if men are landed from the ships, or if the Egyptian garrison apprehends any hostile action on the part of the Europeans, there is a danger of a general conflagration throughout the country. I have accordingly telegraphed in this sense to Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, adding that the Representatives of the Powers will endeavour to obtain from Dervish Pasha some temporary arrangement by which the safety of the Christian population in Egypt may be secured.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 899.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 210.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 12, 1882, 12.55 P.M.

YOURS No. 209.

Unless there are strong objections, your place seems to be where the Khedive is.

No. 900.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 168. Ext. 210.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 13, 1882.

YOUR telegram No. 209 of this day informs me that you have learnt that the Khedive and Dervish Pasha are on the point of leaving Cairo for Alexandria, and that you are about to consult the Representatives of the other Powers as to what would be the proper course for the foreign Agents to pursue under the circumstances.

It appears to Her Majesty's Government that you should follow His Highness to Alexandria, unless you consider that there are strong objections to your doing so, and I have so informed you by telegraph.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 901.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12, 1.30 P.M.)

(No. 89.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 12, 1882, 11.45 A.M.

M. DE FREYCINET has told me this morning that, as at present informed, he is disposed to think that the calamitous events at Alexandria proceeded from a local riot, for which the Egyptian Government is not primarily responsible, although the authorities were to blame for not showing more energy and good-will in protecting Europeans.

I observed that, however this might be, it was certain that nothing of the kind would have taken place before the military revolt, and that a spirit had been allowed to grow up which placed Europeans in Egypt in serious danger.

M. de Freycinet answered that undoubtedly the events at Alexandria disclosed a state of things which might make rapid and energetic measures necessary for the protection of English and French and other Europeans, and he added that it would be extremely desirable that any such measures should be taken in concert with Europe, or should at least be immediately sanctioned by Europe assembled in Conference.

He begged me, therefore, to represent to your Lordship that it is, in his opinion, more than ever imperative that the Conference should now be constituted without the least delay.

No. 902.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 12.)

(No. 559. Ext. 89.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 12, 1882.

YOUR Lordship was so good as to repeat to me this morning Sir Edward Malet's and Mr. Vice-Consul Calvert's telegrams of yesterday, reporting the deplorable events which took place on that day at Alexandria.

As soon as possible after these telegrams reached me, I went to the French Foreign Office and saw M. de Freycinet, who had received the same intelligence from the French authorities in Egypt.

His Excellency said that, so far as he could judge from the information which had already reached him, he regarded the calamitous disorders at Alexandria as being a local riot for which the Egyptian Government was not primarily responsible, although its officers on the spot were to blame for not showing more energy and good-will in protecting the Europeans.

I answered that however this might be, it was certain that nothing of the kind would have occurred if the Government of Egypt had been conducted since the military revolt in the spirit which had prevailed before that mutiny; and I observed that a feeling had been allowed to grow up, or rather had been excited and encouraged by the men now in power, which must be a cause of serious danger to Europeans.

M. de Freycinet answered that undoubtedly the events at Alexandria disclosed a

state of things which was calculated to inspire serious alarm, and which might make it necessary to take rapid and energetic measures for the protection of the French and English and other Europeans in Egypt.

It would, his Excellency said, be extremely desirable that any such measures which might be necessary should be taken in concert with Europe, or should at least receive, as soon as possible, the sanction of Europe assembled in Conference. He would therefore, he added, beg me to represent to your Lordship that these disasters at Alexandria rendered it more than ever imperative that the Conference should be constituted without the least delay.

I forwarded the substance of what precedes to your Lordship, by telegraph, directly I got home.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 903.

Vice-Consul Calvert to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12, 2.50 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 12, 1882, 1.58 P.M.

MEDICAL inspection held at hospitals shows that in yesterday's riot about fifty Europeans were killed and only three Arabs; but it is inferred that other Arabs have been killed, and are kept out of sight not to create alarm or excitement.

Nearly all the Europeans killed or wounded have been clubbed. Some have received stabs.

Town at present very quiet. Every one in streets is searched and disarmed. Vessels in port are crowded with European fugitives.

No. 904.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12, 2.55 P.M.)

(No. 205.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 12, 1882, 11 A.M.

THE Representatives have been to Dervish Pasha.

We said that we demanded of him to insure safety of Europeans throughout Egypt.

He stated that he had no power, and that Khedive had no power, and that, being without forces to support him, he must decline responsibility. He would, he said, go at once to the Khedive, and arrange with His Highness the steps to be taken with a view to complying with our demand on behalf of Europeans, and promised to let us know what should be decided. He begged us not to send alarming telegrams to our Governments, because aggressive action might produce immediate calamities.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 905.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 12.)

(No. 341. Ext. 205.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 12, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report that the Representatives of the Great Powers have together visited the Imperial Commissioner. We demanded of Dervish Pasha guarantees for the safety of foreigners throughout Egypt. In reply his Excellency stated that neither he nor the Khedive had the power in their hands, and that since he was without forces to rely upon for support, he must decline responsibility.

He said, however, that he would immediately call upon the Khedive, and concert with His Highness as to the measures which could be taken to meet our demands on behalf of our subjects, and he promised to inform us of the result. Meanwhile, he begged us to abstain from sending alarming telegrams to our Governments, as immediate calamities might be produced by aggressive action.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 906.

Earl Granville to Vice-Consul Calvert.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 12, 1882, 3.45 P.M.

EXPRESS to Mr. Cookson great concern of Her Majesty's Government at attack made on him. Keep me informed of his condition, and beg him to refrain from work.

No. 907.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 207.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 12, 1882, 4.35 P.M.

SIR F. GOLDSMID has expressed desire to return to Egypt at once. I have requested him to remain here, as we may wish him to go to Constantinople to assist Lord Dufferin if Conference meets.

Do you see any reason against this?

No. 908.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12, 5.15 P.M.)

(No. 206.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 12, 1882, 2.30 P.M.

A MEETING has taken place at the Palace; present: the Khedive, Dervish Pasha and suite (consisting of Lebib Effendi, Kadri Bey, and Sheikh Essad), also Chérif Pasha, Arabi Pasha, and Representatives of Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia, France, and myself. The object of our meeting was to receive an answer to the demand which we had made to Dervish Pasha in the morning that measures which should be satisfactory to us should at once be adopted to insure the safety of Europeans in Egypt. The following guarantees were given to us, and accepted:—

Arabi undertook to obey implicitly all orders given to him by the Khedive, and stated that he would stop all inflammatory preaching, meetings, and newspaper articles, and guaranteed the maintenance of public order by the troops. The Khedive undertook to issue orders immediately with the object of restoring public tranquillity. Dervish Pasha said that, under the urgent circumstances of the case, he would assume joint responsibility with Arabi Pasha for the execution of the orders of the Khedive.

(Repeated to Constantinople, Admiral, Cookson, Consuls at Port Saïd and Suez.)

No. 909.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12, 5.10 P.M.)

(No. 207.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 12, 1882, 3 P.M.

MY telegram No. 206 of to-day.

At the meeting at the Palace we stated that the danger to the security of Europeans in Egypt must for the moment take precedence of all other questions. The political situation did not enter into the discussion in any way. At the conclusion, I requested the Khedive to reiterate this to the Imperial Commissioner, and to state to him distinctly that the discussion which had taken place, and the conclusion arrived at, had nothing to do with the object of his Excellency's mission to Egypt, which had still to be attained.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 910.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 12.)

(No. 343. Ext. 207.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 12, 1882.

WITH reference to my telegram to your Lordship, No. 206 of to-day's date, I have the honour to report that at the meeting held to-day at the Palace the Representatives of the Powers stated that, for the moment, the danger which threatened Europeans in Egypt must take precedence of every other question. The political situation in no way entered into the discussion. At the conclusion, I requested the Khedive to repeat this to Dervish Pasha, and distinctly to state to his Excellency that the discussion which had just terminated, and the conclusion at which we had arrived, had nothing to do with the mission on which his Excellency had come to Egypt, the object of which still remained to be attained.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 911.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 208.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 12, 1882, 5.45 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 199 of yesterday.

Your instructions to Mr. Cookson approved.

No. 912.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 167. Ext. 208.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 12, 1882.

HER Majesty's Government have had under their consideration the instructions which, as recorded in your telegram No. 199 of yesterday, you addressed to Her Majesty's Consul at Alexandria with regard to a plan which had been proposed for a common defence of Europeans at that port; and I have to inform you that they approve the directions you gave to Mr. Cookson in this matter.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 913.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 216.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 12, 1882, 5.50 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 131 of yesterday.

Her Majesty's Government approve your language to French Ambassador.

No. 914.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 303. Ext. 216.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 12, 1882.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 131 of yesterday, reporting the tone taken by the French Ambassador with regard to the proceedings of Dervish Pasha; and I have to acquaint you that the observations you made to the Marquis de Noailles respecting the course pursued by the Pasha are approved by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 915.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.(No. 218.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 12, 1882, 6.30 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 130 of 11th instant.
Her Majesty's Government approve your language to the Sultan's Private Secretary, and you are authorized to repeat it in their name. The papers just laid before Parliament will show the Sultan how early Her Majesty's Government declared their preference for Turkish to any other intervention. Further papers that will appear shortly will show that although we failed at first in persuading the French Government to invite the Sultan to send a ship of war to join the naval demonstration, it was by our consistent pressure that the other steps were taken.

As long as the French act with us on the declared basis of our Egyptian policy, we cannot separate from them and from the other Powers. But the Sultan, who is acting with good faith in endeavouring to re-establish the *status quo*, may rely on our opposing anything which tends to diminish his position as Sovereign in Egypt.

No. 916.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 305. Confidential. Ext. 218.)

Foreign Office, June 12, 1882.

My Lord,
I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your Excellency's telegram No. 130, Confidential, of yesterday, recording the interview at which the Sultan's Private Secretary conveyed to you an overture from His Majesty that the Egyptian question should be settled by a friendly understanding between England and Turkey to the exclusion of France and of all the other European Powers, and the offer from the Sultan of a close alliance with this country independently of the Egyptian question.

Her Majesty's Government approve the language you held to Reshid Bey as reported in your telegram, and I have to authorize you to repeat it in their name. The correspondence on the Egyptian question, which, by the Queen's command, has just been presented to Parliament, will acquaint the Sultan at how early a date Her Majesty's Government declared their preference for Turkish to any other intervention. The further papers which will shortly be communicated to Parliament will show that although Her Majesty's Government failed at first in prevailing upon the French Government to invite the Sultan to dispatch one of his ships to join the British and French squadrons at Alexandria, it was owing to their consistent pressure that the other steps which have since been taken were adopted.

So long as the French Government act with Her Majesty's Government in consonance with the publicly-avowed policy of this country in regard to Egypt, Her Majesty's Government cannot separate from them and the other Great Powers; but the Sultan, who is acting with good faith in endeavouring to re-establish the *status quo*, may rely on England opposing anything which may tend to derogate from His Majesty's position as Sovereign of Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 917.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.(No. 219.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 12, 1882, 6.45 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 133 of the 11th instant.
Her Majesty's Government appreciate the confidence which His Majesty the Sultan shows in them. We see no objection to the immediate adjournment of the Conference, if it appears that Europeans are safe and Dervish Pasha has succeeded, or is likely to succeed forthwith.

You may state that you will gladly communicate with the Turkish Minister for

Foreign Affairs as to any proposals which he wishes to make, and which are consistent with the basis which has been laid down.

Say this as appears most judicious to you.

No. 918.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 304. Confidential. Ext. 219.)

Foreign Office, June 12, 1882.

My Lord,

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 133, Confidential, of yesterday, stating that the Sultan's Private Secretary had informed you that His Majesty would accept the Conference in principle, if it really became a necessity, but that until the results of Dervish Pasha's mission should become apparent, which they would in three or four days, time, His Majesty would strongly deprecate the assembling of a Conference; but in the event of its meeting being decided on, His Majesty proposed that Turkey and England should agree beforehand as to the settlement to be arrived at.

Her Majesty's Government appreciate the confidence which the Sultan has shown in them by this proposal, and your Excellency may inform His Majesty that they see no objection to the immediate adjournment of the Conference after its first meeting, if it should appear that Europeans in Egypt are in no danger, and that the mission of Dervish Pasha has either succeeded or seems likely to succeed forthwith.

Your Excellency may also state that you will gladly communicate, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, with the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs as to any proposals which his Excellency may wish to make, and which may be consistent with the basis already laid down.

I have to request that your Excellency will make this communication in the form which you may consider most judicious.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 919.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.(No. 221.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 12, 1882, 1 P.M.*

YOURS No. 136.

We are decidedly of opinion that the scope of the Conference should not be extended beyond the Egyptian question. We will ask French Government to give similar assurance.

No. 920.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 306. Ext. 221.)

Foreign Office, June 13, 1882.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your telegram No. 136 of yesterday, stating that the Sultan's remaining objections to a Conference might, you thought, be removed if His Majesty received an assurance that no question other than that of Egypt would be treated by it, I have to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government are decidedly of opinion that the scope of the Conference should not be extended beyond the Egyptian question, and they will request the Government of France to give an assurance to that effect to the Porte.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12, 7 P.M.)

(No. 90.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 12, 1882, 5 P.M.

IN reply to the question put to him in the Chamber this afternoon, M. de Freycinet expressed himself in substance as follows:—

"Il est malheureusement vrai que des troubles graves ont éclaté à Alexandrie et qu'il y a eu un certain nombre de victimes; les troubles paraissent avoir éclaté à la suite d'une rixe entre un Maltais et un Arabe, rixe dans laquelle l'Arabe aurait été tué. Ses compatriotes, excités par ce fait, ont parcouru les rues par grands attroupements. Ils se sont portés à de grandes violences contre les Européens et ont saccagé plusieurs maisons. Les Consuls des divers Gouvernements ont fait leur devoir avec beaucoup de courage et de dévouement. Le Consul Anglais a été grièvement blessé; les Consuls Italien et Grec ont été atteints, mais moins dangereusement. Le Consul Français a été poursuivi mais n'a pas été blessé. Je ne sais rien d'un embarquement de marins Anglais. L'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, que j'ai vu ce matin, ne le savait pas non plus. Le fait n'a été jusqu'ici mentionné que dans les dépêches privées. Il m'est encore impossible de dire quelles mesures nous aurons à prendre. J'attends des renseignements plus précis. La seule chose que je puis déclarer c'est que les questions qui touchent à la sécurité de nos nationaux ne relèvent que de nous-mêmes, et que par conséquent le Gouvernement fera ce que commandent cette sécurité et l'honneur de la France."

No. 922.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12, 7.30 P.M.)

(No. 91.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 12, 1882, 5.25 P.M.

THE text of M. de Freycinet's declaration in the Chamber, repeated in my preceding telegram, was drawn up by his Excellency himself, at my request, for repetition to your Lordship. It reproduces the sense of his words as far as he could recollect them.

No. 923.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 12.)

(No. 563. Confidential. Ext. 91.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 12, 1882.

A SUMMARY of M. de Freycinet's answer to the question respecting the troubles at Alexandria was circulated in Paris in the usual way by the Havas Agency immediately after the speech containing it had been delivered.

On the one hand, the speech, as given in this summary, appeared to me to be susceptible of awkward interpretations; while, on the other hand, the summary did not agree with the recollection of Mr. Plunkett, who had been present in the Chamber when the speech was made.

Accordingly I asked Mr. Plunkett to go to the Foreign Office, and inquire what M. de Freycinet had really said.

He received there, through M. Decrais, a paper which M. de Freycinet was so good as to draw up for communication to me and for repetition to your Lordship, and which reproduced the sense of his Excellency's words so far as he was able to recollect them.

The contents of this paper were immediately repeated by me to your Lordship in the telegram marked No. 90 which I had the honour to address to you at 5 o'clock this evening.

I have forwarded to your Lordship, by telegraph, the substance of this despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12, 8 P.M.)

(No. 92.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 12, 1882, 6.45 P.M.

M. DE FREYCINET'S speech in the Chamber.

His Excellency desires me to assure Her Majesty's Government that the French Government will take no steps with regard to the Alexandria troubles without coming to an understanding with Her Majesty's Government, and that in this, as in all Egyptian matters, they are more than ever determined to march *pari passu* with Great Britain.

He says that he has telegraphed to the French Consul for further information, and that in the meanwhile the only thing done has been to authorize the French Admiral at Alexandria, in general terms, to take all prudent measures for the protection of Europeans.

No. 925.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 12.)

(No. 565. Ext. 92.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 12, 1882.

I ASKED M. de Freycinet this evening, first, in what sense his statement in the Chamber of Deputies implied independent action on the part of the French Government with regard to the unhappy events at Alexandria; and, secondly, whether the French Government had already taken any steps with regard to those events.

M. de Freycinet at once desired me to assure Her Majesty's Government that the French Government would take no steps respecting these troubles without concerting ("sans s'entendre") with Her Majesty's Government, and that in this, as in all other Egyptian affairs, they were more than ever determined to march *pari passu* with England.

As regarded my second question, M. de Freycinet said that he had telegraphed to the French Consul for further information as to the state of affairs at Alexandria, that he was waiting for the answer, and that in the meantime nothing had been done by the French Government beyond authorizing the French Admiral there in general terms to take all prudent measures for the protection of Europeans.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 926.

Mr. Swainson to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 12.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, June 12, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, copy of a telegram received this day from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, in which he reports that the city of Alexandria is now quiet, the troops maintaining order, and that large numbers of women and children embarked in merchant steamers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) E. N. SWAINSON.

Inclosure in No. 926.

Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 12, 1882, 3.50 P.M.

CITY now quiet, troops maintaining order; large number of women and children embarked in merchant steamers; 600 refugees on board "Monarch" and "Invincible" will be sent to a line of steamers.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 692A.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 12, 1882.

THE French Ambassador communicated to me this afternoon the substance of a telegram which he had just received from M. de Freycinet, stating that the unfortunate incident at Alexandria confirmed the French Government in the conviction that it was indispensable that the Conference should meet at once. We ought not, in fact, M. de Freycinet continued, to be exposed to the risk of a repetition of such events and to the possible necessity of measures which might be urgently required, but which if taken without the previous assent of Europe, would not have their full effect and might also give rise to susceptibilities and complications. M. de Freycinet wished, therefore, to know whether I did not think that our two Governments ought to urge the Powers again to intimate to the Porte that it must either give at once its adhesion to the meeting of the Conference at Constantinople, or be prepared for the Conference meeting elsewhere, with or without the participation of Turkey.

I told M. Tissot I shared M. de Freycinet's anxiety, but that I had doubt whether it was desirable to press the other Powers again on the subject of the Conference. They had just earnestly advised the Sultan to agree to our proposal, though they did not appear to be all of them convinced of the wisdom and expediency of the step. A fresh application to them would not, if successful, much strengthen our position, whereas any rebuff might not improbably become known and would have a very weakening effect.

I added that I had seen Musurus Pasha to-day, that I had told him that Europe was pledged to the Conference, and had held to him, and had also instructed Lord Dufferin to hold the language which I thought best calculated to induce the Sultan to give his consent.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 928.

Earl Granville to Lord Amthill.

(No. 237A. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 12, 1882.

THE German Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and told me, confidentially, that the German Government had urged the Porte to agree to the proposed Conference on Egyptian affairs.

The Porte, however, maintained its objections.

Baron Hirschfeldt reported it as his opinion that an assurance that the scope of the Conference would not be extended so as to include other subjects would go far to remove the opposition of the Turkish Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 929.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(No. 308.)

My Lord,

Cairo, May 31, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship herewith a copy of a note presented by the Controllers-General to the Ministry on the 25th instant.

It dwells on the late irregular expenditure of public moneys, and demands an explicit answer as to the employment of the sums drawn on the Budget by the Government during the past month before the next sitting of the Council.

The Ministry fell immediately after the presentation of this note, and the request contained in it has consequently met with no response.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Memorandum by the Controllers-General.

IL est de notoriété publique que le Gouvernement a fait, depuis que le Conseil s'est réuni, des préparatifs, et qu'il a engagé des dépenses qui ne paraissent pas avoir été prévues lors de la confection du Budget.

Les Contrôleurs soussignés pensaient qu'après une suspension de séance de quinze jours il serait rendu compte au Conseil d'aujourd'hui de ces préparatifs et de leurs conséquences financières: n'ayant néanmoins trouvé à l'ordre du jour que des questions insignifiantes, ils expriment le désir d'être renseignés sur les points suivants:—

1. Le Gouvernement a-t-il depuis la dernière réunion du Conseil, ou antérieurement, engagé des dépenses supplémentaires, et qui doivent nécessiter sous une forme quelconque un dépassement des crédits accordés pour chacun des chapitres du Budget?

2. À l'aide de quelles ressources le Gouvernement compte-t-il faire face à ces dépenses? Peut-on en préciser dès à présent le montant, et en vertu de quelle autorisation ont-elles été engagées?

Les Contrôleurs soussignés déposent cette note sur la table du Conseil, et demandent qu'une réponse écrite et catégorique leur soit remise avant la prochaine séance, et soit amenée au prochain ordre du jour.

Les Contrôleurs-Généraux,
(Signé) LÉON BRÉDIF.
A. COLVIN.

Le Caire, le 25 Mai, 1882.

No. 930.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(No. 313.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 2, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a notice addressed by Arabi Pasha to M. Pietri, Acting Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, respecting public security.

M. Pietri has communicated this document to all foreign Representatives in Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 930.

Notice addressed by Arabi Pasha to M. Pietri.

CONFORMÉMENT à l'ordre verbal que j'ai reçu de Son Altesse le Khédive, et à ce que lui a été adressée par notre auguste Souverain le Prince des Croyants, tendant à assurer la responsabilité pour l'armée qui est sous mon commandement touchant la sécurité publique, je déclare à tous que je garantis la tranquillité et la sécurité publique, que je garde tous les habitants de l'Égypte, sans distinction de religion ou de nationalité, tant indigènes qu'Européens, les garantissant de tout ce qui pourrait atteindre à leurs droits civils.

En conséquence de ce qui précède je vous adresse la présente, vous priant d'en donner communication à MM. les Agents et Consuls-Généraux de toutes les Puissances, afin qu'ils sachent qu'il n'y a aucune crainte à avoir pour les Européens, et qu'ils soient assurés de la sécurité de leurs personnes, de leur honneur, et de leurs biens, et afin de démontrer la bonne intention des Égyptiens envers ceux qui les traitent bien.

(Signé) ARABI PACHA.

15 Redjeb, 1299.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(No. 316.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 3, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch, No. 142 of the 23rd ultimo, inclosing a copy of a despatch No. 584 of the 22nd ultimo, to Lord Lyons, relating a conversation between your Lordship and M. Tissot, in which his Excellency stated that M. de Freycinet had reason to believe that the relations between my French colleague and me were not on so cordial a footing as could be desired, and implying that the fault lay with me.

M. Tissot stated to your Lordship that there were various matters upon which I had shown that I differed from M. Sienkiewicz, and he alluded to my having prevented the Khedive from making a satisfactory arrangement, and having insisted on referring to the Sultan.

The accusation is somewhat vague, but I gather from it that M. de Freycinet must have supposed that the Khedive acted upon my advice when he consented to submit the sentence of the court-martial on the Circassians to the Sultan, as recorded in my despatch No. 225 of the 6th ultimo.

I think, however, that if any proof were needed to the contrary the contents of my telegrams to your Lordship contain it. Up to the 6th ultimo I had given no other advice than that which has been approved by your Lordship, dissuading His Highness from countersigning the sentence.

It appears from my telegram No. 100 of the 6th that the Khedive stated to me on the morning of that day, in one and the same interview, the remonstrance which he had received from the Porte, and the reply which His Highness had made, to the effect that he would submit the sentence of the court-martial to the Porte. That I was anxious as to the consequences of this reply appears from my telegram No. 101, sent within two hours of the previous one, in which I stated that the answer given by the Khedive threw him into the arms of the Porte, and into direct hostility with his own Government. I certainly said nothing to the Khedive which could lead him to suppose that I should approve the course which he took. The Khedive did not consult me on the matter, and I think that the telegrams themselves prove it.

With regard to the general question of my relations with M. Sienkiewicz, I can confidently state that they are of the most cordial nature. He has said nothing to lead me to suppose that he has any doubt of my hearty co-operation with him, and I, on my part, have always congratulated myself on having in my French colleague a gentleman with whom intercourse was so friendly and apparently so open.

On the other hand, it has been a matter of painful regret to me that no stone has been left unturned by the amateur politicians abounding in Cairo to sow discord between him and me. I turn a deaf ear to these intrigues, and I conclude from the manner of M. Sienkiewicz towards me that he does the same.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 932.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(No. 318.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 5, 1882.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 171 of the 28th ultimo, I have the honour to inclose herewith a translation of an insertion in the native official newspaper relating to the controversy as to whether threats were used by the military to induce the chiefs of the Corporations to go the Khedive on the 28th ultimo, and to beg him to reappoint Arabi Pasha Minister of War.

The notice states that the Ulemas, Notables, and Representatives have delegated three persons to make a statement, which follows, to the Under-Secretary of State for the Interior. The statement itself denies that any threats were used; the persons who make the statement are notorious partizans of the military.

I have spoken to Sultan Pasha, President of the Chamber of Representatives, on the subject, and he has told me that it is idle to deny that the Corporations acted under fear, for that the officers on this occasion went beyond their usual system of taking people separately and threatening them with death; they openly went about

the streets in bands, and drove the Notables before them. Their violence was such that the heads of the Corporations veritably believed, as they stated to the Khedive, that their lives, and the city itself, was in danger, unless His Highness yielded.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 932.

Extract from "El Wakaich el Masrieh" of June 1, 1882.

(Traduction.)

LES Ulémas, les Notables, et les Délégués ont vu que la dépêche télégraphique de l'Agence Reuter publiée en date du 28 Mai est dénuée de tout fondement. C'est pour cette raison qu'ils ont délégué les Honorables El Cheik Hassan, El Adawi, El Saïd Hassan Moussa, El Accad, et Mourad Effendi, El Séondi, auprès de son Excellence le Sous-Secrétaire d'État au Ministère de l'Intérieur, pour lui remettre la lettre suivante:—

"Après lecture de la dépêche télégraphique publiée par l'Agence Reuter, en date du 11 Régheb, 1299 (28 Mai, 1882), nous avons vu qu'il y était dit que 'l'armée aurait menacé les Ulémas, la Chambre, les Notables, et la députation du commerce indigène, dans le but d'obtenir la réintégration d'Arabi Pacha comme Ministre de la Guerre.' Cette nouvelle est tout à fait inexacte. Connaissant les bonnes intentions de son Excellence Ahmed Arabi Pacha, sa complète sincérité, son entier dévouement au service du pays et de ses habitants, et persuadés que tous les habitants de l'Égypte sont entièrement de cœur avec lui et qu'ils souhaitent son maintien dans son poste, nous nous sommes présentés à Son Altesse le Khédive pour solliciter la faveur de la réintégration de son Excellence le dit Pacha comme Ministre de la Guerre, et cela dans le but de rendre un grand service au pays et à ses habitants. Lorsque Son Altesse a daigné donner suite à notre demande, nous nous sommes présentés de nouveau auprès de son Excellence Arabi Pacha, et nous l'avons fortement engagé à reprendre son poste en lui donnant pour raison que l'intérêt du pays le réclame. Son Excellence a enfin daigné accéder à notre demande.

"Ce qui nous a porté à faire ces démarches ce sont les motifs susindiqués, que nous connaissons par nous-mêmes.

"Il en résulte que la dite agence a donnée une fausse nouvelle.

"Voici toute la vérité et nous la publions pour montrer que nous sommes partisans de la justice, que nous désirons faire disparaître toute cause d'inquiétude."

No. 933.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(No. 322.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 6, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 319 of yesterday, I have the honour to inclose herewith copies of the instruction of the Khedive to Arabi Pasha, Minister of War, to stop all works on the fortifications at Alexandria, and of the reply of the Minister.

Arabi Pasha concludes his answer by saying that in execution of the order of His Highness, based on the will of the Sultan, instructions have been sent to stop the repairs of the fortifications, adding a request that the fleets may be made to leave, in order to avoid the consequences which might result from the excitement of the public mind caused by their presence.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure 1 in No. 933.

Instruction of His Highness the Khedive to Arabi Pasha.

(Traduction.)

Le 5 Juin, 1882.

J'AI reçu aujourd'hui, 5 Juin, de la Sublime Porte, un télégramme portant que le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique a

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informé l'Ambassade Ottomane à Londres que des préparatifs se faisaient par les soldats indigènes à Alexandrie, dans les fortifications situées sur les positions élevées du Port d'Alexandrie, dans le but de menacer l'escadre Anglo-Française, et que si ces préparatifs étaient mis à exécution ils nécessiteraient un choc et donneraient lieu à des conséquences fâcheuses, entre l'escadre et les fortifications. Le Ministre désire donc faire cesser ces travaux, car si un seul coup de canon était tiré, il donnerait lieu à une excitation chez la nation Anglaise à tel point que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique ne pourrait lutter contre l'esprit national, et que plus tard il se trouverait obligé de s'unir avec le Gouvernement Français dans l'intervention par la force armée.

En conséquence Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan s'informe de moi si cette version est vraie; si on fait ou non des fortifications, et dans le cas affirmatif, on devrait les faire cesser immédiatement et en donner avis sur le champ.

Bien que j'aie reçu ce télégramme hier soir à 8 heures et demie à l'Arabe, un autre télégramme nous est arrivé ce matin pour presser l'envoi de la réponse demandée.

Je vous invite au reçu du présent Décret d'écrire par télégraphe aux officiers qui les concernent, pour qu'ils aient à faire cesser les fortifications qui se font, soit aux batteries, soit aux fortifications d'Alexandrie, si, en effet, on est en train de les faire; conformément à l'ordre Impérial de Sa Majesté le Sultan; et de me répondre, par le porteur, que vous avez donné les injonctions nécessaires pour empêcher ces travaux, afin qu'on avise Sa Majesté le Sultan, qui attend la réponse.

Inclosure 2 in No. 933.

Arabi Pasha to His Highness the Khedive.

(Traduction.)

Monseigneur,

Le 19 Rageb, 1299 (5 Juin, 1882).

JE viens soumettre à votre Altesse que j'ai l'honneur de recevoir son Décret du 5 Juin courant, par lequel elle m'informe que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique se plaint des préparatifs qui se font dans les fortifications situées sur les points élevés du port d'Alexandrie, dans le but de menacer son escadre stationnée dans le dit port, et qu'on désire faire arrêter ces travaux, afin de satisfaire le dit Gouvernement.

J'ai l'honneur d'exposer à votre Altesse que les soi-disant préparatifs ne sont autre chose que des réparations ordinaires, dont on ne peut se passer dans tout temps; que ces réparations n'ont point un but quelconque, et qu'elles sont nécessaires pour maintenir les fortifications dans un état permanent de conservation, car ces fortifications sont très anciennes, et on les répare continuellement pour qu'elles ne puissent pas motiver de fortes dépenses.

Je soumetts également à votre Altesse que ces réparations continuelles sont l'unique moyen de faire cesser l'émoi de la nation Égyptienne Ottomane, et l'inquiétude que lui inspire la présence de l'escadre Anglaise dans les eaux Égyptiennes, ainsi que les évolutions et manœuvres militaires qu'elle effectue dans l'intérieur, comme dans l'extérieur, du port; en outre, on opère des sondages pour connaître la profondeur des eaux, et on s'approche des côtes en face des fortifications.

Ce sont, Monseigneur, ces faits qui peuvent être considérés comme des menaces réelles qui ont excité l'esprit de la nation Égyptienne, et occasionné une grande émotion.

Néanmoins, en exécution de l'ordre de votre Altesse, basé sur la volonté souveraine de notre auguste Maître Sa Majesté, Chef des Croyants, il a été écrit de faire cesser les dites réparations, avec prière de faire retourner la dite escadre afin de prévenir les conséquences qui pourraient résulter de l'excitation des esprits.

No. 934.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(No. 323.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 6, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copies of a Memorandum drawn up by Sir A. Colvin and M. Brédif on the attributions of the Control and the effect upon them of the Organic Law of the Chamber, and making suggestions as to the course to

be pursued in consequence, together with a separate paper by Sir A. Colvin containing further remarks upon the same subject.

The Controllers-General point out that there are three courses open.

1. To return to the original Organic Law, proposed by Chérif Pasha, which gave the Chamber no rights with regard to the Budget, except discussion and advice.

2. Supposing the Ministerial responsibility to the Chamber, and the right of the Chamber to vote the Budget be allowed to continue, the creation of a Financial Committee to ensure the payment of the debt and the equilibrium of the Budget.

3. If neither of the above courses be possible to accept, Article 34, with the modifications proposed by the Powers, but adding to them the guarantees suggested by the Controllers on the 10th April.

Of the three solutions proposed, it appears to me that the first is the most simple and the most complete. If order is restored and the army subdued, Chérif Pasha will again be asked to resume office. It would be logical that he should make a condition of his return the acceptance of the Organic Law, in defence of which he fell. If he acts thus, it will obviate the necessity for negotiation respecting the question of the Budget between the Ministry and the Powers. It is needless to urge that a settlement of the question effected by negotiation between Chérif Pasha and the Chamber, prior to his coming into office, is far preferable to its settlement through negotiations between Chérif Pasha and the Powers regarding the wording of Article 34, in which the Chamber would be certain to endeavour to intervene.

It would not, I think, be difficult to induce Chérif Pasha to make the acceptance of his own Law, a condition of his resumption of office, and if the suggestion meet with your Lordship's approval, it would be advisable that I should receive instructions to that effect by telegraph, in order that I might communicate with his Excellency in time upon the subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure 1 in No. 934.

Memorandum by the Controllers-General.

AU moment où les affaires d'Égypte semblent entrer dans une phase nouvelle, qui sera, il faut l'espérer, la dernière de la période troublée que nous venons de traverser, il nous a semblé qu'il était bon de remettre sous les yeux de nos Gouvernements respectifs la question des attributions du Contrôle, d'en rappeler l'origine, de préciser les points en litige qui ont déjà fait l'objet de mémoires étendus, d'indiquer enfin les diverses propositions qui peuvent se produire et les mérites de chacune d'elles. Cette étude nous a paru de nature à faciliter les solutions qui vont s'imposer, et l'envoi aux Agents Diplomatiques des instructions qui leur sont nécessaires.

Les attributions du Contrôle furent d'abord réglées par le Décret du 18 Novembre, 1876, qui admettait l'ingérence directe des Contrôleurs dans l'Administration. Le Décret de 1876 fut provisoirement suspendu en 1879, et l'ingérence directe, remplacée par une influence morale dans les Conseils du Gouvernement.

Les dispositions du Décret du 15 Novembre, 1879, sont les suivantes :—

“Article 1^{er}. Les Contrôleurs ont en matière financière les pouvoirs d'investigation les plus étendus sur tous les services publics.

“Art. 3. Ils communiquent soit au Khédive, soit aux Ministres, les observations auxquelles leurs investigations donnent lieu.

“Art. 4. Ils ont rang et séance au Conseil des Ministres avec voix consultative.

“Art. 5. Ils rendent compte de leurs travaux au Khédive à la fin de chaque année et plus souvent, s'ils le jugent nécessaire, dans des Rapports publiés par leurs soins et insérés au ‘Moniteur Égyptien.’”

Ainsi, les Contrôleurs possédaient, aux termes du Décret du 15 Novembre, les droits d'investigation les plus étendus sur les services publics, et la sanction de leurs recherches et de leurs travaux se trouvait dans la faculté qu'ils avaient d'adresser des observations au Conseil des Ministres, et, si ce dernier n'en tenait pas compte, d'en faire l'objet d'un Rapport adressé au Khédive et rendu public. En somme, c'était donc le Khédive qui était appelé à trancher définitivement les difficultés qui pouvaient s'élever entre le Contrôle et les Ministres, et pourvu que les Contrôleurs fussent d'accord avec les Agents Diplomatiques la solution n'était pas douteuse.

Les choses subsistèrent en cet état jusqu'au mois de Février 1882, date à laquelle fut promulguée le Décret Organique qui détermine les attributions de la Chambre des Délégués. Plusieurs des Articles de ce Décret, qui n'a, d'ailleurs, jamais été accepté par les Puissances, portèrent une atteinte profonde au Contrôle; ce sont les Articles 21 et 35.

"Art. 21. Les Ministres sont solidairement responsables devant la Chambre de toute mesure prise en Conseil, et violant les lois et règlements en vigueur.

"Art. 35. Une Commission, composée d'autant de Délégués, et ayant le même nombre de voix que les membres du Conseil des Ministres et son Président, sera nommé par la Chambre pour discuter, concurremment avec le Conseil des Ministres, le projet de Budget, et le voter soit à l'unanimité, soit à la majorité des voix."

Les Articles qui précèdent furent l'objet de la note émanée du Contrôle, et qui porte la date du 11 Février, 1882. Cette note est assez étendue et assez explicite pour qu'il suffise de la rappeler en deux mots:

En ce qui concerne l'Article 21, les Contrôleurs faisaient remarquer que leurs investigations et leurs rapports resteraient désormais sans sanction, parce que à la responsabilité des Ministres devant le Khédive on avait substitué la responsabilité Ministérielle devant une Chambre irresponsable, et que par suite de cette modification dans la constitution du pays le Khédive et ses Ministres étaient toujours libres de s'effacer et de se retrancher derrière la Chambre.

En ce qui concerne l'Article 35, les Contrôleurs observaient qu'il leur paraissait dangereux et contraire aux Conventions Internationales de laisser à la Chambre le vote du Budget.

Les observations des Contrôleurs ne paraissent pas avoir été prises complètement en considération par leurs Gouvernements respectifs, qui se proposèrent de remédier au mal signalé en supprimant l'Article 34 de la Loi Organique, et en le remplaçant par un nouvel Article 34 ainsi conçu:

"Dans aucun cas, la Chambre n'a le droit de discuter n'importe quelle obligation résultant de la Dette ou de la Loi de Liquidation ou encore de Conventions conclues entre des Puissances étrangères et le Gouvernement Égyptien, ou de l'Emprunt Domanial.

"Sont notamment comprises parmi les obligations internationales visées par les dispositions qui précèdent, celles afférentes au service du tribut dû à la Sublime Porte, au service des intérêts du Canal de Suez dus au Gouvernement Anglais, au service de la Dette Publique réglé par les Décrets, Conventions, et Actes Internationaux y relatifs, ainsi que toutes les charges résultant de la Loi de Liquidation, de Conventions Internationales, et de Conventions concernant l'Emprunt Domanial, de même que tout ce qui concerne l'Administration et les Budgets de la Daïra Sanieh et les Domaines de l'État.

"La partie du Budget Égyptien afférente aux dites obligations et charges et comprenant pour certains chapitres des dépenses et des recettes continuera à être préparée dans la forme et des conditions identiques à celles qui ont été adoptées pour les précédents Budgets, suivant note du 17 Mars, 1882, communiquée aux Cabinets Européens, les accords et engagements internationaux préexistants. Par application de ce principe seront ainsi fixées notamment les dépenses administratives des provinces de Galioubich, Ménoufieh, Béhéra, et Siout, ainsi que celles des Douanes, des Télégraphes, et du port d'Alexandrie, dont les revenus sont affectés à la Dette Publique."

Dès que nous avons eu connaissance de ce nouvel Article 34, nous nous sommes empressés d'écrire à nos Gouvernements des lettres qui portent la date du 10 Avril.

Elles exposaient, en substance, qu'il ne suffit pas d'empêcher la Chambre de voter certaines dépenses résultant de Conventions Internationales, mais qu'il faut se ménager les ressources pour acquitter ces dépenses. La réclamation que les Domaines ont présentée cette année d'une garantie d'intérêt de £ E. 5,000,000 qui a dû être payée sur les revenus non affectés est une preuve évidente que le Budget Égyptien est un et indivisible; qu'il doit être soumis dans toutes ses parties au Contrôle, et que la plus grande prudence est nécessaire pour que le pays ne retombe pas dans les errements financiers du passé.

Aussi la lettre adressée au Gouvernement Français indiquait-elle que le nouvel Article 34 devait, pour avoir quelque efficacité, être complété comme suit:

"En conséquence, et pour assurer l'exécution des stipulations ci-dessus, le Budget Égyptien est divisé en deux parties: le Budget Ordinaire et le Budget Extraordinaire.

"Le Budget Ordinaire comprend les dépenses de la Dette et des Administrations jusqu'à concurrence du chiffre de £ E. 4,897,888, indiqué à l'Article 16 de la Loi de

Liquidation, et non compris les crédits nécessaires pour le service de la Dette Priviligée et Unifiée.

"Le Budget Extraordinaire se compose comme ressource: (1) des excédents de revenus et de l'exercice précédent dans les conditions prévues par l'Article 16 de la Loi de Liquidation; (2) des crédits non employés du même exercice.

"Le Budget Extraordinaire reçoit comme première charge les garanties d'intérêt résultant de la Loi de Liquidation et des Conventions relatives à l'Emprunt Domanial."

Cette rédaction, si elle avait prévalu, aurait certainement dû être considérée comme une amélioration de l'Article 34 nouveau rédigé par les Puissances; mais elle ne constituait, il faut bien le dire, qu'un expédient approprié aux circonstances politiques du moment, destiné à durer plus ou moins longtemps, et non une solution définitive et raisonnée.

En effet, même avec cette rédaction compliquée, bien des dangers étaient encore à craindre.

Que serait-il arrivé, par exemple, si la Chambre, inexpérimentée entre toutes, soumise comme elle l'était des volontés extérieures et toutes puissantes, avait eu la velléité de modifier l'assiette des impôts, et d'en diminuer le rendement?

À quels désordres financiers ne serait-on pas arrivé, si les Députés s'étaient avisés de faire négliger le curage de certains canaux, dont les riverains sont des Européens ou des Administrations Européennes? Sans parler de tant d'autres cas, qu'il est souvent difficile de prévoir à l'avance.

Dans un édifice gouvernemental, il est nécessaire que toutes les parties se tiennent, qu'elles soient enchevêtrées et superposées de manière à ne former qu'un tout parfaitement homogène; mais si elles sont mal ajustées, si elles ne sont pas solidement cimentées, elle se détachent à un moment donné, et l'édifice tombe plus ou moins en ruine.

C'est le spectacle auquel nous assistons en ce moment en Égypte. On y a établi une soi-disant responsabilité Ministérielle, mais cette responsabilité n'est pas en harmonie avec les autres parties de la constitution du pays. Elle se concilie mal avec le Contrôle, parce que le pays est en tutelle, tout au moins en tutelle financière, et, qu'en réalité, c'est le Contrôle qui a la responsabilité morale de la gestion des finances.

Elle ne se concilie pas davantage avec les Firmans, parce que le Khédive, mandataire du Sultan, lui doit compte d'une façon générale de la direction des affaires; et ne peut par conséquent la confier à des Ministres responsables devant le pays. Si l'on veut se reporter au grand Firman de 1873, on verra qu'il n'admet même pas qu'il y ait des Ministres, et qu'il les désigne sous le titre de personne chargée de telle ou telle Administration.

Quoiqu'il en soit de cette dernière remarque, qui n'est qu'incidente, puisqu'elle ne touche pas directement le Contrôle, et qu'elle n'a eu pour but que de compléter un raisonnement, nous pensons, à notre point de vue spécial, que les circonstances politiques ayant changé depuis le 10 Avril, le plus simple serait de revenir au Décret Organique, qui fut rédigé par Chérif Pacha, à la fin de Janvier 1882, à la veille de sa chute. Les Articles qui nous intéressent étaient rédigés de la façon suivante:—

"Art. 20. Les Ministres sont solidairement responsables vis-à-vis la Chambre de toute mesure prise en Conseil par laquelle il serait porté atteinte aux droits attribués à la Chambre par la présente Loi."

"Art. 36. La Chambre examinera le Budget, et pourra émettre son avis sur chacune des sections ou chapitres qui le composent.

"L'avis motivé de la Chambre sera transmis au Ministre des Finances avant le 20 Décembre de chaque année. Il sera soumis au Conseil des Ministres, qui y aura tels égards que de raison."

Ainsi, pas de responsabilité Ministérielle, pas de vote du Budget à la Chambre, telles étaient les conclusions de Chérif Pacha après une expérience du pouvoir qui n'avait été ni sans déception ni sans amertume.

Telles seraient aussi nos conclusions, parce qu'elles auraient pour effet de faire revivre le Décret de 1879 dans son intégrité. Mais si par des motifs que nous ne connaissons pas, les Gouvernements d'Angleterre et de France ne décidaient pas à les adopter, si la responsabilité Ministérielle devait être conservée et le vote du Budget réservé à la Chambre, nous pensons qu'il y aurait lieu de remplacer la sanction morale accordée par le Décret de 1879, et supprimée par la Loi Organique, et de lui substituer des dispositions analogues à celles du Décret de 1876. Nous ne demanderions pas une ingérence aussi étendue qu'elle existait alors dans les affaires Gouvernementales, mais

des pouvoirs qui puissent paraître suffisants pour assurer le paiement de la Dette et l'équilibre du Budget.

Quelques journaux Français ont récemment attribué à M. Léon Say l'idée de créer un Conseil Supérieur des Finances, qui aurait pour mission principale de résister dans certains cas aux abus de l'initiative Parlementaire. Si cette création a pu paraître désirable en France, à plus forte raison doit-elle l'être en Égypte, où les mœurs Parlementaires n'existent pas, où la situation financière exige de la prudence et les plus grands ménagements. Aussi ce serait à une institution analogue que nous serions tentés de demander la force que la nouvelle constitution nous a enlevée, et qui nous est nécessaire pour maintenir l'équilibre du Budget.

On pourrait proposer une rédaction analogue à la suivante :—

“Les impôts et revenus actuellement existants ne pourront être supprimés ou modifiés par la Chambre que sur l'avis conforme d'un Comité Supérieur des Finances composé du Ministre des Finances et des deux Contrôleurs-Généraux.

“Le Comité Supérieur des Finances est aussi chargé d'inscrire d'office au Budget, les sommes nécessaires pour acquitter les charges résultant de la Loi de Liquidation ou de Conventions conclues entre des Puissances étrangères et le Gouvernement Égyptien ou l'Emprunt Domaniat. Parmi ces charges sont comprises les dépenses administratives des provinces et des Administrations dont les revenus sont affectés au paiement de la dette.

“Tous les autres chapitres du Budget ordinaire et du Budget extraordinaire sont votés par la Chambre, mais le total du Budget ordinaire ne peut excéder la somme de £ E 4,897,888 prévue à l'Article 16 de la Loi de Liquidation, et celui du Budget extraordinaire ne peut dépasser les ressources laissées disponibles par les exercices précédents.”

Les propositions qui précèdent sont faciles à justifier. Il nous paraît dangereux de laisser à une Chambre ou même à un Conseil des Ministres, dont la responsabilité ne peut être mise en jeu, le maniement ou le vote des ressources destinées à acquitter la Dette Publique. Il vous paraîtrait tout aussi imprudent de ne pas limiter les dépenses générales au chiffre des ressources réalisables. Enfin, en ce qui concerne les dépenses spéciales des Administrations et des provinces affectées, ces dépenses venant en déduction des produits destinés à l'extinction de la Dette, ce sont les personnes intéressées à cette extinction, c'est-à-dire, les Ministres et les Contrôleurs-Généraux, qui peuvent le mieux apprécier dans quelle mesure elles sont utiles, et ce sont eux qui peuvent préciser dans quelles limites elles doivent être augmentées ou restreintes.

En résumé, en présence de la nouvelle phase politique dans laquelle l'Égypte est entrée et vu l'imminence de résolutions décisives, nous croyons, au sujet des attributions du Contrôle, devoir faire les propositions suivantes :

En première ligne. Retour à la Loi Organique proposée par Chérif Pacha et que tout en contenant certaines concessions libérales, maintient dans son intégrité le Décret du 15 Novembre, 1879.

En deuxième ligne. Dans le cas où on laisserait subsister la responsabilité Ministérielle et où la Chambre conserverait le droit de voter la Loi de Finances, création d'un Comité Supérieur des Finances chargé d'assurer le paiement de la Dette et l'équilibre du Budget.

En troisième ligne. Si aucune des deux solutions précédentes n'est possible, acceptation de l'Article 34 modifié par les Puissances, mais en y ajoutant les garanties que nous avons précédemment demandées.

Les Contrôleurs-Généraux,
(Signé) A. COLVIN.
LÉON BRÉDIF.

Caire, le 5 Juin, 1882.

Inclosure 2 in No. 934.

Memorandum by Sir A. Colvin.

THE Organic Law of the Egyptian Chamber, now under the consideration of the Powers, closely concerns the Control in two ways, the one indirect, the other direct :—

(a.) Indirectly, so far as it modifies the institutions in the midst of which the Control finds itself, and whose harmonious working can alone secure good internal

administration. The Control obviously relies for its own efficiency on the efficient functioning, *inter se*, of the several component parts of the Government.

(b.) Directly, so far as it modifies the immediate relations of the Control to the Government, as reconstituted by the Organic Law.

2. The second, though the more immediately obvious head, is in reality subordinate to the former. For it is useless to discuss the relations of the Control to the Administration if the Organic Law is found so to have disturbed the attributions of the several component parts of the Administration itself as to threaten it with disorder and paralysis. In other words, before adjusting the Control to the Government, the several elements of force composing the Government must be prudently adjusted to one another.

3. Hence, in previous notes submitted by the Control, especial stress has been always laid on the following two points :—

(1.) That by establishing Ministerial responsibility to the Chamber, in lieu of Ministerial responsibility to the Viceroy, the Organic Law abruptly transferred the centre of authority in the country.

(2.) That the experience acquired prior to and since the institution of the Control gave no ground for believing that the Chamber was qualified to exercise such authority or the country prepared for so radical a change.

4. It is needless to go again over the above ground. But it may be added, in regard to the latter of the above points, that what was then matter of forecast may now be regarded as matter of fact. The President of the Chamber justified the contention of the Control when he admitted recently to the English Consul-General that the Chamber, in dispossessing Chérif Pasha and refusing his Organic Law, had acted under the influence of fear and menace. The Powers, so far as concerns the first point, themselves seem to admit as axiomatic the need of re-establishing the central authority of the Viceroy; such a measure being both stated in express terms, and implied in their agreement to maintain the *status quo*. In speaking of the central authority of the Viceroy, what is meant, it may be added, is that authority in the modified form announced by the late Khedive in his Rescript of the 28th August, 1878, and loyally accepted by his successor, Tewfik Pasha.

5. The Organic Law of Chérif Pasha recognized at once the wisdom and need of liberal concessions and the limits dictated by prudence. The chief difference between his measure and that now before the Powers may be seen from the following comparison :—

Chérif's Law.

Law now before the Powers.

No laws to be passed without consent of Chamber.

Same.

No taxes to be imposed without their consent.

Same.

Budget estimates to be laid before the Chamber, who should exercise free power of discussion and advice.

Budget, with certain reserve as to the assigned revenues, to be voted by the Chamber.

Ministers to be responsible to the Chamber in the event of their violating the attributions of the Chamber, as defined in the Law.

Ministers to be responsible for all their acts and decisions to the Chamber.

The Chamber to exercise right of control over all functionaries; to sanction all contracts, concessions, sales of land, &c.

The initiative of Laws to rest with the Government.

The initiative of Laws to rest with the Government, but Government to take into consideration any projects of Law presented by the Chamber.

6. It may be affirmed that the bearing and conduct of the Chamber since it came together in December last, up to the present moment, has completely established the justice of Chérif's views. By its later conduct the Chamber has vindicated its right to a place in the Government of the country; by its earlier subservieny it has forfeited its claim to the central authority and control of affairs.

7. If the justice of the above remarks and reasoning be admitted, it follows that, should the present Organic Law be approved, merely with the changes proposed in Article 34, the several factors of power in the country will be left in such an ill-balanced state as must, in a short time, again bring about confusion. The attempt,

therefore, to bring into harmony with them as, so adjusted, the Control, or any other outside institution whatever, would be waste of effort.

8. The conclusion to which I come is that the opportunity should now be taken of accepting Chérif's Law, as alone, of the two projects of Organic Law, furnishing guarantees both for the prudent development of liberal institutions in the country, and for the harmonious working of those institutions with the European Control.

9. Should it, however, be still thought that my apprehensions are ill-founded, and should the present Organic Law be still accepted as the new point of departure, and the cardinal change embodied in it be approved, viz., the transfer of the Government from the Viceroy to the Chamber, the modifications proposed by the Powers are, it must be repeated, absolutely illusory, in view of the ends they aim at. In my telegram of the 6th March, the futility of those changes is exposed, and striking confirmation of a part of my reasoning is furnished by the incident reported in my note of the 10th April.

The claim presented by the Domains this year on the so-called non-assigned revenues (which was reported in that note), is a proof that the Egyptian Budget, whether in regard to the assigned or the non-assigned revenues, must be looked on and treated as one and indivisible, and subjected in all its parts to the efficient authority of the Control, as being, either in first or in second line, liable to be called on to meet the several stipulated coupons.

The incident furnishes, further, a startling illustration of the extreme prudence still needed to prevent the finances of this country from again falling into the condition from which they were rescued by the Law of Liquidation.

(Signed) A. COLVIN.

Cairo, June 4, 1882.

No. 935.

Consul Cookson to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(No. 14.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 6, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copies of two despatches, dated respectively the 2nd and 6th instant, which I have addressed to Sir E. B. Malet.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. A. COOKSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 935.

Consul Cookson to Sir E. Malet.

Sir,

Alexandria, June 2, 1882.

IN continuation of my despatch of the 30th instant, I have the honour to report that this morning, not having had any communication from the Governor of Alexandria as to the reply he had received from the Minister of War respecting the construction of the earthworks in the harbour, I sent Mr. Huri to his Excellency, who told him that Arabi Pasha had answered that no new works were being erected, and that those going on were only repairs of the parapets, &c., which had fallen into a decayed condition. This, however, is not correct; not only are the old fortifications being repaired, but new pits all along the south side of the harbour, which may be used either for riflemen or for artillery, and which directly command the English men-of-war, are being dug.

His Excellency added that Arabi Pasha had complimented him upon the exertions he was making to preserve order and tranquillity, and enjoined him to continue them. I have communicated this reply of the Governor to Admiral Sir B. Seymour.

On the 31st ultimo I received from the Governor of Alexandria the letter, of which a copy is inclosed, complaining of certain proceedings of Her Majesty's ship "Bittern" on approaching this harbour on the 29th instant. I at once communicated it to Admiral Sir B. Seymour, who replied, by the despatch of which I have the honour to transmit a copy, that there was nothing in the least unusual in the observations taken by the "Bittern." They were strictly in pursuance of the ordinary regulations of Her Majesty's service.

An incident occurred yesterday at 9 A.M., which had no importance in itself, but

which shows the temper of the soldiery. A small detachment of soldiers were coming from Ramleh (by the English line); the Arab ticket-collector asked one of them for his ticket; the soldier refusing to produce it, the collector attempted very gently to detain him. Thereupon all the soldiers joined in a violent attack on the collector, who was struck over the head with the butt-end of their rifles, so violently as to cause a considerable amount of blood to flow from the wound. Some of the other soldiers pointed their muskets at the guard of the train and at the railway officials. Mr. Gailly, the Manager of the railway, tried to interfere to prevent further disturbance, but they drove him, at the point of their bayonets, to the nearest police-station, where he was very speedily released.

I took occasion of a visit which I wished to pay to the Governor immediately to report this occurrence to his Excellency, and I heard subsequently that the soldiers who had made the attack had been imprisoned. To-day I received a letter from Mr. Gailly reporting what had taken place.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. A. COOKSON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 935.

Admiral Sir B. Seymour to Consul Cookson.

Sir,

"Invincible," at Alexandria, May 31, 1882.

WITH reference to the despatch addressed to you by the Governor of Alexandria, of yesterday's date, protesting against the proceedings of Her Majesty's ship "Bittern" on her approaching this harbour on Monday afternoon, I have the honour to request that you will inform His Excellency that nothing out of the usual course occurred on the occasion referred to.

2. It is the custom for Her Majesty's ships approaching each other to communicate by signal, and the rules of the service also prescribe that, on all occasions of being near the land, soundings must be taken from each side of any of Her Majesty's ships, and an infraction of this order would involve grave consequences on the officer disobeying it. Lastly, neither I nor the Commander of the "Bittern" are aware of any regulations which forbid the approach, within any particular distance of the shore, of vessels bound for the port of Alexandria.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. BEAUCHAMP P. SEYMOUR.

Inclosure 3 in No. 935.

The Governor of Alexandria to Consul Cookson.

(Translation.)

13 Regheb, 1299 (May 30, 1882).

THE Colonel of the 5th Regiment of infantry has written to me a letter in pursuance to information given to him by the Commander of the Forts, that the British "aviso" "Bittern," which arrived yesterday at Alexandria, while passing near the fortification "El Adda," approached gradually within a distance of 200 metres from the said fortification, which is contrary to the usage. That the said ship made a signal to the ship of the Admiral, and when he received a reply, took in sail, and proceeded slowly near the sea-shore till it reached the point of defence of the infantry, and then began to measure the depth of the water near the said fortification, and reached the fortification of the "Phare," and entered the western harbour. As it is understood by the official information which I have received, and the notices written in the journals, and the official information from you, that the English and French ships, and others, are come here in a pacific and friendly way, of which we are sure, you know perfectly well that such proceeding is contrary to the usage, and will disturb the public mind, particularly under the present circumstances, and we expected that nothing of this kind would have been done; therefore, for the sake of public security I write to you this letter, with a request that you will kindly give notice to the Admiral that to prevent any disturbance such acts should not be done, and oblige me with an answer stating the reasons which have obliged him to take such observations by the said ship, and this for our information, and that what is necessary may be done in the matter.

Inclosure 4 in No. 935.

Consul Cookson to Sir E. Malet.

Sir,

Alexandria, June 6, 1882.

IN continuation of my despatch of the 2nd instant I have the honour to report that perfect quiet reigns in this city. The declaration of Arabi Pasha, communicated to me by your despatch of the 2nd instant, by which he engaged to be responsible for the public peace and for the safety of Europeans, contributed much to calm their fears, and the announcement in the newspapers that the works of fortification which had been going on round the harbour had been stopped by order of the Minister of War, has had a still greater effect. On the 3rd instant, in consequence of a verbal request from Admiral Sir B. Seymour, I went to the Governor of Alexandria, and told his Excellency that unless the works in course of erection in the harbour of Alexandria were stopped, I should feel it my duty to make an official representation to you on the subject. I pointed out briefly to his Excellency that it had been announced that the visit of Her Majesty's ships to Alexandria had no hostile character, but was intended for the protection of Europeans, in concert with the Government of His Highness the Khedive. That, therefore, hostile preparations against them could only be interpreted as an indication that this intention was to be opposed by the army. That, therefore, the continuance of the works was a menace to the European population. His Excellency confessed that this was quite true, but frankly admitted that he had exhausted every effort to induce the Colonels of the regiments in garrison here to abandon these warlike preparations, and that it would be useless for him to make any further representations either to them or to the Minister of War.

I communicated this reply of his Excellency to Admiral Sir B. Seymour, who informed me that if he decided to make any further protest he would communicate it to you direct.

The arrangements which are being made by me, in concert with my foreign colleagues, for organizing a plan of self-defence by the Europeans, in case of attack on them by the army or the Arab population, are being completed. Admiral Sir B. Seymour lent me the valuable assistance of Lieutenant Bradford, R.N., of Her Majesty's ship "Invincible," but he has now been replaced by Lieutenant Marriott, R.M.A. This latter officer is now, by the orders of the Commander-in-chief, exclusively employed in this service. With his assistance, and the co-operation of all the foreign Consulates, I have no doubt that in a very short time we shall be prepared with an efficient scheme of defence in case of emergency. Our intentions and plan are kept in the greatest secrecy, so as to avoid our precautions themselves becoming a source of danger by creating a panic. I may mention that some days ago the Governor of Alexandria called upon me and several of my colleagues, and mentioned that he had heard that the Europeans were arming themselves. I replied that it was not to be wondered at if they were doing so, after the admission made to us on the night of the 27th ultimo that the local authorities could not answer for the public safety, but, I added, no effort whatever would be wanting on my part to allay the apprehensions of all those over whom I had any influence, and to prevent any collision with the soldiers or the police.

I need hardly say that I have acted in accordance with this promise.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. A. COOKSON.

No. 936.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(No. 182.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 8, 1882.

I CALLED upon M. Mancini yesterday afternoon by appointment, at his own house, to read to him your Lordship's telegram No. 96 of the 6th instant, repeating your Lordship's reply to the Turkish Ambassador on his communicating the two telegrams from his Government, the first announcing the mission of Dervish Pasha to Egypt, the second stating the expectation of the Porte that this step would be sufficient to restore matters to their normal condition, and expressing the hope that the idea of a Conference will be abandoned.

I stated to M. Mancini, in the first place, that it had been my intention the day before to have acquainted him, on my own responsibility, with the tenour of your Lordship's reply, because I had thought it might be of interest and advantage to him to know it, but that I had been prevented waiting on him. I had, however, I said, now received your Lordship's instructions to read to him the telegram in which that reply is repeated, and to urge upon his Excellency the importance of the four Powers joining England and France in pressing the Porte to accede to the Conference at once.

I then read your Lordship's telegram, and the French Chargé d'Affaires, who had accompanied me to M. Mancini, read a similar communication from his Government.

M. Mancini took exception to the statement in your Lordship's telegram that the Conference had been accepted by the Powers. He was not aware, he said, that such was the case; to which I replied that they had done so in principle, and this was, of course, your Lordship's meaning, even if their formal acceptance had not been yet officially communicated. M. Mancini did not contest this.

M. Mancini then stated that he had received precisely the same communications from the Turkish Ambassador here. He had not made any reply to them. The Turkish Government, he said, appeared very confident of the success of their Commissioner, although he must say it seemed to him they were perhaps over-sanguine. Their refusal, however, to take part in a Conference, under any circumstances, was very peremptory, and he thought it would be difficult for the Conference to meet at Constantinople if the Turks declined to join it.

I reminded his Excellency that the Turkish Government had shown no less opposition to the Conference of 1876, but it was, nevertheless, held with their participation, under the united pressure of Europe; and it might be hoped that, if the same pressure were now brought to bear, they would be equally yielding.

M. Mancini said that he thought it might be better to wait three or four days to see if there were any probability of Dervish Pasha's mission having the complete success anticipated from it by the Turkish Government; which he again said appeared to him doubtful. If it did not fully realize these expectations, then surely, he said, the Powers would be better able to urge the Porte, out of regard for its own interests, to take part in a Conference.

His Excellency added that your Lordship even admitted that if Dervish Pasha's mission resulted in a settlement completely in accordance with the views of the Powers, and afforded a prospect of permanence, the *raison d'être* for the Conference would cease, and he drew attention to no similar phrase existing in the French despatch.

I replied to this that, in point of fact, there was no real difference between your Lordship's communication and M. de Freycinet's on this detail. The object of both Governments was the immediate meeting of the Conference, whose first care would doubtless be to watch the result of Dervish Pasha's mission, and, being assembled, would be ready to concert such other measures with the Porte as might be necessary, in case the objects and views of the Powers were not fully attained by the Turkish Commissioner. All that your Lordship had meant, I said, as was proved by the context, was that in the event, which his Excellency himself considered very problematical, of Dervish Pasha fully and completely succeeding in accomplishing a settlement in accordance with the views of the Powers, with a prospect of permanency, there would be then no reason for the Conference pursuing its labours further; but of this the Conference would be the best judge, and consequently it was most desirable there should be no loss of time in its meeting.

I remarked that the Italian Government had always been amongst those most anxious that Europe should be associated with England and France in the treatment of the affairs of Egypt, and I could not conceive how a more practical realization of this desire could be attained than by the assembling of a Conference.

The Marquis de Reverseaux spoke in a similar sense.

In consequence of an observation of M. Mancini to the effect that it would be necessary to determine more precisely the exact purpose of the meeting of the Conference, I then recapitulated the substance of our two last conversations. The first, I said, was when I had informed his Excellency of the terms in which the French proposal had been accepted by Her Majesty's Government, on which occasion, I admitted, his Excellency had not appeared very much in favour of it, and had expressed the opinion that more complete information as to its precise objects might be required, though adding that the Italian Government would never stand in the

way of a course which commended itself to the other five Powers. The second was when I and the French Chargé d'Affaires had made to him jointly in the name of our Governments the formal proposal of the Conference; and when, as we had both of us remarked, his Excellency had appeared to us much more favourably disposed towards it. He had been good enough to tell us that the proposal would receive the most favourable consideration of the Italian Government, as he believed it would that of the other Governments; that he would make known to the Turkish Government the proposal he had received from us, and the favourable disposition of the Italian Government towards it.

I came now, I said, to the third phase, that of to-day, and I was sorry to perceive that his Excellency's inclination towards the Conference had apparently diminished.

I mentioned having heard from my Russian colleague the previous evening that on M. de Giers receiving communication from the Turkish Ambassador, announcing Dervish Pasha's mission and their objections to a Conference, his Excellency had replied that the Russian Government, having already accepted the Conference, could not now withdraw.

M. Mancini replied that the phase of to-day was an entirely new one. It requested the other Powers to join England and France in urging on the Porte the acceptance of a Conference to which it had declared itself absolutely opposed; and his Excellency produced the Turkish telegram for our perusal.

When I had read it, I said it did not appear to me so peremptory as his Excellency had described it. No doubt it expressed full confidence in the success of Dervish Pasha's mission, and a hope that the idea of a Conference would, in consequence, be abandoned; but I did not see that it said that the Porte would, under no circumstances, agree to a Conference.

M. Mancini replied that he must, of course, consult the other three Cabinets upon the present application from England and France; that, if they acceded to it, the Italian Government would not refuse to join them in giving the advice desired; but that, in his opinion, it would be perhaps better to wait three or four days, in order to see if Dervish Pasha's mission was likely to produce the result anticipated by the Porte—which he doubted—and, in case it failed, he thought the Powers would then be in a much stronger position to urge the Conference on the acceptance of the Porte than they are at present.

We again insisted upon the all-importance of there being no delay, on the habits of procrastination of the Turks, their usual manoeuvres for the purpose of giving time; and thus ended an interview which had lasted above one hour and a-half.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 937.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(No. 185.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 9, 1882.

THE French Chargé d'Affaires has just called to tell me that M. Mancini, whom he had that moment left, had informed him that it was his intention to send to Count Corti this afternoon an instruction to join with the Ambassadors of England and France in urging the Porte to give its consent to the Conference immediately, provided, of course, that the Representatives of the other three Powers had received a similar instruction.

(Confidential.)

The Marquis de Reverseaux added that M. Mancini's tone was quite different to-day from what it was the day before yesterday. His Excellency expressed himself to-day, the Marquis told me, to the effect that the Conference was the only possible way of bringing about a solution; that it would be a great support, in any case, to Dervish Pasha's mission, and if this mission did not succeed, the Conference, once assembled, would be ready to concert immediately with the Porte whatever other measures might be necessary.

In short, the Marquis de Reverseaux said, M. Mancini spoke very much in the same language as that employed by your Lordship and M. de Freycinet in answering the Turkish Ambassadors, and that which we had ourselves used in our joint interview with M. Mancini himself.

His Excellency told the French Chargé d'Affaires that all the Powers, he believed, were ready to join in the same recommendation to the Porte, but that there was a hesitation as to being the first to send the instruction to do so, and the Italian Government had therefore determined to take the initiative.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 938.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(No. 187.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 10, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a private letter which I received last night from M. Mancini, in which his Excellency, referring to an interview I had with him on the 7th instant, informs me that he has telegraphed to Count Corti to concert with his three colleagues, should they all have received similar instructions, in advising the Porte to agree to the meeting of the Conference.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 938.

Signor Mancini to Sir A. Paget.

Rome, le 9 Juin, 1882.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

ME référant à notre entretien d'avant-hier, je m'empresse de vous faire connaître que je viens de télégraphier au Count Corti l'autorisant à se mettre d'accord avec ses trois collègues, et, si tous ont reçu des instructions analogues, à engager la Porte à adhérer, elle aussi, en principe, à la réunion de la Conférence dans le sens du télégramme de Lord Granville que votre Excellence a bien voulu me communiquer.

Je suis, &c.
(Signé) MANCINI.

No. 939.

Vice-Consul Calvert to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 12, 1882, 6 P.M.

MR. COOKSON expresses his respectful thanks to your Lordship and to Her Majesty's Government.

Dr. Mackie reports state to-night satisfactory. Orders complete rest.

No. 940.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13, 8 A.M.)

(No. 208.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 12, 1882, 7.30 P.M.

ALL quiet at Cairo.

No. 941.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13, 8 A.M.)

(No. 134.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 12, 1882, 9 P.M.

AT the instance of my French colleague and myself, the other Representatives renewed to-day at the Porte their representations in support of the proposed Conference.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13, 11 A.M.)

(No. 136.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 12, 1882, 11:45 P.M.

I THINK an assurance on the part of the two Western Powers that no other question outside of the Egyptian question will be treated by the Conference would get rid of the Sultan's remaining objections to it. I have had a hint that he is afraid of a Tripolitan question being tacked on to the Egyptian one.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13, 10 A.M.)

(No. 209.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 13, 1882, 8 A.M.

THE Khedive has sent to inform me that he and Dervish Pasha start for Alexandria at 10 A.M. this morning.

I am going to consult my colleagues as to what we should do.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 13.)

(No. 311. Ext. 209.)
My Lord,

Cairo, June 13, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that His Highness the Khedive has sent me a message to say that he starts for Alexandria at 10 o'clock this morning, with Dervish Pasha, the Imperial Commissioner.

I intend to consult my colleagues on the course we should follow in consequence.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13, 11:30 A.M.)

(No. 210. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 13, 1882, 10:15 A.M.

DERVISH PASHA said yesterday, at the meeting at the Palace, that if Egyptian troops were not sufficient to keep order and protect Europeans, Turkish troops would come to their assistance.

I understand that he desires to follow out this idea in the hope of preventing armed resistance to arrival of Turkish troops, and I think this form of proceeding is the only one which still offers a slender chance of a pacific solution. His mission seems to have failed completely.

On his advice, more troops have been sent to Alexandria, and the garrison now reaches about 10,000 men; his view being that Alexandria can be taken whenever advisable, with all its garrison, and that therefore the strength of the army should be concentrated there, so as to make that the first and last place of resistance.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 13.)

(No. 345. Confidential. Ext. 210.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 13, 1882.

AT the meeting held at the Palace yesterday Dervish Pasha made a statement to the effect that, if the Egyptian troops required assistance in maintaining order and protecting the European population, a Turkish force would be summoned for the purpose. I hear that it is his Excellency's intention to follow out the idea of assigning this reason for the arrival of Turkish troops, in order to prevent any resistance on the part of the Egyptian army; and I look upon this form of proceeding as the only means by which a pacific solution may still be attained.

Dervish Pasha's mission seems to have altogether failed in its object.

The garrison of Alexandria has been strengthened, and now amounts to about 10,000 men. This has been done upon the advice of Dervish Pasha, whose view is that the town and garrison can at any time be reduced to submission, and that, consequently, it is better to concentrate the resistance at this point, so as to save the country by one decisive blow.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13, 11:40 A.M.)

(No. 211.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 13, 1882, 10:45 A.M.

KHEDIVE left Cairo at 10 o'clock, with Dervish Pasha. All passed off well.
(Sent to Constantinople.)

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(No. 212.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 13, 1882, 1 P.M.

MY German and Austrian colleagues go to-morrow morning to Alexandria. My French colleague says that he cannot leave for two or three days. I fear that my going immediately might produce a panic here among foreigners, so I propose to defer my departure for two days. News from Alexandria to-day reports all quiet and shops reopening.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 13.)

(No. 316. Ext. 212.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 13, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, in consequence of the departure of the Khedive to Alexandria, my German and Austrian colleagues will go there by to-morrow's morning train. M. Sienkiewicz informs me that he will not be able to leave for two or three days. I fear that, were I to leave immediately, my departure would produce a panic here among Europeans, and I therefore propose to defer it for two days. The news received to-day from Alexandria reports all to be quiet there, and that shops are reopening.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

Mr. Cookson to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13, noon.)

(Telegraphic.) *Alexandria, June 13, 1882, 11.30 A.M.*
 EMIN BEY, the Chief of the European Department of Police, has just been here to inform me secretly that, in spite of assurances of Governor and military authorities to Consuls yesterday, no soldiers were at their posts last night, and that the officers refused altogether to obey Governor.
 No security now for public order.
 (Communicated to Admiral and to Sir E. Malet.)

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 313.) *Foreign Office, June 13, 1882, 1.20 P.M.*
 (Telegraphic.)
 WITH reference to Lord Dufferin's telegram No. 136, and our reply, ask French Government to give similar assurance to the Porte.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 693. Ext. 313.) *Foreign Office, June 13, 1882.*
 My Lord,
 HER Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople has been instructed, at his Excellency's suggestion, and with a view to remove the remaining objections of the Sultan to a Conference, to give an assurance that no question outside the affairs of Egypt will be submitted for its consideration.
 I have to request that your Excellency will ask the French Government to give a similar assurance to the Porte.

I am, &c.
 (Signed) GRANVILLE.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13, 2.5 P.M.)

(No. 213.) *Cairo, June 13, 1882, 1 P.M.*
 (Telegraphic.)
 YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 207 of yesterday.
 There is no sort of need for Sir F. Goldsmid to return here at present.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 13.)

(No. 347. Ext. 213.) *Cairo, June 13, 1882.*
 My Lord,
 WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 207 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to state that I see no need for the return at present of Major-General Sir Frederic Goldsmid to Egypt.

I have, &c.
 (For Sir E. Malet),
 (Signed) A. COLVIN.

*Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.**

(No. 100.) *Foreign Office, June 13, 1882, 4.30 P.M.*
 (Telegraphic.)
 THE time has now arrived when the progress of disorder in Egypt threatens to call for some more decided action, and I have to instruct you to propose, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, to the Government to which you are accredited, that the Sultan, as Sovereign, shall, in case of necessity, be jointly invited by the Powers united in Conference to be prepared to lend to the Khedive a sufficient force to enable His Highness to maintain his authority; the Sultan to be requested to give a positive assurance that these troops should only be used for the maintenance of the *status quo*, and that there should be no interference with the liberties of Egypt secured by the previous Firmans of the Sultan, or with existing European agreements; the troops not to remain in Egypt for a longer period than a month, except at the request of the Khedive, and with the consent of the Great Powers, or of the Western Powers as representing Europe; the reasonable expenses of the expedition to be borne by the Egyptian Government.
 The French Representative will be instructed to make a similar proposal.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 315.) *Foreign Office, June 13, 1882, 4.30 P.M.*
 (Telegraphic.)
 I HAVE informed French Ambassador that as the objections of the Porte to the Conference seem to be giving way, and in Egypt the hope of a successful termination of Dervish Pasha's mission is much diminished, we think time has arrived to communicate to other Powers our proposed instructions to Lord Dufferin for the Conference, and the proposals as to sending a Turkish force to Egypt. I understand M. de Freycinet has expressed his readiness to send similar instructions whenever we do so.
 We shall accordingly telegraph them to Her Majesty's Representatives at the four capitals this afternoon, adopting the amendments proposed by M. de Freycinet, and omitting passage respecting possible convocation of Congress elsewhere in case of Sultan's refusal; omitting also proposal that Turkish troops, if sent, should be under orders of Khedive.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.†

(No. 109.) *Foreign Office, June 13, 1882, 4.30 P.M.*
 (Telegraphic.)
 ON the suggestion of Lord Dufferin, he has been instructed, with a view of removing the Sultan's remaining objections to the Conference, to give an assurance that no other question outside of the Egyptian question will be treated by it.
 Ask the Government to which you are accredited to authorize their Representative at Constantinople to give similar assurance.

[The above repeated to Paris, with the addition of "I have already suggested to M. Tissot that the French Ambassador at Constantinople should give the assurance."]

* Also to Sir H. Elliot (No. 109), Sir A. Paget (No. 110), and Sir E. Thornton (No. 105).
 † Also to Sir E. Thornton (No. 103), Sir H. Elliot (No. 108), and Lord Ampthill (No. 99).
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Mr. Ford to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13, 5.15 P.M.)

(No. 19.)
(Telegraphic.)

Athens, June 13, 1882, 3.16 P.M.

THREE Greek ships are ready to be dispatched to Alexandria at a moment's notice, and troops are ready to be embarked on them, should Greek Consul at Alexandria consider expedition necessary.

*Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.**

(No. 112.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 13, 1882, 5.35 P.M.

COMMUNICATE to the Government to which you are accredited the following instructions which Her Majesty's Government propose to address by telegraph to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, for his guidance at the approaching Conference:—

"Your Excellency is well aware of the views which Her Majesty's Government entertain with regard to the state of affairs in Egypt, and of the basis on which they desire to see the restoration of the *status quo*.

"Time is so urgent, that within these limits they desire to leave much to your discretion, in full and friendly communication with the Representatives of the other Powers, who have always been ready to recognize a certain initiative on the part of England and France.

"As stated in the Circular of the 11th February, it is right that the Sultan should be a party to any proceeding or discussion which represents the united action and authority of Europe in regard to Egypt. In conformity with this view, His Imperial Majesty has been invited to name a Representative at the Conference.

"Any objection which the Sultan may have felt to a Conference should be removed by the fact of its being held at Constantinople, and that a formal invitation to attend it has been forwarded to the Porte. Her Majesty's Government, therefore, confidently expect that the Turkish Government will see the absolute urgency of proceeding with promptitude to agree with the other Powers upon measures necessary to maintain the authority of the Sultan and of the Khedive, and to restore order in Egypt on the basis of the normal *status quo*.

"The Sultan has already sent a Commissioner to Egypt in His Majesty's yacht. The action thus already taken by His Majesty, with the concurrence of England and France, shows that he is aware of the gravity of the situation; indeed, it is evident that if the tie now subsisting between Egypt and the Sovereign Power is to be preserved, the Sultan must be ready and willing to require obedience from the military rebels who now defy his Viceroy.

"You will take care, in any proposals which are made, to have due regard to His Majesty's position and dignity as Sovereign."

The French Government have agreed to send similar instructions.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 211.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 13, 1882, 6.45 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 212 of yesterday.
I am still of opinion that you should be with the Khedive.
I have told French Ambassador so.

* Also to Lord Ampthill (No. 102), Sir H. Elliot (No. 111), and Sir E. Thornton (No. 106).

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 169. Ext. 211.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 13, 1882.

YOUR telegram No. 212 of yesterday states that you propose to defer your departure from Cairo for two days, as you fear that your leaving immediately might produce a panic among the foreign residents. Her Majesty's Government remain, however, of the opinion conveyed to you in my telegram No. 210 of this afternoon, that your proper place is where the Khedive may be, and I have so informed the French Ambassador.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cookson.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 13, 1882, 7.20 P.M.

ROBERT JAMES DOBSON and Reginald John Richardson reported killed in recent riot, and their property at Manchester House, Place des Consuls, Alexandria, in danger. Mr. R. Dobson, of Manchester, requests you will take charge of their private effects and goods, said to amount to 4,000*l*. Do what you properly can, and report.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13, 7.50 P.M.)

(No. 137. Most Secret and Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 13, 1882, 5.10 P.M.

I have succeeded in obtaining possession of a cypher telegram dated the 11th June, addressed by Dervish Pasha to the Minister of the Interior, from which it is evident that he has a *bond fide* intention of putting down the military party. He perceives, however, that he will encounter the most formidable opposition, and he suggests the dispatch of Turkish troops to his support.

I have also got hold of another cypher telegram dated the 12th June, from Ahmed Essad, addressed to the Prime Minister and to the Sultan's First Private Secretary, in which he [speaks] of the policy of Dervish Pasha being in entire contradiction to the orders he himself had received, Dervish having embarked on a high-handed course of action instead of endeavouring to conciliate Arabi; he no longer knows what language to hold; and he asks to be told whether he is to conform his attitude to that of Dervish.

This telegram of Essad's illustrates the way in which the Sultan likes to double one Agent by another with incompatible orders.
(Repeated to Sir E. Malet.)

Mr. Swainson to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 13.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, June 13, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the accompanying copy of a telegram dated the 12th June, from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour at Alexandria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) E. N. SWAINSON

Inclosure in No. 964.

Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Telegraphic.) *Alexandria, June 12, 1882.*
 ENGINEER PIBWORTH of "Superb," George Strackett, Admiral's domestic,
 and Alfred Home, Flag-Lieutenant's servant, killed.
 Slightly wounded—Surgeon Joyce, of "Superb," John Cable, Ward Room
 Steward of "Monarch."
 No other casualties in the fleet.
 Arrangements made for funeral at sea to-morrow.

No. 965.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 13.)

(Confidential.) *Admiralty, June 13, 1882.*
 My Lord,
 I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for
 the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the decypher of a
 telegram dated the 13th instant, from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, respecting
 the disposal of refugees, and the state of affairs at Alexandria.
 I am, &c.
 (Signed) GEO. H. HOSTE, *pro Sec.*

Inclosure in No. 965.

Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Paraphrase of Telegram.) *Alexandria, June 13, 1882.*
 KHEDIVE and Commissioner here. Position precarious.
 "Inflexible," "Superb," "Téméraire" cruising off, in consequence of representa-
 tion of Consul-General [to] avoid display.
 I shall transfer refugees to-morrow from the men-of-war to the lined steam-vessel
 "Khedivieh."
 French Admiral contemplates doing the same.

No. 966.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 693 A.) *Foreign Office, June 13, 1882.*
 My Lord,
 THE French Ambassador called upon me yesterday afternoon. I had already
 informed his Excellency that, in our opinion, the time had arrived to communicate to
 the other Powers the instructions with which we intended to furnish Lord Dufferin
 for the Conference on Egyptian affairs, and also the proposal that, in case of need, the
 Powers should jointly invite the Porte to send troops to Egypt, on certain specified
 conditions, to assist the Khedive in restoring order. Your Excellency has been
 supplied with copies of the communications to be made on these subjects, which have
 been slightly altered from the original drafts, partly in accordance with M. de Frey-
 cinet's views and partly to meet the present circumstances of the case.
 M. Tissot told me that he had informed M. de Freycinet of my intention to send
 these instructions by telegraph this afternoon, and that he had no doubt that similar
 instructions would at once be sent to the French Representatives at the four
 capitals.

I also told his Excellency that Lord Dufferin believed the Sultan's objections to a
 Conference might be modified by an assurance that the discussions would be limited
 to Egypt. I said that we had authorized Lord Dufferin to give this assurance, and
 hoped that the French Government would do the same.

M. Tissot observed that, in your Excellency's last interview with M. de Freycinet,

you had dwelt upon the necessity of perfect agreement between the two Governments.
 He said that M. de Freycinet had answered that, even in such a matter as the
 protection of French citizens, in regard to which they were entitled to act alone, the
 French Government wished to act in concert with England, that we might reckon upon
 our having in the French Government a loyal ally without an *arrière-pensée*. M. de
 Freycinet hoped and believed that there was reciprocity in this matter.

I begged M. Tissot to assure M. de Freycinet that he might be sure of our
 sharing these views, and that we had absolutely no wish or object in Egyptian affairs
 beyond those which I had so often stated. I added that, as regards the protection of
 our respective countrymen, I considered it to be quite understood that the English and
 French Admirals would take no steps without mutual consultation and agreement.

I also told M. Tissot of the instruction sent by me to Sir E. Malet to the effect
 that, unless he saw any strong objection, he should follow the Khedive to Alexandria.

I am, &c.
 (Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 967.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 166 A. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, June 13, 1882.*
 Sir,
 THE Austro-Hungarian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and informed
 me that, in consequence of the disturbances which had occurred at Alexandria, his
 Government had decided upon sending a vessel of war there at once.
 I told Count Károlyi that my official answer to this announcement was that Her
 Majesty's Government could have no objection to such a step. I might add privately,
 I said, that when first the French and English Governments decided to send vessels of
 war to Alexandria, I had proposed that the other Powers should be invited to join, but
 had waived the suggestion in deference to M. de Freycinet's objections.

I am, &c.
 (Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 968.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Thornton.

(No. 194.) *Foreign Office, June 13, 1882.*
 Sir,
 THE Russian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and asked me what was
 the state of affairs in regard to Egypt.
 I informed his Excellency of our latest advices from Cairo and Alexandria, and of
 the communication which the English and French Governments were making to the
 other Powers as to the instructions to be addressed to our Plenipotentiaries in the
 Conference.

Prince Lobanow proceeded to review the course of events and to offer some
 criticisms. His Excellency said that the mistake appeared to him to be that the
 Conference had not been summoned much earlier. He thought it should have been
 sitting in January last.

I remarked that if Prince Lobanow would refer to the correspondence which had
 just been presented to Parliament, he would find that a proposal for a Conference
 could not have been made at the time he mentioned with any chance of success.

I am, &c.
 (Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 969.

Earl Granville to M. Tissot.

My dear Ambassador, *Foreign Office, June 13, 1882.*
 THE objections of the Porte to the Conference seem to be giving way, and in
 Egypt the hope of a successful termination of Dervish Pasha's mission is much
 diminished.

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We think, therefore, that the time has arrived to communicate to the other Powers our proposed instructions to Lord Dufferin for the Conference, and the proposals for sending a Turkish force to Egypt.

I understand that M. de Freycinet has expressed his readiness to send similar instructions whenever we do so.

Will you therefore inform his Excellency that we propose to telegraph them to our Representatives at the four capitals this afternoon.

I inclose corrected copies, from which you will see that we have adopted M. de Freycinet's amendments, and that in accordance with his views I have also omitted the passage respecting the possible convocation of a Conference elsewhere in case of the Sultan's refusal.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

P.S.—I have also thought it best to omit the proposal that the Turkish troops, if sent, should be placed under the orders of the Khedive, as it seems uncertain whether he would have a trustworthy General.

G.

No. 970.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13, 11 P.M.)

(No. 214.)
(Telegraphic.)
Cairo, June 13, 1882, 6:30 P.M.
WITH reference to your telegram No. 208 of to-day, I go to Alexandria to-morrow with my Secretary and Interpreter.

No. 971.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 13.)

(No. 348. Ext. 214.)
Cairo, June 13, 1882.
My Lord,
HAVING received your Lordship's telegram of to-day's date, I have settled to leave Cairo to-morrow for Alexandria, taking with me Mr. Cartwright and my Interpreter, Mr. Aranghy.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 972.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13, 11 P.M.)

(No. 45.)
(Telegraphic.)
Vienna, June 13, 1882, 6:35 P.M.
AUSTRIAN Minister for Foreign Affairs will continue to urge at Constantinople the immediate acceptance of the Conference.

He believes that the Sultan's fear that other questions, and especially that of Tripoli, might be entered into contributed to his unwillingness to agree to a Conference, and that if reassured upon that point his acceptance might be easier to obtain.

I said that, as far as Her Majesty's Government were concerned, I believed that I could take upon myself to say that they would be truly ready to declare the business of the Conference to be limited to the affairs of Egypt.

He thinks it would be useful if a declaration to the above effect were made to the Porte.

No. 973.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 13.)

(No. 270. Ext. 45.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 13, 1882.

COUNT KÁLNOKY will continue to urge the immediate acceptance of the Conference on the Porte.

He thinks that the Sultan's unwillingness to agree to it is partly caused by the fear lest other questions, and especially that of Tripoli, should be entered into, and he thinks that it might be useful if a declaration was made to His Majesty that the Conference should only deal with the Egyptian question.

I said that, as far as Her Majesty's Government were concerned, I was sure that I could take upon myself to say that they would be quite ready to make such a declaration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 974.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13, 11 P.M.)

(No. 46.)

(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, June 13, 1882, 6:35 P.M.

AN Austrian ship of war will leave for Alexandria to-day for the protection of Austrian subjects, at the request of the Austrian Consul and merchants.

No. 975.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 13.)

(No. 272. Ext. 46.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 13, 1882.

THE Imperial Government having been requested by the Consul at Alexandria, and by some of the mercantile body, to send a man-of-war to Alexandria for the protection of Austro-Hungarian subjects, a ship will leave Cattaro to-day for that port.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 976.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13, 11 P.M.)

(No. 93.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 13, 1882, 7 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 313 of to-day.

M. de Freycinet instructed the French Ambassador at Constantinople two days ago to tell the Porte that France would not bring forward anything but the Egyptian question in the Conference.

He is quite ready to respect the instruction, and to direct the Ambassador to give an assurance jointly with his English colleague, if you wish it.

No. 977.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 13.)

(No. 575. Ext. 93.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 13, 1882.

WITH reference to your telegrams Nos. 311, 312, and 313 of yesterday, I have the honour to report that I took steps this afternoon to convey to M. de Freycinet

your Lordship's request that he would instruct the French Ambassador at Constantinople to give the Porte an assurance that the scope of the proposed Conference should not be extended beyond the Egyptian question.

M. de Freycinet has let me know that he directed the Marquis de Noailles, the French Ambassador at Constantinople, two days ago to state to the Porte that the French Government would not bring forward in the Conference anything but the Egyptian question.

M. de Freycinet has also sent me word that he is quite ready to repeat this instruction, and, moreover, if your Lordship wishes it, to direct M. de Noailles to give the assurance jointly with his English colleague.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 978.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14.)

(No. 427. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 9, 1882.

I LOSE not a moment in transmitting to your Lordship a Report drawn up by Ahmed Essad Effendi on his late mission to Egypt.

This document is very important, as it clearly indicates the policy of the Porte, the conflicting considerations which have impressed themselves upon the mind of the Sultan, and the leaning of his Agents towards the Mussulman interest, as represented by Arabi Bey, as against the Khedive acting in concert with the Western Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

Inclosure in No. 978.

Report by Ahmed Essad Effendi.

(Traduction de l'Arabe.)

ME conformant aux instructions que j'ai reçues, je me suis mis en communication, en arrivant en Égypte, soit avec le Président du Conseil des Ministres, soit avec les hommes marquants du Gouvernement, et je leur ai expliqué les vues et intentions bienveillantes de Sa Majesté Impériale. J'ai ajouté que sous les auspices des vues en question, l'Égypte se sauverait de l'état précaire où elle se trouve, que tant son avenir que sa prospérité dans le présent seraient assurés, et que de tels bons résultats ne sauraient être atteints que par l'attachement des susmentionnés à la corde solide du Califat et leur soumission entière aux ordres Impériaux. J'ai eu séparément des entrevues avec tous les hommes du Gouvernement Égyptien, qui n'ont pas fait un mauvais accueil à mes communications, mais qui, tout au contraire, ont été unanimes pour me répondre que leur but est d'augmenter de plus en plus et de fortifier les liens de leur soumission et sujétion au Califat afin de faire échouer, par ce moyen, les intrigues des malveillants, et qu'il n'y a aucun autre moyen pour faire aboutir les efforts vitaux des Égyptiens.

Quant à la question de l'envoi des troupes, il est impossible, dirent-ils, de faire accepter cette mesure aux Égyptiens. Les efforts et les vues des Notables de l'Égypte ne tendent point à méconnaître le Gouvernement Impérial, mais bien à détruire l'influence étrangère qui prend le dessus en Égypte et ruine les habitants. Bref, ils désirent écarter toute influence et intervention étrangère à l'exception du Contrôle financier. Par conséquent, ont-ils ajouté, comme il n'y a en ceci rien qui puisse affecter le Gouvernement Impérial, dans le cas qu'il y aurait un envoi de troupes, tant les habitants que l'armée pouvant considérer cette démarche comme une association avec l'ennemi et comme ayant été prise à leur détriment, seraient justifiés de craindre que des conséquences désastreuses ne s'ensuivent.

Quant à Arabi Pacha, je lui ai dit qu'en considération de l'amitié qui nous lie, j'ai été loger chez lui, et que je n'ai accepté la mission importante dont j'ai été chargé qu'en raison de la confiance que j'avais en lui, en ajoutant que s'il ne m'assistait pas ma mission deviendrait difficile. La réponse que j'en ai reçue a été conforme à mon désir. "Tous les Égyptiens," dit-il, "savent que je n'ai d'autre but que celui de mériter l'approbation de Sa Majesté Impériale; c'est pourquoi il est évident que je

suis prêt à accepter tous les ordres Impériaux qui tendent à augmenter les liens de notre sujétion et de notre union à l'Empire. Ainsi je pourrais vous déclarer sincèrement que toutes ces circonstances garantissent votre réussite. Les Égyptiens sont prêts à verser la dernière goutte de leur sang pour l'union et pour leur pays; il faut par conséquent profiter de la circonstance pour barrer le chemin à nos ennemis. Les Consuls de France et d'Angleterre exercent leur influence auprès du Khédive pour me faire destituer. Or, en supposant même que je puisse être révoqué de mes fonctions, il est naturel que tout autant que l'union de la nation subsiste, leurs intrigues ne puissent désormais aboutir en Égypte. Son Altesse le Khédive, quoique revêtu du pouvoir en vertu de Firmans Impériaux, ne saurait congédier son Ministère sans le consentement de la nation et en se basant seulement sur sa propre autorité, attendu qu'il est obligé d'agir d'après le règlement Constitutionnel, et il est clair que s'il venait à entreprendre une pareille chose il donnerait lieu à des conséquences désastreuses pour lui-même. Le temps a enseigné aux Égyptiens de se mettre sur leur garde en prenant exemple de ce qui est arrivé aux Tunisiens. Pourquoi donc ne devraient-ils pas faire tous leurs efforts pour ne pas laisser tomber le pays entre les mains de l'ennemi? Nous aimons notre Maître et nous sommes une nation qui obéissons à ses ordres; mais si nous constatons qu'il agit, en opposition des vues nationales, nous sommes forcés alors de ne pas le reconnaître."

J'ai reçu à mon arrivée à Smyrne étant en route pour l'Égypte un télégramme chiffré qui m'ordonnait de ne pas remettre au Khédive la lettre Impériale; mais seulement de lui faire part verbalement de la confiance et bienveillance Impériales à son égard, et de lui déclarer que, vu les circonstances sérieuses que l'Égypte traverse et qui méritent la sollicitude Impériale, la Sublime Porte se proposait d'envoyer une mission pour assister Son Altesse le Khédive et ses Ministres dans l'aplanissement des difficultés existantes, en tâchant en même temps d'en avoir une réponse à cet égard. Par conséquent j'ai gardé auprès de moi la lettre Impériale, et, me conformant à l'ordre reçu, j'ai eu, le lendemain de mon arrivée, une entrevue secrète avec le Khédive, qui a été très content des communications que je lui ai faites de la part de Sa Majesté, et qui m'a dit qu'il accepterait avec beaucoup de plaisir la mission projetée; qu'avant d'aplanir les difficultés actuelles il voyait la nécessité de former un nouveau Ministère; que, pour écarter les difficultés, il n'y avait d'autre moyen que celui de suivre les ordres de la Porte; que pour lui, il était prêt d'accepter tous les ordres qui seraient émanés du Gouvernement Impérial; mais que pour le moment l'influence était entre les mains des élus de la nation; qu'afin de ne pas subir le sort de son père, il lui était impossible d'entreprendre aucune mesure qui ne serait pas conforme à l'opinion des Notables et des habitants; que vu les plaintes des étrangers d'un côté et l'opposition des habitants de l'autre, on éprouve la plus grande difficulté et embarras dans la transaction des affaires, et qu'enfin, par suite du silence que fut gardé soit par la Porte soit par la Palais Impérial aux télégrammes qu'il leur avait adressés à plusieurs reprises au commencement de la crise, celle-ci a pris des proportions considérables et elle est arrivée au point où elle en est actuellement. Ainsi finit mon entrevue avec le Khédive. Le lendemain j'ai pris congé des Ministres et je partis pour Alexandrie, mais en y arrivant, j'ai appris qu'Arabi Pacha était destitué; qu'il y avait une grande effervescence en Égypte pour le faire réintégrer, et que si le Khédive n'y consentait pas il courrait des dangers. L'unanimité que j'ai constatée soit au Caire, soit à Alexandrie, est inconcevable. Ministres et habitants étant unis ne craignent point les démonstrations navales de l'étranger. Leur courage et persévérance ne font qu'augmenter.

Lorsqu'il a été question de la Conférence tous les hommes de marque en Égypte m'ont déclaré que si la Sublime Porte, avant de connaître les conditions et les idées des Ministres Égyptiens, y donne son consentement et qu'il s'ensuive une décision contraire à la politique Égyptienne, elle aurait une grande difficulté de la faire accepter.

En conclusion, j'ai constaté, à n'en pas douter, que le Ministère Égyptien actuel s'est attaché tous les Notables parmi les habitants, et que de toutes les manières la confiance publique lui est acquise et elle augmente tous les jours.

15 Redjeb, 1299 (le 2 Juin, 1882).

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14.)

(No. 566.)

Paris, June 13, 1882.

My Lord,

AS your Lordship is aware, a question respecting the deplorable events at Alexandria was put to M. de Freycinet yesterday in the Chamber of Deputies.

I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship the authentic account of the proceedings given in the "Journal Officiel" this morning.*

M. Tenot, who brought forward the question, affirmed that the explosion of Mussulman fanaticism at Alexandria derived particular importance from the fact, that it coincided with the mission of Dervish Pasha, that is to say, with a diplomatic phase in the affairs of Egypt, which might, he said, pass with reason for a check to the traditional policy of France.

He proceeded to ask M. de Freycinet whether the Government had taken measures for the safety of the French, and, in particular, whether it was true that the English squadron had landed a military force for the protection of the English, while the French force had remained on board ship.

M. de Freycinet, in reply, gave a summary of the intelligence he had received, in the course of which a voice on the left called out, "Has a landing of English troops taken place?"

M. de Freycinet answered that he did not know positively, that the English Ambassador whom he had seen in the morning had not received any information of the landing of English troops, and that the telegrams of the French Consuls did not mention any such landing.

As your Lordship will see from the inclosed Report, M. de Freycinet, after saying that, in the present state of uncertainty, it was impossible to state to the Chamber what measures would be taken, concluded his speech in the following terms:—

"Ce que je peux dire, c'est que dans les questions qui intéressent nos nationaux nous n'avons à prendre conseil que de nous-mêmes, et par conséquent la Chambre peut être assurée que toutes les mesures qui seront nécessaires pour sauvegarder la vie de nos nationaux et l'honneur de la France seront prises par le Gouvernement."

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 980.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.†—(Received June 14, 8 A.M.)

(No. 138.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 13, 1882, 8 P.M.

I HAVE seen the Sultan. He is very grateful for your Lordship's friendly messages. I made him understand that although we intended to maintain a loyal adherence to our engagements with France so long as she upon her side adhered to the programme enunciated in your telegram No. 194 of the 2nd instant, we would certainly not carry our complaisance an inch further, and that His Majesty might fully rely upon our maintaining intact, by all means at our disposal, his existing rights in Egypt. I also let him understand that I should be quite prepared to consider most carefully any suggestions which his Minister might make to me as to the best means of reaching the ends in question, which were, indeed, those His Majesty himself desired to attain.

The Sultan replied that, having the same objects in view, an intimate and friendly understanding between the two Governments, as well as a unity of action, would easily be arrived at.

I again touched upon the Conference, and observed that if, after it had been once constituted, Dervish Pasha's efforts seemed in a fair way of pacifying the province, it might very well adjourn until a decisive issue had been reached.

The Sultan, in reply, still argued against the Conference on the grounds of the injury which it would inflict upon the prestige of Dervish Pasha, but he finally con-

* "Journal Officiel," June 13, 1882.

† For despatch embodying this telegram, see No. 1311.

tented himself with saying that his Government must, at all events, consider the matter maturely before accepting the proposition.

I then asked him, as a question coming quite from myself, and in no way authorized by your Lordship, whether, if Dervish Pasha's efforts proved manifestly unavailing, he would be prepared, upon the invitation of the several Powers, to send troops to Egypt. His Majesty replied that it was always his policy to adopt conciliatory methods; that hitherto these methods had succeeded; and that he hoped in this case they were also destined to succeed. But he allowed me to understand that in the last resort he would be prepared to send the necessary force to Egypt. I then explained to him fully how anxious we had been all along that he should play a proper part in the solution of the Egyptian question; and having learned from my previous conversation with Reshid Bey that he was ignorant of what had passed with reference to Tripoli, I took special pains to acquaint him with the decisive manner in which your Lordship had interdicted to the French any aggressive action along his western frontier. This reference made a great impression upon his mind, and he begged me with great earnestness to thank your Lordship for your assistance in that matter.

After I had taken my leave, Reshid Bey followed me out of the room, and said that His Majesty had told him to ask me quite privately and confidentially whether, in the event of Turkish reinforcements being required in Egypt, England would lend one or two transports. I said that I could not reply on the spot to such a question, but that I was sure, if His Majesty was required to embark in such an operation, that the British Government would be glad to facilitate it.

In making foregoing communication I thought it advisable to warn the Sultan that the instructions on which they were founded had left London before the news of the recent troubles in Alexandria was known.

His Majesty observed with regard to these, that they did not appear to have had a political character, and that, when called upon, the troops had not hesitated to obey the orders they received.

(Sent to Malet.)

No. 981.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14, 8 A.M.)*

(No. 139.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 13, 1882, 9 P.M.

I HAVE got Dervish Pasha's telegrams to the Palace from the 7th to the 10th June. They indicate a loyal and firm determination on his part to support the Khedive, and in one of them he says he intends making a prisoner of Arabi the moment he can safely do so. He states that he has arrested several Sheikhs, and had them tried.

(Repeated to Malet.)

No. 982.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14, 8 A.M.)

(No. 140.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 13, 1882, 9:30 P.M.

DURING the course of my interview with the Sultan to-day, His Majesty said that he would give immediate orders to Dervish Pasha to put himself into the closest and most confidential relations with Sir E. Malet, and he trusted that Malet, in return, would give his entire confidence to Dervish Pasha, and support him to the best of his ability.

If assured of the hearty concurrence of England, His Majesty had every reason to hope that Dervish Pasha would succeed.

(Sent to Malet.)

* For despatch embodying this telegram, see No. 1309.

No. 983.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14, 10.30 A.M.)(No. 215.)
(Telegraphic.)*Cairo, June 14, 1882, 8.30 A.M.*

START at 10 A.M. for Alexandria.

Admiral had invited me, but my colleagues remonstrated strongly against my going on board to live, saying that it would be taken as a sign of intention to open hostilities and compromise safety of Europeans. I therefore go to Hôtel d'Europe.

My German and Austrian colleagues have telegraphed that any armed intervention, even Turkish, will endanger the lives of their countrymen in Egypt.

All political considerations are to them secondary to this danger. They are very anxious that I should urge some scheme to relieve the fears of the military, and hint that the matter should be left entirely in the hands of the Porte, that the fleets and I should leave, and that only in this way the most serious calamities can be avoided.

I mention these views because they may be re-echoed at the Conference.
(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 984.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 14.)

(No. 349. Ext. 215.)

Cairo, June 14, 1882.

My Lord,

I LEAVE this for Alexandria at 10 o'clock this morning.

Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour had kindly offered to make room for me on Her Majesty's ship "Helicon," but I found that my colleagues had strong objections to my going on board, because it might be regarded as a sign that hostilities were contemplated, and the safety of Europeans might thus be compromised. In consequence of their remonstrances I have taken rooms at the Hôtel d'Europe instead.

The Agents of Austria and Germany have telegraphed to their Governments to the effect that any armed intervention, not excepting Turkish, will place the lives of their countrymen in danger. They consider the political question as a secondary matter compared with the security of their fellow-subjects, and they press me to advocate some plan to relieve the fears of the military. With this object they are in favour of leaving the matter entirely in the hands of the Porte, and they believe that the only means of avoiding the most serious calamities is the departure from Alexandria of the fleet and myself.

My reason for communicating these views to your Lordship is that they may possibly find a re-echo at the Conference.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 985.

Mr. Cookson to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14, 1.40 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 14, 1882, 12.52 P.M.

ALL quiet here since last telegram. Town patrolled day and night. All troops apparently doing their duty.

Khedive and Dervish Pasha arrived yesterday afternoon; both assure Consuls of confidence in the maintenance of public safety.

Khedive admits to Sir A. Colvin that mission of Dervish Pasha had failed, and says nothing but arrival of Turkish troops would terminate crisis.

Great panic since yesterday, in consequence of rumour of landing from British and French fleet. I have contradicted it as publicly as possible.

A large number of Bedouins reported outside Alexandria, intention unknown; probably for plunder. Present garrison of Alexandria estimated about 7,000 in all.

General flight of Europeans continues. Ships' accommodation quite inadequate,

and am begging authorities, if absolutely necessary, to charter vessels for conveyance of British subjects. All shops closed, and business suspended.

My own health progresses favourably. Injuries to hand prevent my writing.

No. 986.

Earl Granville to Acting Consul Calvert.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 14, 1882, 2.50 P.M.

GREAT anxiety evinced to know names of British-born subjects killed and wounded in recent riots at Alexandria. Furnish as complete a list as possible by telegraph.

No. 987.

Messrs. Levi and Sons to Sir Charles W. Dilke.—(Received June 14.)

(Telegraphic.)

Manchester, June 14, 1882.

OUR firms trading as English subjects with Alexandria wish to ask what protection can be afforded to our goods, as relatives in charge there must leave for safety. Please wire.

No. 988.

Earl Granville to Mr. Ford.

(No. 13.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 14, 1882, 4.20 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 19 of yesterday.

Her Majesty's Government consider that it would be most objectionable that any single Power should send European troops.

No. 989.

Earl Granville to Mr. Ford.

(No. 60. Ext. 13.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 14, 1882.

YOUR telegram No. 19 of yesterday informs me that three Greek ships are prepared to proceed to Alexandria at a moment's notice, and troops ready to be embarked on board should the Greek Consul at that port consider it necessary that they should be sent.

Her Majesty's Government consider that it would be a most objectionable proceeding on the part of any single Power to send European troops to Egypt at this moment.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 990.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14, 4.25 P.M.)

(No. 41.)

(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, June 14, 1882, 3.56 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegrams Nos. 99, 100, and 102 of the 13th instant.

Minister for Foreign Affairs will instruct German Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople to support Lord Dufferin and his colleagues in the sense suggested by your Lordship's above-mentioned telegrams.

No. 991.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 14.)

(No. 209. Ext. 41.)

My Lord,

Berlin, June 14, 1882.

COUNT HATZFELDT was at the Reichstag when I called to-day at the Foreign Office, so I communicated your Lordship's telegrams Nos. 99, 100, and 102, of the 13th instant, to the Acting Minister, who said that the German Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople would receive instructions to support Lord Dufferin and his colleagues in the sense suggested by your Lordship's above-named telegrams.

I hope to see Count Hatzfeldt on the subject later on, when he returns from the House, or to-morrow.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

No. 992.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.(No. 212.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 14, 1882, 4:50 P.M.

I APPROVE your going to Alexandria, as reported in your telegram No. 214 of yesterday.

No. 993.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 170. Ext. 212.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 14, 1882.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 214 of yesterday, Her Majesty's Government approve of your intention to proceed to Alexandria to-day.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 994.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.(No. 228. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 14, 1882, 5:40 P.M.

NOT quite sure of the objects the Sultan may have in asking about transports. We have ordered the Channel squadron to go from Gibraltar to Malta, whence it could go on to the Dardanelles or Constantinople. It could carry 5,000 Turkish soldiers.

Use this information according to your discretion.

No. 995.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 309. Secret. Ext. 228.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 14, 1882.

IN your telegram No. 138 of yesterday you state that the Sultan's Private Secretary had, by order of His Majesty, asked your Excellency privately and confidentially whether, in the event of Turkish reinforcements being required in Egypt, England would lend one or two transports.

Her Majesty's Government have some doubt as to the object His Majesty may have had in view in causing this inquiry to be made. They have, however, given orders that the Channel Squadron should proceed from Gibraltar to Malta. From that

place it could go on to the Dardanelles or to Constantinople if necessary. The number of Turkish troops which could be carried by the squadron would be 5,000.

Your Excellency may make use of this information according to your discretion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 996.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.(No. 229.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 14, 1882, 5:45 P.M.

MY telegram No. 221 of yesterday.

We yesterday requested the other Powers to assure Sultan that Conference would be limited to Egyptian question.

If you have not already given such an assurance on the part of Her Majesty's Government, you may join French Ambassador in doing so on behalf of two Powers. He has instructions.

No. 997.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 310. Ext. 229.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 14, 1882.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 221 of yesterday, stating that Her Majesty's Government were of opinion that the scope of the Conference should not extend beyond the Egyptian question, I have to inform your Excellency that the other Powers have been requested to give an assurance to the Sultan to the same effect.

I have to request your Excellency, in the event of your not having given His Majesty such an assurance on the part of Her Majesty's Government, to join with the French Ambassador, who is similarly instructed, in doing so on behalf of England and France.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 998.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.(No. 322.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 14, 1882, 5:50 P.M.

YOUR telegram of yesterday.

Tell M. de Freycinet that Lord Dufferin has been authorized to join in assurance to Sultan as to limitation of Conference to Egypt.

No. 999.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 699. Ext. 322.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 14, 1882.

I HAVE to request that your Excellency will inform M. de Freycinet, with reference to his instruction to the French Ambassador at Constantinople referred to in your telegram of yesterday, that Lord Dufferin has been authorized to join in the proposed assurances to the Sultan that the discussions of the Conference shall be limited to the Egyptian question.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1000.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14, 6.25 P.M.)(No. 48.)
(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, June 14, 1882, 4 P.M.

I HAVE communicated to the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs your Lordship's instructions to Lord Dufferin, repeated in your telegram No. 111. He appeared to approve them in every respect.

No. 1001.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received, by telegraph, June 14.)

(No. 275. Ext. 48.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 14, 1882.

AS instructed by your Lordship, I have communicated to Count Kálnoky the instructions which Her Majesty's Government propose to address to the Earl of Dufferin for his guidance at the approaching Conference.

His Excellency appeared to approve them in every respect, and I believe your Lordship may count upon the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador giving Lord Dufferin every support in the execution of them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 1002.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14, 6.25 P.M.)(No. 49.)
(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, June 14, 1882, 4 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 108.

The Austrian Ambassador at Constantinople will be instructed to give an assurance that no question except the Egyptian question will be treated by the Conference.

No. 1003.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 14.)

(No. 277. Ext. 49.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 14, 1882.

COUNT KÁLNOKY was glad to learn from your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, which I communicated to him this morning, that Lord Dufferin had been directed to inform the Porte that no question outside the Egyptian question will be treated by the proposed Conference.

He will instruct Baron Calice to speak in the same sense.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 1004.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14, 5.50 P.M.)(No. 50.)
(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, June 14, 1882, 5 P.M.

I HAVE communicated to the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs your Lordship's telegram of yesterday respecting proposals to be made to the Sultan by the Conference.

His Excellency could not offhand say more than that he would examine them with care and with every desire to fall in with your Lordship's wishes.

He took no exception to any part of them, and spoke of the necessity of tying

the Sultan strictly down to guard against the possibility of his trying to avail himself of the opportunity of extending his authority in Egypt beyond that which now belongs to him.

His Excellency alluded to the susceptibility of the Turks, which made it important not to employ expressions capable of irritating them, and he thought that such expressions as that of the Sultan "lending" a force to the Khedive might not be well taken by His Majesty.

I said that if the expression was objected to the members of the Conference would be able to find another to convey the meaning.

The Minister observed that he had not intended to object to the word, but had only wished to point out the importance of selecting the phrases the best calculated to satisfy the Sultan.

No. 1005.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 14.)

(No. 279. Ext. 50.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 14, 1882.

I HAVE communicated to Count Kálnoky your Lordship's telegram of yesterday stating the nature of the invitation which it is proposed that Conference should make to the Sultan for the re-establishment of order in Egypt.

His Excellency could not off-hand say more than that he would at once give your Lordship's proposal his serious attention with every disposition to fall in with it, but he took no exception to any part of it.

He fully recognized the necessity of tying the Sultan strictly down in order to guard against the possibility of his trying to avail himself of the opportunity of extending his authority in Egypt beyond that now belonging to him, but the susceptibility of the Turks was so great as to make it desirable to be very careful in not employing expressions at which they might take umbrage, and he did not therefore feel sure that the Sultan might not rather resent being asked to "lend" a force to the Khedive.

I said that your Lordship's telegram merely conveyed the substance and nature of the invitation which it was proposed to make to the Sultan, and that, if the word was objected to, it would not be difficult for the Conference to find another phrase conveying the same meaning.

His Excellency wished not to be understood as himself objecting to the word, but, being anxious that the application to the Sultan should be made in the manner best calculated to obtain his consent, he had merely mentioned his doubt at first sight whether the word in question was altogether happily chosen.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 1006.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14, 6.10 P.M.)(No. 41.)
(Telegraphic.)

Rome, June 14, 1882, 3 P.M.

I HAVE communicated to Minister for Foreign Affairs your Lordship's telegrams Nos. 109, 110, and 112 of yesterday: (1) respecting assurance to be given to the Sultan that no question outside that of Egypt will be treated by the Conference; (2) as to inviting Sultan to send troops to Egypt; and (3) repeating instructions to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople for his guidance at the Conference.

His Excellency agrees to everything, and will immediately telegraph to Count Corti to act as desired, if his colleagues have received similar instructions.

The French Chargé d'Affaires, when I communicated with him this morning, and received no instructions on any of the above subjects.

No. 1007.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14, 6.30 P.M.)

(No. 141.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 14, 1882, 3.15 P.M.

THE Sultan has just desired me to transmit to your Lordship the following message:—

That in a conversation with Musurus Pasha your Lordship had spoken in such gratifying terms of the Sultan himself and of his sovereign rights in regard to Egypt, that he begged I would express his grateful thanks for it.

No. 1008.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 215.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 14, 1882, 6.30 P.M.

YOURS No. 215.

Is the Hotel d'Europe well situated for communication with the ships in case of danger?

I trust that the representations of the Consuls will have no effect with their respective Governments.

No. 1009.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 697.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 14, 1882.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch No. 474 of the 21st ultimo, and to the previous correspondence respecting the attributions to be assigned to the Chamber of Notables, it may be desirable that your Excellency should represent to M. de Freycinet that the question, as it was then examined, had reference merely to the necessity of maintaining intact the obligations of Egypt towards her creditors as they had been formulated by the International Law of Liquidation.

It is evident that the political situation has since materially changed, and that it will now be necessary to consider whether there are not other respects in which the proposed Organic Law requires modification.

For instance, the Commissioners of Liquidation had no authority to deal with the details of the administrative expenditure, including under this head the Civil List of the Khedive and his family. A Budget was, it is true, submitted to the Commissioners, and formed the basis of their operations, and, in so far, may be said to have received their sanction, but no express provision was made for anything in the Law beyond the security of the debts.

It would, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, be very unwise that this Civil List, which was fixed in the Budget, as aforesaid, at the moderate amount of 315,000*l.*, of which only 100,000*l.* a-year is reserved for the Khedive's personal use and the maintenance of his dignity, the rest being expended in the pensions of the ex-Khedive and other numerous branches of Mehmet Ali's family, should be left at the discretion of the Notables.

It must be remembered that the Khedive, at the time of the Commission of Inquiry, which preceded the Liquidation, voluntarily surrendered his private estates, and has, therefore, little or no personal fortune.

There may be other points to be dealt with of a similar character, but Her Majesty's Government think that it will be sufficient for your Excellency at the present moment to call the attention of M. de Freycinet generally to the subject, and specially to this point of the Civil List.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1010.

Sir Charles W. Dilke to Messrs. Levi and Sons.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 14, 1882, 7 P.M.

YOUR relatives in charge of your goods at Alexandria must make the best arrangements they can for the protection of the property, after consulting Her Majesty's Consular Representative there. It is not possible to answer your inquiry at present.

No. 1011.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14, 7.5 P.M.)

(No. 94.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 14, 1882, 5.10 P.M.

M. DE FREYCINET has shown me this afternoon a telegram he has just received from the French Ambassador at Constantinople saying that the Sultan has now expressed to Lord Dufferin disinclination to accede to the Conference.

His Excellency has also shown me a telegram from the French Ambassador in London very nearly the same as your telegram No. 315 of yesterday to me.

He is sending by telegraph to the Ambassador in London an answer to be communicated to your Lordship, the substance of which apparently will be that he objects to the omission of the clause providing that the Turkish troops shall be under the orders of the Khedive, and that he thinks that the forwarding the two instructions at this moment would be likely to retard the meeting of the Conference, especially considering the Sultan's recent language to Lord Dufferin.

He tells me that he does not expect an interpellation on Egypt to-morrow, nor, indeed, until his new Yellow Book comes out.

The French Ambassador will probably also propose to your Lordship that the Powers shall enter into a self-denying engagement not to seek conquests or special advantages in Egypt.

No. 1012.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 14.)

(No. 578. Ext. 94.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 14, 1882.

M. DE FREYCINET showed me this afternoon a telegram he had received from the Marquis de Noailles, the French Ambassador at Constantinople, who stated in it that he had been informed by Lord Dufferin that, in an audience he had just had of the Sultan, His Majesty had expressed disinclination to accede to the proposed Conference on the affairs of Egypt.

M. de Freycinet then gave me to read a telegram from M. Tissot, recounting a verbal communication made to him by your Lordship yesterday, on the subject of submitting at once to the Powers the proposed instructions to the Earl of Dufferin for the Conference, and also the proposal that, in case of need, the Powers should unite in inviting the Sultan to send troops to Egypt on certain specified conditions.

The account given of this communication by M. Tissot appeared to be very nearly the same as that which your Lordship was so good as to give me in your telegram No. 315 of yesterday.

M. de Freycinet told me that he was preparing an answer, to be sent by telegraph to M. Tissot for communication to your Lordship.

I gathered from what M. de Freycinet said, that the substance of this answer would be that, as regarded the invitation to the Sultan to send troops, the French Government objected to the omission of the clause providing that the Turkish troops sent should be under the orders of the Khedive, and that they thought that communicating the two instructions to the Powers at this time would be likely to retard the meeting of the Conference.

M. de Freycinet said that the Porte would certainly become acquainted with the documents, and that they would increase the hesitation of the Sultan, whose disposition

appeared, from what he had said to Lord Dufferin, to be less favourable to the Conference than it had seemed to be when your Lordship spoke to M. Tissot.

I have forwarded the substance of this despatch to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1013.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 14.)

(No. 579. Ext.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 14, 1882.

M. DE FREYCINET told me this afternoon that he was disposed to instruct the French Ambassador in London to suggest to your Lordship that it might be advisable that the Powers should sign, with regard to Egypt, an engagement not to seek any augmentation of territory or exclusive advantages similar to that which was signed by them in September 1880 with regard to the Montenegrin and the Greek questions.

His Excellency observed that the signature of such a document might serve to remove suspicions, which appeared to exist in some quarters, as to the intentions of France and England with regard to Egypt.

I have had the honour to forward to your Lordship the substance of this despatch by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1014.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 14.)

(No. 580. Further Ext. 94.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 14, 1882.

AS I have already had the honour to inform your Lordship by telegraph, M. de Freycinet told me this afternoon that it was true that it had been generally announced that an interpellation on Egyptian affairs would be addressed to the Government in the Chamber of Deputies to-morrow, but that he did not expect that in fact such an interpellation would be brought forward to-morrow, or, indeed, that it would be debated until a new Yellow Book on Egyptian affairs, which was being prepared, should have been distributed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1015.

Mr. Ford to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14, 7.30 P.M.)

(No. 21.)

(Telegraphic.)

Athens, June 14, 1882, 12.30 P.M.

GREEK Government are prepared to dispatch at once a small expeditionary force, 700 men, to Alexandria, to be followed, if necessary, by a larger one of 5,000 men; but Greek Agent at Alexandria has telegraphed to say that the presence of a Greek force under the circumstances might aggravate the present crisis. He has been instructed to ask, and to strictly follow, the advice he may receive from the English and French Agents in Egypt, and particularly that given by Sir E. Malet.

No. 1016.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14, 8.15 P.M.)

(No. 216.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 14, 1882, 6 P.M.

I ARRIVED here to-day at 2.15 P.M.

No. 1017.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14.)

(Telegraphic.)

(Extract.)

Alexandria, June 14, 1882, 10.30 P.M.

AT present the military are behaving well and keeping order in the streets—apparently in earnest.

No. 1018.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 15.)

(No. 576.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 14, 1882.

IN the Senate yesterday a question was put by Baron de Larcinty to M. de Freycinet, respecting the troubles at Alexandria.

I inclose the authentic report of the proceedings, which appears this morning in the "Journal Officiel."

M. de Freycinet gave a rather fuller account of the troubles than he had been able to give to the Chamber of Deputies the day before.

He attributed the beginning of them to a quarrel between a Maltese and an Arab, in which, however, he did not fail to state that it was the Maltese, not the Arab, who was killed.

He praised very highly the conduct of the French Consul.

He affirmed that the Egyptian troops, although they arrived rather tardily, did their duty properly, and that the Governor of Alexandria gave proofs of courage, presence of mind, and good-will worthy of all praise.

He stated that the disturbance had been at one moment on the point of breaking out with double force because a report was spread that troops were being landed from an English ship, but that calm was restored on its being shown that the report was unfounded.

M. de Freycinet drew, he said, from the information he had received, the conclusion that religious fanaticism had not played any part in these sad doings, and, moreover, that they did not originate in political feelings. He represented them as being probably merely accidental occurrences, such as sometimes take place in seaports where large numbers of sailors of various nationalities are crowded together, and as have unfortunately been not unknown in French ports.

His Excellency proceeded to state that tranquillity had been restored, and that there was reason to hope that no further disorders would occur, but that nevertheless the Minister of Marine had sent instructions to secure for the French a protection as complete as possible. He added that he trusted that these precautions would prove to be unnecessary.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 1018.

Extract from the "Journal Officiel" of June 14, 1882.

QUESTION.

M. le President.—La parole est à M. le Baron de Larcinty, pour poser une question à M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères.

M. le Baron de Larcinty.—Je demande à M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères la permission de lui poser une question.

Hier, dans une autre enceinte, lorsqu'il fut interrogé sur les graves événements qui viennent de se passer en Égypte, la brièveté et l'insuffisance des dépêches parvenues à cette heure ne lui permirent pas de donner une réponse complète à la question qui lui était adressée.

Aujourd'hui, le Sénat, vivement préoccupé d'une situation dans laquelle se trouvent engagés les intérêts de la France et l'existence de nos nationaux, serait

désireux de recevoir de la bouche de M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères des nouvelles qui puissent mettre fin à sa légitime anxiété.

Nous espérons que M. le Ministre, plus en mesure qu'hier de connaître les faits, voudra bien répondre à la question que j'ai l'honneur de lui adresser.

M. le Président.—La parole est à M. le Président du Conseil.

M. de Freycinet (Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères).—Messieurs, vous avez eu connaissance par le "Journal Officiel" des renseignements que j'ai été en mesure de donner hier à la Chambre des Députés. Il m'est possible, aujourd'hui, d'ajouter quelques détails complémentaires.

Ainsi que je l'avais indiqué hier, les malheureux événements d'Alexandrie ont eu pour origine une rixe qui a éclaté entre un indigène, un Arabe, et un Maltais. Il paraît que c'est non pas l'Arabe mais le Maltais qui a été tué dans cette rixe. Un grand nombre des compagnons de l'Arabe avaient été attirés par le bruit de la lutte et se trouvaient attroupés dans la rue.

À la suite du meurtre de leur compatriote, plusieurs Maltais ainsi que des Grecs, auxquels on avait délivré des armes depuis quelques jours, ont tiré par les fenêtres des maisons de la Rue des Sœurs, qui se trouve dans le quartier des Européens, et ont atteint des Arabes. Il s'en est suivi une scène d'agitation et de tumulte dont vous pouvez vous faire facilement une idée. Des bandes d'Arabes se sont formées, ont parcouru le quartier des Européens, et, dans leur fureur aveugle, comme je l'ai dit hier à la Chambre, ont saccagé des maisons et porté la main sur des Européens inoffensifs.

Notre Consul, dans cette circonstance, s'est admirablement conduit; il s'est interposé autant qu'il a pu, et à la faveur de la sympathie dont il jouit dans la population, il a pu contribuer beaucoup à diminuer l'étendue de ce mal, déjà beaucoup trop grand.

Un nombre considérable de Français et d'Européens de toutes nationalités se sont réfugiés dans le Consulat Français et y sont restés pendant plusieurs heures sous la garde du Consul et du personnel du Consulat.

Les troupes Égyptiennes qui ont été immédiatement averties de ce qui se passait sont arrivées sur les lieux avec quelque lenteur, mais cependant elles n'ont pas tardé à faire leur devoir convenablement, et notre Consul nous dit qu'en particulier le Gouverneur d'Alexandrie a fait preuve d'un courage, d'un sang-froid, et d'une bonne volonté digne de tous éloges. Ce désordre a duré assez avant dans la nuit. À un certain moment il a failli redoubler parce qu'on a appris ou cru apprendre qu'un navire Anglais opérait un débarquement pour secourir ses nationaux. Il n'en était rien; le Consul Français a accompagné les officiers Égyptiens à la rade où ceux-ci ont pu constater que ce débarquement n'avait pas lieu et le calme est rentré dans leurs esprits. Vers 11 heures ou minuit tout désordre avait cessé.

Depuis ce moment, il n'y a pas eu de nouveaux troubles. On a envoyé du Caire des renforts; tous les lieux dans lesquels l'agitation s'était produite sont occupés aujourd'hui militairement, et il paraît que des dispositions très sérieuses sont prises.

Il y a tout lieu de penser, d'après ce que nous dit notre Consul, que ces dispositions suffiront pour empêcher le renouvellement de ces scènes déplorables. Le nombre des victimes est malheureusement beaucoup trop grand; il n'est pas aussi élevé cependant qu'on l'avait cru d'abord.

Il a atteint le chiffre de trente-huit. Dans ce nombre ne figure qu'un Français; il y a eu un assez grand nombre de blessés, parmi lesquels très peu de Français. Les blessures de ces derniers ne paraissent pas graves, et je ne crois pas qu'aucun inspire des inquiétudes. Quant au chiffre des indigènes tués ou blessés, je ne le connais pas encore exactement.

De l'ensemble de ces faits et des renseignements qui m'ont été transmis, il ne paraît pas résulter que le fanatisme religieux ait joué un rôle dans ces tristes événements. Il ne semble pas, non plus, qu'ils aient eu pour origine des préoccupations d'ordre politique. C'est probablement un de ces faits accidentels comme il s'en produit parfois dans les ports où sont accumulés des nationaux appartenant à des pays divers. Nous avons eu nous-mêmes, malheureusement, en France, dans certains ports de mer, sur une moindre échelle il est vrai, des événements qui, par leur nature, rappellent un peu ceux-là. Ils n'ont pas eu la même gravité, grâce à nos mœurs et à la bonne organisation administrative et militaire qui règne chez nous.

Aujourd'hui, le calme est complètement rétabli, comme je le disais tout à l'heure, et il y a lieu d'espérer que ces désordres ne se reproduiront pas. Cela ne nous empêche pas, comme vous le pensez, de prendre toutes les précautions nécessaires, et le Ministre de la Marine a envoyé des instructions pour assurer à nos nationaux une

protection aussi complète que possible. J'ai l'espérance que ces mesures seront inutiles, mais elles nous étaient commandées par la vive sollicitude que doit nous inspirer la situation de nos compatriotes.

No. 1019.

M. de Freycinet to M. Tissot.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by M. Tissot, June 15.)

(Télégraphique.)

Paris, le 14 Juin, 1882.

VOTRE télégramme d'hier m'est parvenu ce matin. J'admets avec Lord Granville que les troupes Turques pourront être commandées par un Général Turc, mais il me paraît indispensables de maintenir explicitement le principe que ce Général sera placé sous les ordres du Khédive. Je suppose, du reste, que c'est la pensée de Lord Granville; car, autrement, l'autorité du Khédive se trouverait absolument ruinée.

Mes informations de Constantinople, postérieures à celles de Lord Granville, présentent les dispositions du Sultan comme moins favorables à la Conférence, ainsi qu'en témoigne le télégramme suivant:—

"L'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre me fait savoir par un billet particulier que le Sultan l'a fait appeler et lui a exprimé ses regrets pour les troubles d'Alexandrie, qui ont amené la mort d'un officier Anglais, et la blessure du Consul Anglais. L'Ambassadeur ajoute qu'il a fortement insisté pour l'acceptance de la Conférence, mais Sa Majesté a contesté l'opportunité de sa réunion sous prétexte qu'elle entraverait la mission de Dervish Pacha. Le Sultan a ajouté qu'en tous cas son Gouvernement devra réfléchir mûrement avant d'adhérer."

Lord Granville ne craint-il pas que si en ce moment nous introduisons des communications relatives à la Conférence, la Porte, qui apprendra leur existence, ne demande à les connaître, puis à les examiner, à réfléchir mûrement selon son habitude? De là, nouveau délai avant d'adhérer, dont nous avons nous-mêmes fourni le prétexte. Ne serait-il pas plus conforme à nos intérêts de concentrer tous nos efforts pour obtenir l'adhésion elle-même, et une fois l'adhésion obtenue, nous ferions alors immédiatement, et avant même la réunion effective de la Conférence, les communications que réclame Lord Granville. J'ose espérer que ces considérations frapperont le Principal Secrétaire d'État.

No. 1020.

M. Mancini to General Menabrea.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by General Menabrea, June 15.)

(Télégraphique.)

Rome, le 15 Juin, 1882, minuit et demi.

NOUS sommes loin de vouloir entraver le concert Européen, et moins encore nous détacher des autres Puissances, mais nous ne saurions encourir la responsabilité de leur laisser ignorer les prévisions que M. de Martino nous télégraphie du Caire dans les termes suivants:—

"Il faut," dit-il, "ne pas se faire d'illusions. À la première nouvelle d'une intervention armée, même exclusivement Turque, toutes les colonies seront victimes d'un fanatisme qui n'a plus de limites."

Veuillez donner connaissance de ce qui précède au Comte Granville; il pourra, par l'Agent Britannique en Égypte, vérifier jusqu'à quel point l'appréciation de M. de Martino est conforme à la vérité.

No. 1021.

Messrs. Levi and Sons to Sir Charles W. Dilke.—(Received June 15.)

Sir,

Manchester, June 14, 1882.

WE telegraphed you this day as follows:—

"Our firms trading as English subjects in Alexandria wish to ask what protection can be afforded to our goods, as relatives in charge there must leave for safety. Please wire."

Up to this time, 8 p.m., we received no reply, but trust we shall have one in the morning, accompanied with the necessary instructions, so that we may telegraph the same at once to our representatives abroad.

We may add that, from private telegraphic advices, we feel extremely anxious in the matter.

We remain, &c.
(Signed) RISO M. LEVI AND SONS.

No. 1022.

Mr. Ford to Earl Granville.—(Received June 15.)

(No. 20.) *Athens, June 14, 1882.*
(Telegraphic.)
GREEK ship "Bouboulina" will be dispatched to Alexandria this evening, in order to take away indigent Greek subjects who are desirous of leaving the country, but are destitute of means.

No. 1023.

Vice-Consul Calvert to Earl Granville.—(Received June 15.)

Alexandria, June 14, 1882.
(Telegraphic.)
FOLLOWING British-born subjects killed:—
James Pibworth, engineer, Her Majesty's ship "Superb;" George Strackett, Admiral's servant; Alfred Herne, Flag Lieutenant's servant—both of "Helicon;" Dr. Herbert Panoare Ribton; John Robert Dobson; and Reginald John Richardson: total, six persons.
Surgeon Joyce, of "Superb," and Consul Cookson severely wounded; besides a few slight cases.

No. 1024.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 15, 1 A.M.)

(No. 217.) *Alexandria, June 14, 1882, 10 P.M.*
(Telegraphic.)
THERE are 300 English refugees on board an Egyptian steamer. May the Maltese be sent to Malta? It is urgent that vessels should be sent for the purpose of receiving refugees. If the panic continues, the men-of-war will be rendered useless by the numbers who are flocking on board. The matter is very urgent.

No. 1025.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 15.)

(No. 350. Ext. 217.) *Alexandria, June 14, 1882.*
My Lord,
I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that 300 British subjects have taken refuge on board an Egyptian steamer, and 400 on board an English merchant-ship in this harbour. I therefore venture to ask whether the Maltese may be sent to Malta. It is urgent that vessels should be sent for the purpose of receiving the refugees. It is to be feared that if the panic continues the men-of-war will be rendered useless by the number of refugees flocking on board. Immediate steps should be taken, as the matter is very urgent.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 1026.

Mr. Cookson to Earl Granville.—(Received June 15, 10.30 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Alexandria, June 15, 1882, 9.50 A.M.*
STEPS have been taken to protect private effects and goods of Dobson and Richardson.

No. 1027.

Acting Consul Calvert to Earl Granville.—(Received June 15, 10.30 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Alexandria, June 15, 1882.*
CONSUL COOKSON very much better, and out of danger.
Dr. Mackie remains here for present.

No. 1028.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 15, 10.30 A.M.)

(No. 218.) *Alexandria, June 15, 1882.*
(Telegraphic.)
YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 215 of yesterday.
The Hotel d'Europe is in the square in the centre of the town. There is a telephone from the Consulate to the "Helicon." But there would be no means of getting to the ships, because the streets leading to the quay are the worst quarter.

No. 1029.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 15.)

(No. 351. Ext. 218.) *Alexandria, June 15, 1882.*
My Lord,
WITH reference to the inquiry contained in your Lordship's telegram No. 215 of the 14th instant, I have the honour to report that the Hotel d'Europe, where I am now staying, is in the Place des Consuls, in the centre of the town. Since the arrival of the fleet a telephone has been laid from Her Majesty's Consulate to Her Majesty's ship "Helicon." In case of danger, however, there would be no means of getting to the ships, because the streets leading to the harbour are in the worst quarters, and are inhabited mostly by natives.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 1030.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received June 15, 1.35 P.M.)*

(No. 24.) *St. Petersburg, June 14, 1882.*
(Telegraphic.)
I HAVE this evening communicated to M. de Giers the contents of your Lordship's telegrams Nos. 103, 105, and 106. His Excellency informed me that he had already this morning, and without taking the orders of the Emperor, instructed the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople by telegraph, considering the gravity of the events in Egypt, to join his colleagues in urging the Sultan to acquiesce in the Conference, or in supporting any other measure of energy which might be proposed by the other three Powers for the restoration of peace and good order in Egypt, and the maintenance of the *status quo*.

* For despatch embodying this telegram, see Sir E. Thornton, No. 204, received June 16
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His Excellency added that he knew this instruction would accord with the views of His Majesty, and that it had since been approved by him.

No. 1031.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 217.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 15, 1882, 3 15 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 218.

Are there no apartments which you could occupy within easy access of the fleet?

Is the Palace where the Khedive resides available?

No. 1032.

Mr. Ford to Earl Granville.—(Received June 15, 4 10 P.M.)

(No. 23.)
(Telegraphic.)

Athens, June 15, 1882, 11 45 A.M.

YOUR telegram No. 13.

M. Tricoupi has just assured me that he would take no steps which might be considered objectionable by Her Majesty's Government. He repeated Greek Agent at Alexandria was to follow strictly the advice he might receive from English and French Representatives in Egypt, and that on no account would Greek troops be sent there unless those Powers should express a wish to that effect.

No. 1033.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 15, 5 30 P.M.)

(No. 219.)
(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 15, 1882, 2 P.M.

MY German and Austrian colleagues have been to the military chiefs here to suggest that they should state exactly what they want, and say that they will get it submitted to the Conference.

My colleagues explain to me that they have done this with a view to averting an immediate catastrophe to their countrymen, by showing a certain good-will and attention to the military, but that their action in no way prejudices the decisions of their Governments with regard to the political situation. I hold myself entirely aloof from any participation in such action, but I do not object to it, because the necessity of tranquillizing measures is very desirable.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1034.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 15.)

(No. 352. Ext. 219.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 15, 1882.

THE Representatives of Germany and Austria have suggested to the chiefs of the Military party here that they should formulate their demands precisely, and have offered to get them submitted to the Conference.

My German and Austrian colleagues have explained to me that their object in doing this is to avert, for the sake of their own subjects, the danger of an immediate catastrophe; and they have assured me that they do not wish, by their present action, to influence the eventual decisions of their Governments in regard to the political question.

I have thought it right to keep entirely aloof from these overtures; but, on the other hand, there is such a pressing necessity for measures that may tend to restore tranquillity that I have not raised any objection.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 1035.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 15, 4 30 P.M.)

(No. 220.)
(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 15, 1882, 2 20 P.M.

THE Sultan has telegraphed to the Khedive a distinct order to return immediately to Cairo. His Highness is in great perplexity, and has sent for the Imperial Commissioner to ask for his advice.

No. 1036.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 15.)

(No. 353. Ext. 220.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 15, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Khedive has received a telegram from His Majesty the Sultan, giving him a distinct order to return at once to Cairo. His Highness is much perplexed, and has sent for Dervish Pasha, in order to consult him on the matter.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 1037.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 15, 4 45 P.M.)

(No. 51.)
(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, June 15, 1882, 3 10 P.M.

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs told me yesterday that, as reported by Malet, the Austrian Consul-General in Egypt had telegraphed that the arrival of even Turkish troops would be attended with great danger to the Europeans. When I remarked that it was impossible to leave the military party uncontrolled master of the situation, he concurred, and did not appear to me to consider the danger indicated to be a sufficient reason for abstaining from the adoption of energetic measures to establish order.

No. 1038.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 15.)

(No. 282. Ext. 51.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 15, 1882.

WHEN I saw Count Kálnoky yesterday he told me that, as reported by Sir E. Malet, the Austrian Consul-General had intimated his opinion that the arrival of even Turkish troops in Egypt would be attended with great danger to the Europeans.

His Excellency concurred in my remark that it was impossible to leave the Military party undisputed masters of the situation, and he did not appear to me to consider that the danger, though a very serious consideration, was a sufficient reason for abstaining from a resort to the energetic measures which may be required for re-establishment of order.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 1039.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 325.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 15, 1882, 5.10 P.M.

YOUR No. 94.

I have told French Ambassador that I was very sorry M. de Freycinet did not send the proposed instructions to French Representatives at the four capitals. Time is precious. As I had adopted all his amendments, and one entirely in his sense, I had not doubted that the dispatch of them would be simultaneous.

Germany and Austria had already agreed. M. de Kalnoky's only criticism had been that, while he felt necessity of restrictions on Sultan's operations, he feared the phrase, "lend to the Khedive," might excite His Majesty's susceptibilities.

I proposed, therefore, to give Lord Dufferin full discretion to decide with the other Representatives as to the use of one or both of the phrases, "lend to the Khedive," and that which I had omitted as to the troops being under the orders of the Khedive.

It is clearly the duty of England and France not to incur the responsibility of loss of time, which may be irreparable.

I ended by telling M. Tissot that I should send to Lord Dufferin the telegram which will be repeated to you.

No. 1040.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 702. Ext. 325.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 15, 1882.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 94 of yesterday, reporting your communications with M. de Freycinet on the subject of the two instructions to the Ambassadors at the Four Courts respecting the invitation to the Sultan to send troops to Egypt, and the instructions to be given to the Ambassadors at Constantinople for their guidance at the contemplated Conference, which two instructions were dispatched from this Office to Her Majesty's Representatives on the 13th instant.

As I gathered from what passed between your Excellency and M. de Freycinet that the instructions to the French Representatives at the four capitals had not gone forward, I have expressed to M. Tissot my regret at this delay.

I observed that time was precious, and as I had adopted all his Excellency's amendments, and one entirely in his sense, I had not doubted that the dispatch of the instructions would be simultaneous.

Germany and Austria, I observed, had already agreed. M. de Kalnoky's only criticism had been that, whilst he felt the necessity of restrictions on the Sultan's operations, he feared the phrase "lend to the Khedive" might excite His Majesty's susceptibilities.

I proposed, therefore, to give Lord Dufferin full discretion to decide with the other Representatives as to the use of one or both of the phrases, "lend to the Khedive," and that which I had omitted as to the troops being under the orders of the Khedive.

It was clearly the duty of England and France not to incur the responsibility of loss of time, which might be irreparable.

I concluded by telling M. Tissot that I should send to Lord Dufferin the telegram to the above effect (No. 236, June 15), and which has been repeated to your Excellency to-day.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1041.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 236.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 15, 1882, 5.20 P.M.

JOIN with your colleagues in requiring the meeting of the Conference, and in the application for troops according to the instructions of the 13th instant to our Ambassadors at the four Courts.

With respect to the phrase in the instructions, "lend to the Khedive," and to another phrase, "this force to be placed under the orders of the Khedive during the time of their sojourn in Egypt," which occurred in the original draft, but was omitted from the final one, you have full instructions to settle with your colleagues as to their use.

No. 1042.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 312. Ext. 236.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 15, 1882.

HER Majesty's Government desire that your Excellency should join with the Representatives of the other Great Powers in requiring the meeting of the Conference, and in an application to the Sultan for the preparation of troops for Egypt.

Your Excellency will find in the telegraphic instructions to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Vienna, Berlin, Rome, and St. Petersburg of the 13th instant, which were repeated to you, the form in which Her Majesty's Government proposed that the Porte should be addressed, but they leave your Excellency full discretion to decide with your colleagues whether the phrase, "lend to the Khedive," which appeared in those instructions, should be made use of in the joint representation to the Porte.

There was another phrase which occurred in the original draft of instructions, but was omitted from the final one, viz., "This force to be placed under the orders of the Khedive during the time of their sojourn in Egypt," Her Majesty's Government give your Excellency a similar discretion with regard to the use of such words.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1043.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 237.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 15, 1882, 5.30 P.M.

YOU will find the original form of the instruction referred to in my telegram No. 236 of to-day in the printed Confidential Papers on Egypt, section 93, first page.

No. 1044.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 15, 7 P.M.)

(No. 221. Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 15, 1882, 2.30 P.M.

IT appears very unlikely that the Sultan will send troops. The French will do all they can to prevent it, and the views of my German and Austrian colleagues will have great weight. Meantime, the situation is so strained that something must be done. I have suggested to the Khedive this morning to convoke the Chamber to say that he desires to know the wishes of the country as expressed by it, with a view to considering them by the Conference. This will lead to the submission to the Khedive by the Chamber of a draft Constitution. The prospect of the attainment of this would unite the Chamber and the military, but bring them into outward harmony with the Khedive, and all will be quiet while it is being considered by the Conference. Taken into consideration the apparently inextricable complication of interests involved, some common rallying ground of this nature is very desirable.

I believe that the military chiefs might be induced to retire if the Constitution were granted, as their watchwords are "patriotism and law," though they seem to have small knowledge of what these words really mean.

The Khedive did not seem disinclined to the idea, but it could not be executed till we know that the Conference exists.

No. 1015.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 15.)(No. 354. Confidential. Ext. 221.)
My Lord,*Alexandria, June 15, 1882.*

THE situation here is so strained that it is absolutely necessary that something should be done. There appears to be no immediate prospect of Turkish troops being dispatched to Alexandria. The French Government will do all in their power to prevent it, and the views of my German and Austrian colleagues will have great weight in deterring their Governments from giving their consent.

In this state of things, I have ventured to suggest to the Khedive this morning that His Highness should convoke the Chamber of Notables, and ask for an expression of the wishes of the country, with the view of laying them before the Conference. The Chamber would probably, in that case, submit a draft Constitution to the Khedive, and I think that the prospect of attaining a Constitution would bring about a union between the Notables and the Military party, and at the same time lead to an apparent reconciliation with the Khedive. While the Constitution is being considered by the Conference, all would be quiet; and, considering the extreme complexity of the situation, some such rallying point as a Constitution would be of great service.

The watchwords of the Military chiefs are "Patriotism" and "Law," and although they do not seem to understand the real meaning of these words, I believe that they might be induced to retire if a Constitution were granted by the Khedive.

His Highness was not unfavourable to the idea, but it could not be carried out until the Conference has been formally convened.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 1046.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 15, 6.20 P.M.)(No. 222. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.)*Alexandria, June 15, 1882, 4.30 P.M.*

THE Admiral tells me secretly that there are certain preparations indicating that Her Majesty's Government intend to send 3,000 troops from Malta. He is very anxious that your Lordship should know that such a force would be worse than inadequate for the task in hand. He is of opinion that six times the number would be required. I think it right to add that if it becomes known that preparations are making for an attack by us, the lives of all British subjects in Egypt will be in jeopardy at once. I fancy, however, that the Admiral must be misinformed.

No. 1047.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 15.)(No. 355. Secret. Ext. 222.)
My Lord,*Alexandria, June 15, 1882.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour informed me to-day, secretly, that certain preparations are being made which indicate that Her Majesty's Government intend to dispatch to Egypt 3,000 troops from Malta. The Admiral is anxious that your Lordship should know that such a small force will be inadequate for the task to be undertaken, and he is of opinion that 18,000, at least, would be required.

It is my duty to add that, if it is known that preparations are being made by Her Majesty's Government for an attack, the lives of all British subjects will be placed at once in jeopardy.

I am inclined to think, however, that Sir B. Seymour must be misinformed.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 1048.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 15, 7.15 P.M.)(No. 223.)
(Telegraphic.)*Alexandria, June 15, 1882, 4.30 P.M.*

THERE is now a panic in Cairo, and European employes are coming away in large numbers.

There does not seem to be any valid cause for the panic beyond general feeling of distrust which has gained all Europeans. But I fear that the different Administrations, including railways, posts, and telegraphs, will be much disorganized in consequence.

French Controller-General arrived here this morning, having, during Sir A. Colvin's absence here, closed the office at Cairo without his consent and to his great annoyance.

No. 1049.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 15.)(No. 356. Ex. 223.)
My Lord,*Alexandria, June 15, 1882.*

I HAVE the honour to report that a panic has arisen in Cairo, and that large numbers of European employes are leaving. I cannot discover any valid cause for the existence of this alarm, beyond the general feeling of insecurity which prevails amongst all classes of Europeans; but the consequence to the different Services, including railways, posts, and telegraphs, will be serious, and I fear that they will be completely disorganized.

M. Brédif, the French Controller-General, arrived at Alexandria this morning, and Sir Auckland Colvin is much annoyed to find that the office at Cairo has been closed by his French colleague without his consent.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 1050.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.(No. 222. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 15, 1882, 8.5 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 222.

There is no truth in the report of intention to send a force from Malta to Egypt. The Channel squadron might be used for transport of Turkish troops. You will be informed of any step that is decided on.

No. 1051.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.(No. 328.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 15, 1882, 8.15 P.M.*

INFORM M. de Freycinet that our Admiral has authority to take measures, including the landing of men, for the protection of British subjects in case of imminent danger to their lives.

We conclude that French Admiral would concert measures with him for such an emergency.

No. 1052.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 705. Ext. 328.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 15, 1882.

I HAVE to request that your Excellency will state to M. de Freycinet that Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour has been authorized to take measures, including the landing of men if necessary, for the protection of British subjects in case of imminent danger to their lives.

Your Excellency will add that Her Majesty's Government conclude that the French Admiral would concert measures with the British Admiral to meet such an emergency as that contemplated.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1053.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 241.)

(Telegraphic)

Foreign Office, June 15, 1882, 8.30 P.M.

EXPRESS our surprise at the order which has been sent to the Khedive to return to Cairo, where there is no power to protect him from violence, and urge reconsideration of order till Dervish Pasha has a sufficient force to protect him.

No. 1054.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 313. Ext. 241.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 15, 1882.

HER Majesty's Government learn from Sir E. Malet that the Sultan has telegraphed to the Khedive a distinct order to return immediately to Cairo.

Your Excellency will express the surprise of Her Majesty's Government that His Highness should receive such an order. There is no power to protect him from violence at Cairo, and until Dervish Pasha shall have sufficient force at his disposal for the security of the Khedive, Her Majesty's Government trust the order will be suspended, and they desire that your Excellency should make urgent representations to that effect.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1055.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 223.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 15, 1882, 8.50 P.M.

IF the Khedive returns to Cairo, neither the Sultan nor we have the means at present of supporting him.

Advise him to represent the circumstances to the Sultan, and to request his reconsideration of the order.

No. 1056.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 173. Ext. 223.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 15, 1882.

IF the Khedive should return to Cairo in compliance with the order which, as you inform me in your telegram No. 220 of to-day, he has received from the Sultan to proceed thither, neither His Majesty nor Her Majesty's Government have the means at present of supporting His Highness.

I transmit herewith a copy of an instruction which I have sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople,* directing his Excellency to urge a reconsideration of the Sultan's order.

You should advise the Khedive to represent the circumstances to His Majesty, and to make a request that the order should be reconsidered.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1057.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 224.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 15, 1882, 8.51 P.M.

YOURS No. 219.

Your attitude is approved.

No. 1058.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 174. Ext. 224.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 15, 1882.

I HAVE received your telegram No. 219 of to-day, stating that the German and Austrian Agents, with a view of averting an immediate catastrophe to their countrymen, have suggested to the military chiefs to state their requirements, so that they may be submitted to the Conference, but that the action of the two Agents is not intended in any way to prejudice the decisions of their Governments with regard to the political situation; that you hold yourself entirely aloof from any participation in such action, but you do not make objection to it, as tranquillizing measures are very desirable.

I have to acquaint you that your proceedings in this matter are approved by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1059.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 15.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, June 15, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, copy of a letter dated the 2nd instant from Admiral Beauchamp Seymour to Alexandria, reporting the state of affairs at that port and Cairo up to that date, and the steps taken by himself and by Rear-Admiral Conrad, commanding the French squadron, through their respective Consuls, to check the construction of earthworks by the Egyptian troops.

I am, &c.
(Signed) G. TRYON.

Inclosure in No. 1059.

Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Invincible," at Alexandria, June 2, 1882.

IN continuation of my letter of the 29th ultimo, I have the honour to report, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that in addition to the work which was commenced on that day, three new earthwork batteries, as laid down in the accompanying tracing, are being rapidly constructed, to command the Port of Alexandria, and, it is reported on good authority, will be completed in three days.

* No. 1054.

2. On the 30th Rear-Admiral Conrad, Commanding the French squadron, and I, requested our respective Consuls to point out to the Governor of Alexandria that the building of batteries bearing on the European quarter of the city and on the merchant shipping in the harbour was calculated to produce or prolong an impression on the minds of the European population that they are in danger.

3. His Excellency replied, in civil terms, that he shared our opinion, and that he had told the Colonel Commanding the garrison of Alexandria that if the construction of them were not discontinued, he should point out to Arabi Pasha that the continuance of the work was likely to throw doubt on his assurances that he was determined to protect Europeans. To this an answer arrived this morning, that there were no new fortifications being constructed, and that those works going on were only repairs to old parapets, &c.

The Governor added that Arabi Pasha had complimented him on the efforts which he was making to maintain order and tranquillity, and desired him to continue them.

4. The works have, nevertheless, been proceeded with, and there can be no mistake as to the object of their being thrown up.

Admiral Conrad has received reliable information that each battery will mount one 7-inch and six 70-pounders muzzle-loading rifled guns of Armstrong construction, guns which were bought with the iron-clads built in England for Ismail Pasha, and transferred to the Porte some years ago.

5. To-day, being the Moslem Sabbath, no work has been done on the batteries, but up to last night they were being thrown up very rapidly, and on each a large body of labourers was employed.

6. The "Monarch" and "Coquette" arrived to day, in forty-two hours, from Suda Bay. The "Cygnet" may be expected to-morrow, and Admiral Conrad informs me that the iron-clad "Alma," and sloops "Hirondelle" and "Bouvet" may be looked for at the same time.

7. All is apparently quiet here and in Cairo; the feeling of insecurity which exists is, however, shown by the immense numbers of foreigners who leave the country by every opportunity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. BEAUCHAMP SEYMOUR.

No. 1060.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 15.)

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, June 15, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the decypher telegram, dated the 14th and 15th instant, sent to Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, relative to the ships chartered for the conveyance of refugees from Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) G. TRYON.

Inclosure in No. 1060.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Admiral Sir B. Seymour.

(Telegraphic.)

Admiralty, June 15, 1882.

No. 30, June 14.—Make any arrangements you consider necessary for removal of British subjects who wish to leave Egypt. Report steps taken, and if you require more ships.

No. 32, June 14.—Vessel "St. Ronans," 4,000 tons, now at Port Saïd, empty; might be useful for refugees. Shall we negotiate with owners? "Tamar" now ordered to Malta.

No. 35, June 15.—Afford same protection to German as to British subjects till German man-of-war arrives. "Maulkin Towers," 3,000 tons, leaves Port Saïd to-morrow for Alexandria to be at your disposal. We are negotiating for two more vessels at Port Saïd. Shall you want more than these?

No. 36, June 15.—"North Britain" taken up at Alexandria. "Rhosina" and "Nerissa" at Port Saïd will be at Alexandria to-morrow night; all for month certain. Inform Malta whenever refugees leave.

No. 1061.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.

(No. 245.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 15, 1882.

THE German Ambassador told me last night that his Government intended to send a small vessel of war to Alexandria to take on board any German subjects who might be desirous of leaving Egypt. He added that, if necessary, another vessel might be sent later.

I told his Excellency that we could have no objection to offer, but I asked him to suggest to Prince Bismarck whether he might not find it convenient also to employ merchant-vessels for this purpose, as we were doing.

Count Münster said that Prince Bismarck would be glad if orders could be sent to the British Admiral to do what was in his power for the protection of German subjects until the arrival of the vessel.

I promised that this should be done.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1062.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.

E

(No. 252 A. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 15, 1882.

THE German Ambassador has spoken to me of the desire of Spain to be represented in the Conference on Egyptian affairs. His Excellency said that Prince Bismarck had no objection to it if other Powers had none, especially if it would strengthen the dynasty. He wished to know the opinion of Her Majesty's Government. I said that the question had come new to me, and I was not prepared to give a decided opinion, but I thought that, in a case like the present, when time was all-important, and when there were already sufficient causes of complication and delay, it was highly undesirable to introduce a fresh subject of discussion.

There was another reason for doubt—what objection could be made to Greece, if the Greek Government made a similar application, with her large number of subjects in Egypt?

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1063.

Earl Granville to Mr. Morier.

(No. 89. Confidential.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 15, 1882.

THE Spanish Minister called upon me this afternoon and told me, confidentially, that his Government felt they had a claim to be represented in the proposed Conference on Egyptian affairs on account of the interests which they had in Egypt. He asked me what view Her Majesty's Government would take of such an application on the part of Spain.

I said the matter was one which I could not answer off-hand, and that I must take some days to consider and consult.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1064.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 191.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, June 15, 1882.*
 THE Italian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and showed me a telegram, of which I inclose a copy herewith.*

I told General Menabrea that it was a very important communication, but that it could not, in my opinion, be allowed to interfere with the policy which the whole of the Powers had decided on pursuing.

I informed his Excellency of the instructions sent this afternoon by telegraph to Lord Dufferin with regard to the Conference, and to the invitation to be addressed to the Porte to supply troops to the Khedive.

I am, &c.
 (Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1065.

Earl Granville to M. Tissot.

My dear Ambassador, *18, Carlton House Terrace, June 15, 1882.*

I AM very sorry to hear that M. de Freycinet did not send to the Representatives at the four capitals the proposed instructions to the Ambassadors.

Time is so precious. As M. de Freycinet had concurred in them, and I was able to adopt all his suggestions for their amendment, together with one quite in his sense, I had no doubt that the dispatch of them would be simultaneous.

Germany and Austria have already agreed to them.

The only criticism made by M. de Kalnoky was, that while he felt strongly the importance of putting restrictions on the Sultan's operations, he was fearful that the phrase "lend to the Khedive" might unnecessarily excite the sensitiveness of the Sultan. In the face of the criticisms of M. de Kalnoky and of M. de Freycinet in opposite senses, I propose to instruct Lord Dufferin that he has full discretion to decide with the other Representatives as to one or both of the phrases, viz., "lend to the Khedive" and that which I have omitted, as to the troops being under the orders of the Khedive.

The Khedive is not a military man, and he may not have a trustworthy officer to name.

Loss of time may now be irreparable. It is clearly the duty of France and England that the reproach of creating it should not rest with them.

I will therefore telegraph to Lord Dufferin—

"Join with your colleagues in requiring the meeting of the Conference and in the application for troops, according to the instructions of the 13th instant to our Ambassadors at the four Courts.

"With respect to the phrase in the instructions, 'lend to the Khedive,' and that of 'under the command of the Khedive,' which has been omitted in the final draft, you have full discretion to settle with your colleagues as to their use."

Yours sincerely,
 (Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1066.

Mr. Cookson to Earl Granville.—(Received June 15, 11:30 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 15, 1882, 8:30 P.M.

THE steamer [?] "Bifrat" [sic] may be made available for conveying refugees to Cyprus, if Her Majesty's Government will undertake to indemnify charterers for loss arising from delay of cargo.

I request authority to give guarantee. No loss probable. Maximum, 1,000l.

* No. 1020.

No. 1067.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 16.)

(No. 581.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 14, 1882.

I REMINDED M. de Freycinet this afternoon of your Lordship's suggestion that in case of Turkish troops being sent to Egypt, it would be advisable that the Governments of France and England should each appoint a military man to advise its Agent and Consul-General during the sojourn of those troops in the country.

M. de Freycinet said that, supposing the case to arise, the measure suggested would, in his opinion, be judicious.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) LYONS.

No. 1068.

E*Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 16.)*

(No. 582.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 14, 1882.

I MENTIONED to M. de Freycinet yesterday that your Lordship had instructed the Earl of Dufferin to assure the Porte that the proposed Conference would be limited to the affairs of Egypt.

His Excellency said that it seemed to him to be beyond a doubt that all the Powers understood that the Conference was to be so limited; and he added that, indeed, he had taken this limitation so entirely for granted that, as I knew, he had not hesitated to authorize the French Ambassador some days ago to give the Porte an assurance on the subject.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) LYONS.

No. 1069.

M. de Freycinet to M. Tissot.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by M. Tissot, June 16.)

(Télégraphique.)

Paris, le 13 Juin, 1882, 5:10 soir.

LE Marquis de Noailles me mande en présence des événements d'Alexandrie. Lord Dufferin et lui ont prié leurs quatre collègues de se joindre à eux pour réitérer leurs instances auprès de la Porte en vue de la prompte réunion de la Conférence. L'entrevue avec Saïd Pacha a eu lieu hier. "J'ai dit à Saïd Pacha," continue le Marquis de Noailles, "que le temps des attermolements était passé, que l'opinion publique en Europe ne permettait pas au Gouvernement d'attendre davantage, et que le moment d'aviser était venu; que nous désirons le faire avec le Gouvernement Ottoman, mais que s'il lui fallait faire de nouveaux délais, on aviserait sans lui.

"Saïd Pacha ne prend jamais sur lui de donner une réponse. Je lui ai rappelé qu'il y avait déjà dix jours que je l'avais saisi de la demande de Conférence. Il faudrait, je crois, poser une espèce d'ultimatum."

Cette démarche me paraît de nature à modifier l'opinion de Lord Granville. Elle prépare en effet et appelle en quelque sorte la mise en demeure par l'Europe dont j'avais exprimé hier la pensée. Je crois devoir, quant à moi, pour dégager notre responsabilité dans les complications qui peuvent surgir, soumettre de nouveau ces considérations à Lord Granville, et insister auprès de lui pour qu'il veuille bien se prêter à un dernier effort qui, je n'en doute pas, serait couronné de succès.

No. 1070.

M. de Freycinet to M. Tissot.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by M. Tissot, June 16.)

(Télégraphique.)

Paris, le 15 Juin, 1882, 4:25 soir.

LA réponse que j'attendais, et que je n'ai pas reçue, est celle de mon télégramme d'avant-hier, 4 heures soir, à une mise en demeure par l'Europe pour obtenir une prompte réunion de la Conférence avec ou sans la Turquie.

[801]

5 O

D'après les avis que je reçois, j'ai tout lieu de croire que les quatre Cabinets se joindront à nous pour appuyer cette démarche à Constantinople.

No. 1071.

M. de Freycinet to M. Tissot.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by M. Tissot, June 16.)

Paris, le 16 Juin, 1882, 11-20 soir.

(Télégraphique.)

EN conséquence de votre télégramme d'hier au soir, 11 heures, j'adresse à nos Ambassadeurs le télégramme ci-après :—
"D'accord avec Lord Granville, et en vue de mettre un terme aux ajournements indéfinis qu'oppose la Porte à la réunion de la Conférence, je vous prie de proposer au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de donner des instructions à son Ambassadeur à Constantinople, pour que les Représentants des six Puissances signifient en ultimatum à la Sublime Porte, que si dans un délai de quarante-huit heures elle n'a pas adhéré à la proposition de Conférence qui lui a été faite il y a quinze jours, la dite Conférence se réunira dans un autre capital avec ou sans la participation de la Turquie."

Je vous prie de donner immédiatement communication à Lord Granville, et de lui demander de télégraphier dans le même sens à ses Ambassadeurs, s'il ne l'a déjà fait. Ainsi que je l'ai dit, j'ai de bonnes raisons de croire que les Cabinets adhéreront, mais à la condition que la démarche soit faite en commun par la France et l'Angleterre.

No. 1072.

M. Tissot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 16.)

Ambassade de France à Londres, le 16 Juin, 1882.

Mon cher Comte,

JE trouve en rentrant chez moi un télégramme de M. de Freycinet dont j'extrait le message suivant :—

"Désireux de ne pas me séparer du Cabinet Anglais dans ces circonstances, je viens d'adresser à nos Ambassadeurs, pour être communiquées confidentiellement aux Puissances, les deux notes de Lord Granville en conservant, ainsi qu'il en avait admis l'hypothèse, la mention : ' Cette force restera sous les ordres du Khédive pendant son séjour en Egypte.'"

"J'entends par ces mots, comme Lord Granville l'entendait sans doute lui-même quand il les a introduits, non pas le commandement militaire du Khédive, mais son autorité gouvernementale."

Le télégramme se termine par quelques réflexions dont je vous demande, mon cher Comte, la permission de vous entretenir demain matin, vers 11 heures et demie.

Veillez, &c.
(Signé) CH. TISSOT.

No. 1073.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 16.)

Admiralty, June 15, 1882.

My Lord,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the perusal of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the accompanying copy of a despatch, dated at Alexandria, the 6th June, from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour.

I am, &c.
(Signed) G. TRYON.

Inclosure in No. 1073.

Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Invincible," at Alexandria, June 6, 1882.

IN continuation of my letter of the 2nd instant, I have the honour to report, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the earthworks therein alluded to were pushed forward with great vigour up to late last evening.

2. The sunken battery under construction between the Khedive's Palace and the Arsenal, within 900 yards of the "Invincible," is, I am informed, intended for mortars.

3. Yesterday afternoon I received the following telegram from Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Cairo :—

"By order of the Sultan, Viceroy has to-day again ordered Arabi to discontinue all warlike preparations. The order is given by His Majesty especially with regard to the earthworks at Alexandria." And half-an-hour later he informed me that "Arabi Pasha, by order of Sultan, transmitted through the Viceroy, has ordered all warlike preparations to be stopped."

4. This command appears to have been implicitly obeyed, as no work whatever in this direction has, as far as I can ascertain, been executed to-day, and, with the exception of the drilling of a small detachment of soldiers in one of the forts commanding the entrance of the harbour, no further military demonstration has been perceptible.

5. The French iron-clad "Alma," and dispatch-vessel "Hirondelle," arrived yesterday; the former remains at anchor outside, waiting for the wind and sea to moderate, to enable her to cross the bar. The iron-clad "Thetis" is expected to arrive from Toulon on the 9th, the "Bouvet" remaining at the Piræus.

6. It is stated that there are now from 5,000 to 6,000 Egyptian troops in the Alexandria district.

7. Telephonic communication has been established between the "Helicon" and the British Consulate here to insure the early receipt of any important intelligence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. BEAUCHAMP P. SEYMOUR.

No. 1074.

Earl Granville to Consul Cookson.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 16, 1882, 2 P.M.

WERE any Maltese killed in addition to the six Englishmen whose names were telegraphed yesterday?

No. 1075.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 16, 2-15 P.M.)

(No. 224.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 16, 1882, noon.

MY German and Austrian colleagues continue to be in a state of the greatest anxiety. They implore me not to risk the lives of 30,000 Europeans by abstaining from recommending the Khedive to form a Ministry in conformity with the wishes of the military party. They say that they have seen Dervish this morning, that he sees the danger, and will ask the Khedive to come to terms.

I have replied that I this morning urged the Khedive strongly to have confidence in Dervish, and that I was ready to support any arrangement which the Imperial Envoy might suggest.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 16.)

(No. 357. Ext. 224.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 16, 1882.

THE present state of things still causes the greatest anxiety to my German and Austrian colleagues. They believe that the formation of a Ministry approved by the Military party would restore confidence; they implore me to recommend this step to the Khedive, and not to risk the lives of 30,000 Europeans by abstaining from doing so; and they say that Dervish Pasha is fully aware of the existing danger, and will advise the Khedive to make terms with the officers.

In reply, I informed my colleagues that I had strongly urged the Khedive this morning to put confidence in Dervish Pasha, and that I was prepared to support the Imperial Commissioner in any arrangement his Excellency might propose.

I have, &c.

(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 1077.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 244.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 16, 1882, 3.10 P.M.

THE Channel squadron, consisting of "Minotaur," "Achilles," "Agincourt," "Northumberland," and "Sultan," left Gibraltar for Malta yesterday morning, and is temporarily under orders of Admiral Sir B. Seymour.

No. 1078.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 16, 3.10 P.M.)

(No. 95.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 16, 1882, 1.30 P.M.

I WROTE to M. de Freycinet this morning in the terms of your telegram No. 328 yesterday, respecting the authority given to our Admiral at Alexandria to land men in a certain emergency.

His Excellency answers that he hastens to communicate my letter to the Minister of Marine, with a request to him to send orders in conformity with it to the French Admiral by telegraph.

No. 1079.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 16.)

(No. 587. Ext. 95.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 16, 1882.

IN execution of the instruction conveyed to me by your Lordship's telegram No. 328 of last evening, I wrote this morning to M. de Freycinet to inform him that the measures which Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour has authority to take include the landing of men for the protection of British subjects in case of imminent danger to their lives; and I added that Her Majesty's Government feel sure that the French Admiral would concert measures with his English colleague for such an emergency.

M. de Freycinet writes in reply that he has hastened to communicate my letter to the Minister of Marine, with a request to him to send orders in conformity with it by telegraph to the French Admiral.

I have forwarded the substance of this despatch to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 16, 4.35 P.M.)

(No. 225.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 16, 1882, 2 P.M.

THE Eastern Telegraph Company's clerks have been to me this morning to say they are in fear of their lives, and that they must go on board ship. I have done my best to tranquillize them.

Four thousand persons arrived yesterday from Cairo. Mr. Beaman, whom I left in charge of archives, writes that officers say that strictest orders have been given, and that there is no danger to the lives of Europeans.

I have urged Khedive to order officers of Ministries to Alexandria. Waterworks at Atfeh, which supply Alexandria with water, are in danger of being stopped, owing to the flight of European workmen.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1081.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 16.)

(No. 358. Ext. 225.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 16, 1882.

THE Manager of the Eastern Telegraph Company came to me this morning, saying that his clerks were in fear of their lives, and wished to take refuge on board ship. I have done all I can to calm their apprehensions.

About 4,000 persons came down from Cairo yesterday; but I have received a letter from Mr. Beaman, who remains there in charge of the archives, stating that the strictest orders have been issued by the officers, and that there is no danger to the lives of Europeans.

I have strongly advised the Khedive to give orders for the removal of the Government offices from Cairo to Alexandria.

We are in danger of suffering from want of water, owing to the European workmen leaving the waterworks at Atfeh, by which the town is supplied.

I have, &c.

(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 1082.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 16, 3.30 P.M.)

(No. 226.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 16, 1882, 2.10 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 218 yesterday.

There are no apartments within easy access of ships.

But in any case I am compelled to stop where I am. A move on my part indicating apprehension might have disastrous results.

Pray do not be anxious about me; I shall pull through.

No. 1083.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 16.)

(No. 359. Ext. 226.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 16, 1882.

IN reply to your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, I have the honour to state that it is impossible to find apartments within easy reach of the ships in the harbour.

But, even were it otherwise, I should be obliged to remain where I am, in order to prevent unnecessary alarm, for any sign of apprehension on my part might have disastrous results.

I beg your Lordship not to feel anxious about my safety.

I have, &c.

(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 1084.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 16, 3.45 P.M.)(No. 142.)
(Telegraphic.)*Constantinople, June 16, 1882, 1.15 P.M.*

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 228.

It is difficult to imagine Sultan's motives in his question about transports. Hobart Pasha tells me that the Turks have sufficient ships to transport 15,000 men at this time of the year. It may be the Sultan's object to irritate the French against us, to whom such an arrangement would be distasteful.

Hobart tells me that the Turks have seven iron-clads they could send to Alexandria, five of which could enter the harbour.

No. 1085.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 16.)

(No. 454. Confidential. Ext. 112.)

My Lord,

Therapia, June 16, 1882.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 228 of the 14th instant, in which your Lordship alludes to the Sultan's inquiry as to whether, in the event of their being required, Her Majesty's Government would object to furnishing transports for the conveyance of Turkish troops to Egypt, it is difficult to imagine the Sultan's motive in putting this question. I am informed by Hobart Pasha that the Turks have sufficient ships to transport 15,000 men at this season of the year. It is not unlikely that the Sultan's object is to irritate the French against us, to whom such an arrangement would be distasteful.

Hobart Pasha also tells me that the Turks have seven iron-clads they could send to Alexandria, five of which, he states, could enter the harbour.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1086.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.(Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 16, 1882, 3.50 P.M.*

CONCERT with your colleagues for immediate meeting of Conference on affairs of Egypt with or without the Porte.

No. 1087.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.(No. 332.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 16, 1882, 4.5 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 94 of yesterday.

Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree to a self-denying engagement in regard to Egypt to be entered into by all the Powers, and to apply to the Conference, in the form adopted at Constantinople respecting Montenegro on the 21st September, 1880.

No. 1088.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 706. Ext. 332.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 16, 1882.

IN the concluding portion of your Excellency's telegram No. 94 of the 14th instant, to which I have already referred in my despatch No. 702 of yesterday's

date, you state that M. de Freycinet would probably propose to Her Majesty's Government that the Powers shall enter into a self-denying engagement not to seek conquests or special advantages in Egypt.

Your Excellency may state to M. de Freycinet that Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree to a self-denying engagement in regard to Egypt to be entered into by all the Powers, and to apply to the Conference in the form adopted at Constantinople respecting Montenegro on the 21st September, 1880.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1089.

Earl Granville to Her Majesty's Embassies.(Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 16, 1882, 4.45 P.M.*

I HEAR from the Turkish Ambassador that the Sultan would prefer that the Conference should be held without him, and that he would give all the assurances that might be required.

No. 1090.

*Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.**

(No. 249. Ext.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 16, 1882.

I AM informed by the Turkish Ambassador that the Sultan would prefer that the Conference in the affairs of Egypt should be held without the participation of Turkey, and that all the assurances that might be required would be given by His Majesty.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1091.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.†(No. 123.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 16, 1882, 5 P.M.*

URGE the Government to which you are accredited to agree to the immediate meeting of a Conference at Constantinople, with or without Turkey, and to send instructions accordingly to their Representatives at Constantinople.

No. 1092.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.(No. 228.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 16, 1882, 5.20 P.M.*

YOUR telegrams No. 221 of yesterday and No. 224 of to-day.

You should abstain from advising the Khedive to convoke the Notables.

I approve your advice to the Khedive to have confidence in Dervish, but do not commit yourself to any particular plan.

No. 1093.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 172. Ext. 228.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 16, 1882.

IN your telegrams Nos. 221 and 224 of yesterday and to-day, you state that you have suggested to the Khedive that he should obtain an expression of the wishes of

* Also to Sir H. Elliot (No. 173 A), Viscount Lyons (No. 715), Sir A. Paget (No. 194), the Earl of Dufferin (No. 314), and Sir E. Thornton (No. 195).

† Also to Lord Ampthill (No. 115), Sir A. Paget (No. 126), and Sir E. Thornton (No. 119).

the country by summoning the Chamber of Notables, and that the German and Austrian Consuls-General having persuaded Dervish Pasha to favour the formation of a Ministry in accordance with the desires of the Military party, you have strongly urged His Highness to have confidence in the Sultan's Envoy, whose proposals you were ready to support.

I have expressed to you by telegraph my approval of this advice as regards Dervish Pasha, provided that you do not commit yourself to any particular plan, but I have instructed you to abstain from recommending the convocation of the Chamber in the present conjuncture.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1094.

*Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.**

(No. 123A.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 16, 1882, 5:30 P.M.

IN order to conform ourselves to the instruction sent by the French Government to their Representatives, you should insert, in my immediately preceding telegram of to-day, the words "or elsewhere" after "Conference at Constantinople."

But we still think it would be preferable that the Conference should meet at Constantinople, even if the Porte does not take part in it, for reasons of convenience and saving of time.

No. 1095.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 16, 5:45 P.M.)

(No. 42.)
(Telegraphic.)

Rome, June 16, 1882, 3:30 P.M.

OWING to gravity of situation in Egypt, Italian Government has hired a merchant-steamers to proceed to Alexandria to receive Italian subjects if necessary.

No. 1096.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 16, 6:25 P.M.)

(No. 43.)
(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, June 16, 1882, 5:15 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 100 of the 13th and mine No. 41 of the 14th instant.

I deeply regret to say that Count Hatzfeldt has just informed me that Prince Bismarck, on reflection, finds himself unable to support your Lordship's proposal to the Sultan to send troops to Egypt—

1. Because the French Government have not yet acquiesced in that proposal; and

2. Because the conditions proposed are so "restrictive" that he cannot take upon himself to ask the Sultan to accept them.

No. 1097.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 16.)

(No. 213. Ext. 43.)
My Lord,

Berlin, June 16, 1882.

COUNT HATZFELDT informed me to-day that Prince Bismarck had authorized him to instruct the German Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople to join the Representatives of the other Powers in urging the Porte to accede to the meeting of the Conference, the deliberations of which should be limited solely to the Egyptian question, as proposed by Her Majesty's Government in your Lordship's telegraphic messages

* Also to Lord Ampthill (No. 115A) Sir A. Paget (No. 127), and Sir E. Thornton (No. 120).

Nos. 99 and 102 of the 13th instant, but that, on reflection, he had found himself unable to support the proposal contained in your Lordship's telegram No. 100 of the 13th instant, to advise the Sultan to send troops to Egypt—

First. Because the French Government had not yet acquiesced in that proposal; and,

Second. Because the conditions under which it was proposed that the troops should be sent to Egypt were so "restrictive," that he could not take upon himself to ask the Sultan to accept them.

I expressed my very great regret at his hesitating to support a proposal he had hitherto appeared to favour, and said that my instructions distinctly stated that the proposal had been agreed to by the French Government.

I said that hesitation to support the only possible settlement of the Egyptian difficulty at this juncture involved a very grave responsibility, and doubly so on the part of Germany, whose advice was unhesitatingly followed by several members of the European concert, and I therefore earnestly hoped he would tell me in what manner his present objections could be met and removed.

His Excellency replied that he had later information than mine; that the French Government had, up to the present moment, not agreed to your Lordship's proposal; that until England and France were agreed he could not "pronounce himself," and that in no case could the German Government undertake to ask the Sultan to accept the restrictions put upon his sovereign rights to employ his army in the re-establishment of order in Egypt, as proposed in your Lordship's telegram of the 13th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

No. 1098.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 230.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 16, 1882, 6:30 P.M.

SEVERAL vessels chartered and at disposal of Admiral at Alexandria, to whom Consul should apply for conveyance of any British or German subjects unable to provide their own means of transport.

No. 1099.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 16, 7:45 P.M.)

(No. 43.)
(Telegraphic.)

Rome, June 16, 1882, 5:30 P.M.

MINISTER for Foreign Affairs, in informing me to-day that he had immediately instructed Count Corti in the sense of your Lordship's telegram No. 110 of the 13th instant, as to Conference inviting Sultan to send troops to Egypt, said that it had occurred to him whether, in the event of an urgent necessity for the presence of these troops before the Conference could assemble, and in order to avoid the loss of time which would be entailed by discussing objections which might be raised by the Sultan as to being tied down by conditions, it would not be sufficient that the Six Powers were to ask that the troops might be sent for the general purpose of restoring His Majesty's and the Khedive's authority by subduing the military rebellion, with the reservation that the Conference would have to determine the duration and other conditions of the expedition.

He has telegraphed in above sense to Italian Representatives to the Great Powers, but only as an idea to be submitted to the appreciation of the Governments to which they are accredited.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 16.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, June 16, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to request that you will state to Earl Granville, in reply to your letter of this day's date, that several vessels have been chartered and placed at the disposal of the British Admiral at Alexandria, and that application should be made by Her Majesty's Consuls to him for the conveyance of any persons unable to provide their own means of transport.

A telegram has to-day been received from Sir Beauchamp Seymour in the following terms:—

"Friday.—Shall have sufficient transport. Large number leaving, finding own passage."

I am, &c.
(Signed) G. TRYON.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 717.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 16, 1882.

M. TISSOT has communicated to me the substance of a telegram which he has just received from his Government, stating that the French Ambassadors had been instructed by telegraph to propose to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, with a view to put an end to the indefinite postponements which the Porte places in the way of a meeting of the Conference, to give instructions to the Ambassador at Constantinople in order that the Representatives of the six Powers should present an ultimatum to the Porte to the effect that if, within the space of forty-eight hours, they had not given their adhesion to the proposal for a Conference which was made to them a fortnight ago, the said Conference would assemble in some other capital, with or without the participation of Turkey.

In communicating the above to me, M. Tissot was to request that corresponding instructions might be telegraphed to the English Ambassadors, if it had not already been done.

I informed M. Tissot that I had already telegraphed to our Representatives at the four capitals to urge the Powers to agree to the immediate meeting of the Conference at Constantinople, with or without Turkey, and to instruct their Representatives at Constantinople accordingly, which was in accordance with the words of M. de Noailles to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs which he gave me last night; that I much preferred that the Conference should meet at Constantinople than elsewhere, even if the Sultan refused to join in it, as there would otherwise be a new decision to take as to the place of meeting, &c.

I added that the Turkish Ambassador had told me last night that the Sultan would prefer a Conference without the participation of Turkey; that the Conference would make their demands, and that His Majesty would give them satisfactory answers.

All this could be done at Constantinople with much less delay than if the Conference took place elsewhere. I said that I proposed to add to the telegraphic instructions already sent the words "or elsewhere" after the word "Constantinople," but on the understanding that M. de Freycinet would also modify his words in the same sense.

I also said that it appeared to me most important to leave discretion to our Ambassadors as to the details of the communications to be made to the Porte.

Such a course would save infinite time.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 195.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 13, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, at yesterday's sitting of the Chamber of Deputies, M. Volaro addressed an interrogation to the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the subject of Egypt, and in the course of a long speech condemned the policy of the Government, which, he said, had tended to diminish the influence of Italy in Egypt, and was detrimental to her interests in that country.

M. Massari also developed an interpellation on the same subject, inquiring whether, during the deplorable events of the previous day, any Italians had suffered, and he expressed a hope that the Government had taken all necessary precautions for safeguarding Italian interests in Egypt.

M. Mancini, replying to M. Volaro's question as to the policy of the Government in Egypt, began by referring to the events in Egypt during the past year; the constitution of the Assembly of Notables; the respect of this Assembly for international engagements; the firmness with which, illegally convoked, it had refused to meet. He also alluded to the revolt of the military chiefs, by which the free action of the Khedive's Government had been supplanted, in view of which event, and while the two western Powers, affirming their privileged and preponderating position, appeared disposed to intervene, the four Cabinets of Rome, St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna had claimed for the European concert its competency to resolve the Egyptian question together with Turkey. The Cabinets of London and Paris had recognized this competency, but, affairs becoming more serious, they had sent ships to Alexandria to put a stop to the disorders.

He stated that negotiations for the Conference were in progress, but met with some opposition from Turkey, who flattered herself that the mission of Dervish Pasha would suffice to restore order.

With regard to sending ships to Alexandria, the four Cabinets had resolved not to do so, in order not to appear to associate themselves in the naval demonstration of the two western Powers, or to be present at events which they did not approve, unless it should be necessary to send ships for the protection of their countrymen.

The Government had, however, by way of precaution, sent the "Castelfidardo" to Port Said, from which it could arrive in a few hours at Alexandria for the protection of the numerous Italian Colony.

His Excellency referred to the grave disorders which had occurred at Alexandria, in which the Italian and English Consuls had been wounded. He declared that since September 1881 the Italian Government had communicated to the Cabinets of Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Vienna the programme of their policy in Egypt, maintaining the necessity of the European concert for the peaceful solution of the Egyptian question. The four Cabinets had been perfectly agreed throughout, also in the endeavour to prevent Europe being divided, even in appearance, into two camps.

The Conference would prevent the preponderance of any one Power, and eliminate the danger of dualism, and perhaps also of dissensions between the two western Powers.

In case of the armed intervention of Turkey, it (the Conference) would serve to secure the autonomy of Egypt, the necessary reforms, and a wise and prudent development of local institutions. It would also help to preserve Egypt from the perils of European intervention, or of an excessive interference on the part of Turkey, which had ever been the policy of Italy.

He announced that the "Castelfidardo" had now been ordered to Alexandria, and that another iron-clad would proceed to Port Said. He added that the agreement between the Cabinets of Rome, Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, and the attitude of England and France towards these Powers, was a happy experiment of a system which might have a beneficial effect in other grave questions, and was of good augury and a pledge for the future peace and tranquillity of Europe.

M. Mancini promised a Green Book at an early date on the recent events in Egypt, and meanwhile, he assured the Chamber that the Government would fulfil its duties with the greatest zeal.

I have the honour to inclose the official Report of the debate on the above subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 196.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 14, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have communicated to the Minister for Foreign Affairs copies of your Lordship's telegrams Nos. 109, 110, and 112 of yesterday's date, the first relative to an assurance to be given to the Sultan that no question outside that of Egypt will be treated by the Conference; the second instructing me to propose, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, to the Italian Government, that the Sultan, as Sovereign, shall, in case of necessity, be jointly invited by the Powers united in Conference to be prepared to lend to the Khedive a sufficient force to enable His Highness to maintain his authority, and stating the terms and conditions of the invitation; the third repeating the instructions which Her Majesty's Government propose to address by telegraph to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople for his guidance at the approaching Conference.

M. Mancini, after recapitulating the substance of these communications, said they were entirely in accordance with the views of the Italian Government, and that he would immediately telegraph to Count Corti to act in accordance with them, provided, of course, that his colleagues received similar instructions.

There was only one point on which his Excellency evinced the slightest hesitation, viz., the proviso that the troops are not to remain more than a month in Egypt except at the request of the Khedive, and with the consent of the Great Powers, or of the Western Powers, as representing Europe. The latter words, his Excellency thought, might perhaps suggest some observations, but on my explaining that they were evidently only intended to meet the event of England and France being delegated to act in the name of Europe, he said they would not prevent his instructing Count Corti as desired, the case being so urgent, and the necessity for perfect unity of action being so important.

I think it right to mention that the French Chargé d'Affaires, when I communicated with him this morning, had received no instructions on any of the above subjects.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

M. de Freycinet to M. Tissot.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by M. Tissot, June 17.)

(Télégraphique.)

Paris, le 16 Juin, 1882, 1-25 soir.

QUANT au manque de concordance entre les envois de nos instructions que regrette Lord Granville, et que je regrette comme lui, il ne se serait pas produit si Lord Granville s'était concerté avec moi avant de changer le texte sur lequel nous nous étions mis d'accord, et si, avant d'expédier ces documents, il m'avait fait connaître son sentiment sur les considérations que je lui avais présentées antérieurement au point de vue de l'opportunité.

Ces considérations, loin d'avoir perdu de leur valeur à mes yeux, n'ont fait qu'en prendre davantage par suite de la persistance dilatoire de la Porte, et des derniers avis de M. de Noailles. Il est à craindre que l'envoi précipité de ces instructions ne compromette la réunion de la Conférence, et je tiens à dégager ma responsabilité à cet égard. Je vous serais obligé de présenter ses observations à Lord Granville sur la forme la plus amicale.

M. de Freycinet to M. Tissot.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by M. Tissot, June 17.)

(Télégraphique.)

Paris, le 16 Juin, 1882, 7-9 soir.

AU moment où les Puissances vont procéder au règlement des affaires d'Égypte, le Cabinet de Londres jugera sans doute bon, conformément aux précédents et à l'initiative qu'il avait prise lors de l'exécution du Traité de Berlin, de proposer aux six

Gouvernements de signer un Protocole de désintéressement analogue à celui qu'il avait présenté par sa dépêche du 20 Juillet, 1880. Le dit Protocole, approprié à la situation actuelle, pourrait, ce me semble, être libellé comme il suit:—

“Les Gouvernements représentés par les Soussignés s'engagent (dans un arrangement quelconque qui peut se faire par suite de leur action concertée pour le règlement des affaires d'Égypte) à ne chercher aucun avantage territorial, ni la concession d'aucun privilège exclusif, ni aucun avantage commercial pour leurs sujets que ceux de toute autre nation ne puissent également obtenir.”

Si Lord Granville adhère à cette proposition nous pourrions la télégraphier immédiatement à nos Ambassadeurs en termes identiques.

The Law Officers of the Crown and Dr. Deane to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17.)

My Lord,

Temple, June 17, 1882.

WE are honoured with your Lordship's commands signified in Sir J. Pauncefote's letter of the 15th instant, stating that the alarm caused by the recent disturbances at Alexandria among the foreign residents in Egypt was inducing a large number of British subjects to leave the country, and that it appeared from the latest accounts that they were crowding every available passenger vessel and seeking shelter on board Her Majesty's ships.

That, in that emergency, Her Majesty's Government were chartering several large passenger vessels in the Mediterranean, and had placed them at the disposal of Sir B. Seymour, the Admiral in command of the British squadron at Alexandria.

That that measure of precaution had been adopted in order to relieve the Admiral from the embarrassment caused to him by his inability to dispose of the numerous fugitives appealing to him for shelter.

That the presence of those vessels, however, might be interpreted by the British residents as an indication of the existence of peril, and as an invitation to them to leave.

That Sir J. Pauncefote was to request our opinion as to whether it was desirable that a public notification should be issued to the British community at Alexandria informing them that, in consequence of the overcrowding of the passenger ships then available at Alexandria, those vessels had been placed at the disposal of the Admiral, who would make such arrangements as he might think necessary, in concert with Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General, to enable British subjects who might desire to leave the country to secure passengers.

That your Lordship was apprehensive that, although as your Lordship conceived, no liability could attach to Her Majesty's Government for any loss of property or other injury which might be sustained by British subjects by reason of their sudden departure from Egypt, under present circumstances a contrary impression might prevail among the British community there, and induce many to leave the country and abandon their property.

That your Lordship therefore desired our opinion as to whether it was desirable to issue any public notification on that or any other subject.

In obedience to your Lordship's commands we have the honour to report—

That we think that the question, to what extent and in what form a notification should be made to British subjects that the vessels have been chartered and placed at the disposal of the Admiral for the purpose of receiving British subjects desirous of leaving Egypt, must be solved by the Representatives of Her Majesty's Government in Alexandria.

As far as we can judge, it appears to us that there is no necessity to give any intimation that Her Majesty's Government do not incur any liability to those who think it advisable, for the purpose of their own safety, to leave Egypt.

We have, &c.
(Signed)

HENRY JAMES.
FARRER HERSCHELL.
J. PARKER DEANE.

No. 1107.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 44.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, June 16, 1882, 5:30 P.M.

FRENCH Chargé d'Affaires, who has received no instructions similar to those conveyed in your Lordship's telegrams Nos. 109, 110, and 112, respecting limitation of Conference to Egyptian question and invitation to Sultan to send troops, has to-day received a telegram from his Government stating it has been agreed with your Lordship to inform the Porte that if it does not notify its assent to the Conference within forty-eight hours the six Powers are determined to "passer outre," and to hold the Conference in some other capital without the participation of Turkey.

The Chargé d'Affaires is to request the Italian Government to join in this communication.

No. 1108.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 45.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, June 16, 1882, 8:30 P.M.

IN reply to the communication reported in my telegram No. 44 made to the Minister for Foreign Affairs this afternoon by the French Chargé d'Affaires, his Excellency said he would telegraph immediately to Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Vienna, and if those Cabinets were prepared to join England and France in calling collectively upon the Porte to notify its assent to the Conference within forty-eight hours, the Italian Government would do so likewise.

No. 1109.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 143.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 16, 1882.

IN another telegram from Dervish Pasha, dated the 14th, which has reached my hands, he says that he is sending back the Aide-de-camp, Osman Bey, with a full report on the situation; that the presence of the fleets is irritating everybody, and that he is being perpetually asked to get them sent away. As he has of course refused compliance, he is now regarded with aversion. Arabi Pasha, though he pretends to be friendly, is in reality altogether opposed to him. All the chief Egyptians entertain the same sentiments. He concludes by saying that the Khedive is in so difficult a situation that it is necessary that at least twenty-three battalions should be sent.

In reply to this demand, which Dervish Pasha says he addressed to the Minister of War, he has been asked whether the dispatch of these troops would not cause trouble in the interior. To this question he cannot exactly give a reply. He does not think the Egyptian army could really offer any resistance, but at all events it is a point to be well considered by the superior authorities. He wishes to know whether his instructions are to be modified, as his success under the old instructions would be difficult.

(Repeated to Malet.)

No. 1110.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 155. Confidential. Ext. 143.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 16, 1882.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 137 to your Lordship of the 13th instant, marked Secret and Confidential, I have the honour to state that another telegram from Dervish Pasha, dated the 14th instant, has reached my hands. In this telegram he says that he is sending back the Aide-de-camp, Osman Bey, with a full report of the

situation; that the presence of the fleets is causing general irritation, and that he is being perpetually asked to get them withdrawn. As he has of course refused compliance, he is now regarded with aversion. Arabi Pasha, though he pretends to be on friendly terms with him, is, in reality, altogether opposed to him, and all the chief Egyptians entertain the same sentiments. Dervish Pasha concludes his telegram by saying that the Khedive is in so difficult a situation that it is necessary that at least twenty-three battalions should be sent to Egypt.

In reply to this demand, which Dervish Pasha says he has addressed to the Minister of War, he has been asked whether the dispatch of these troops would not cause trouble in the interior. To this question he is unable to give an exact reply. He does not think that the Egyptian army could really offer any resistance, but at all events, he considers it a point to be well considered by the superior authorities. He wishes to know whether his instructions are to be modified, as he is of opinion that his success under the old instructions would be difficult.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1111.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 144.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 16, 1882, 5 P.M.

IN another telegram, also dated the 14th June, Dervish Pasha says that although it has been arranged that he should undertake the Ministry of War, that arrangement has remained a dead letter, as he cannot trust the État-Major, who look upon him with an evil eye, while ill-disposed persons are busy representing him as a mere emissary sent to realize the demands of foreigners. He can take, therefore, no initiative, persuasion being the only method left open to him.

(Repeated to Malet.)

No. 1112.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 456. Ext. 144.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 16, 1882.

WITH reference to my immediately preceding despatch, I have the honour to state that, in another secret telegram addressed to the Minister of the Interior, Dervish Pasha says that, although it had been arranged that he should take charge of the Ministry of War, that arrangement has remained a dead letter, as he cannot trust the État-Major, who look upon him with an evil eye, while ill-disposed persons are taking every opportunity of representing him as a mere emissary sent to realize the demands of the foreigner. He can take, therefore, he observes, no initiative, persuasion being the only method left open to him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1113.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 145.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 16, 1882, 5:30 P.M.

IN a telegram which has reached my hands, dated the 15th June, from Ahmed Essad to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sheikh-ul-Islam Ahmed Essad states that he still cannot approve of the action of Dervish Pasha, but that he had learned, in reply to his last telegram, that fresh instructions would be sent to the Marshal which would be more in accordance with his own ideas. Still, he does not see any trace of this promised change of policy. He says that he has lost the confidence both of Dervish Pasha and of the military chiefs. He has heard of a project for the dispatch of Turkish troops, of which he entirely disapproves, as it would be impossible to get

rid of Arabi Pasha either by fair means or by force, and that Dervish has lost all influence and confidence in himself. None of the officers will even go to see him, and it is only by a "remnant of politeness" that Arabi answers Dervish Pasha's notes.

The two policies indicated in the foregoing have each their representative faction at the Palace, the Porte and the statesmen siding with Dervish Pasha's view, and the Mollahs and religious Sheikhs with that of Essad; but the Ministers complain bitterly that they cannot influence the Sultan.

We must take care lest, discouraged by Dervish Pasha's ill-success, the Sultan does not try doubling back into the arms of Arabi.

(Sent to Malet.)

No. 1114.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 457. Confidential. Ext. 145.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 16, 1882.

WITH reference to my telegram to your Lordship No. 137 of the 13th instant, I have the honour to report that I have succeeded in obtaining a copy of a further telegram addressed by Ahmed Essad Effendi to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated the 15th instant.

Ahmed Essad states in this telegram that he still cannot approve of the action of Dervish Pasha, but that he had been informed, in reply to his last telegram, that fresh instructions would be sent to the Marshal, which would be more in accordance with his own ideas.

He observes, however, that as yet he fails to see any trace of this promised change of policy. He adds, as regards his own position, that he has lost the confidence both of Dervish Pasha and of the military chiefs.

He proceeds to say that he has heard of a project for the dispatch of Turkish troops, of which he entirely disapproves, as it would be impossible to get the two armies to act together; and he concludes by observing that it has become impossible to get rid of Arabi Pasha, either by fair means or by force, and that Dervish Pasha has lost all influence with others, and all confidence in himself. None of the officers will go to see him, and it is only by a "remnant of politeness" that Arabi Pasha answers notes addressed to him by Dervish Pasha.

The two policies indicated in the foregoing telegram have each their representative faction at the Palace, the Porte and the statesmen siding with the views expressed by Dervish Pasha, and the Mollahs and religious Sheikhs with those of Ahmed Essad Effendi; but the Ministers complain bitterly that they are unable to influence the Sultan.

We must take care that, discouraged by the ill success of Dervish Pasha's mission, His Majesty does not double back into the arms of Arabi Pasha.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN

No. 1115.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 146. Secret.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 16, 1882.

I LEARN from a colleague that the Sultan has ordered Dervish to induce the German and Austrian Consuls at Alexandria to effect a reconciliation between Arabi and the Khedive, and that the Italian Government has permitted its Consul to join in this "démarche."

No. 1116.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 458. Confidential. Ext. 146.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 16, 1882.

I LEARN from one of my colleagues that the Sultan has sent orders to Dervish Pasha to induce the German and Austrian Agents at Alexandria to effect a reconciliation between Arabi Pasha and the Khedive, and that the Italian Government has permitted its Representative to join in this *démarche*.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1117.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 227.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 16, 1882, 8 p.m.

WITH reference to Lord Dufferin's telegram No. 140 of the 13th instant, Dervish Pasha informed me to-day that he had not received any instructions from the Sultan to put himself into close and confidential relations with me.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1118.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 360. Ext. 227.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 16, 1882.

WITH reference to Lord Dufferin's telegram to your Lordship No. 110 of the 13th instant, reporting that the Sultan would send instructions to Dervish Pasha to put himself into the closest and most confidential relations with me, I have the honour to report that, in an interview which I had to-day with Dervish Pasha, his Excellency told me that he had not received any instructions of this nature.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet).
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 1119.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 16, 1882, 10 p.m.

FITZGERALD is still at Cairo. I have begged the Viceroy of Egypt to remove the offices to Alexandria.

No. 1120.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 228.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 16, 1882, 10.15 p.m.

THE Khedive, acting under pressure from the German and Austrian Consuls-General, has summoned Ragheb and Raschid Pashas to Alexandria with the view of forming a Ministry.

Private news from Cairo states that the military, having lost confidence in the benevolent intention towards them of Dervish Pasha, have decided to resist disembarkation of Turkish troops.

[804]

I saw Dervish Pasha this afternoon. He merely told me that he had asked for ampler instructions.
(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1121.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 361. Ext. 228.)

Alexandria, June 16, 1882.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that, acting under pressure from my Austrian and German colleagues, the Khedive has summoned Ragheb Pasha and Rashid to Alexandria, with a view to intrust to them the formation of a Ministry.

I gather from the news received privately from Cairo that the Military party, having lost confidence in the benevolent intentions of Dervish Pasha towards them, has decided to resist the disembarkation of any Turkish troops that might be sent.

In the interview which I had with Dervish Pasha to-day his Excellency merely told me that he has applied to Constantinople for ampler instructions than those with which he has been furnished.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 1122.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 8 A.M.)

(No. 147.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 16, 1882, 11 P.M.

SULTAN is sending another Agent to Egypt to-night.

No. 1123.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 459. Ext. 117.)

Constantinople, June 16, 1882.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Sultan intends to dispatch another Agent to Egypt to-night.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1124.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 8 A.M.)

(No. 118.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 16, 1882, 11 P.M.

FRENCH Ambassador has spent four hours to-day with the Sultan, endeavouring to persuade him to acquiesce in the Conference, but he seems to have left His Majesty more hostile to the idea than when I last saw him, as reported in my telegram No. 138 of the 13th instant. He told the French Ambassador that the Khedive would be back in Cairo in three days with Dervish Pasha; that Arabi Pasha had made a complete submission; that the *status quo* was almost re-established; that, therefore, the Conference was unnecessary, but that he (the Sultan) was ready to come into any arrangement which might be devised by England and France, with whom he wished to settle the affair to the exclusion of the other Powers.

In holding this language the Sultan evidently founds himself upon the *démarche* which, I suppose, has by this time been made by the German, Austrian, and Italian Consuls, referred to in my telegram No. 146 of to-day, and in Malet's telegram No. 221 of to-day, since received.

I have sent Sir A. Sandison to the Palace to persuade the Sultan not to insist on the Khedive's returning to Cairo, and to press for a reply in regard to the Conference and as to his willingness to send troops if requested by the Conference to do so. I have referred in guarded, but pretty clear, language to the disagreeable alternatives which may follow upon a refusal.

No. 1125.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 446. Confidential. Ext. 148.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 16, 1882.

THE French Ambassador has spent four hours to-day with the Sultan, endeavouring to persuade him to acquiesce in the Conference, but he seems to have left His Majesty more hostile to the idea than when I last saw him, as reported in my despatch No. 444 A, Most Confidential, of the 14th instant. He told the French Ambassador that the Khedive would return to Cairo in three days with Dervish Pasha; that Arabi Pasha had made a complete submission; that the *status quo* was almost re-established; that therefore the Conference was unnecessary, but that he (the Sultan) was prepared to come into any arrangement which might be desired by England and France, with whom he wished to settle the affair to the exclusion of the other Powers.

In holding this language, the Sultan evidently founds himself upon the *démarche* which I suppose by this time has been made by the German, Austrian, and Italian Consuls, as referred to in my telegram No. 146 of to-day, and in Sir E. Malet's telegram No. 221 of to-day, which was received subsequently to the dispatch of my telegram.

I have sent Sir A. Sandison to the Palace to endeavour to persuade the Sultan not to insist upon the Khedive returning to Cairo, and to press for a reply in regard to the Conference, and as to His Majesty's willingness to send troops if requested by the Conference to do so. I have referred in guarded but pretty clear language to the disagreeable alternative which may follow upon a refusal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1126.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 8 A.M.)

(No. 149.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 17, 1882, 12:30 A.M.

YOUR telegram No. 245.

French Ambassador and I had already requested our Doyen to invite the Representatives of the six Powers to meet to-morrow, Saturday 17th, at 1 P.M., for the object you mention.

A Council is being held to-night at the Palace.

No. 1127.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 461. Confidential. Ext. 149.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 16, 1882.

IN reply to your Lordship's telegram No. 245 of this day's date, I have the honour to state that the French Ambassador and I had already requested Count Corti, our Doyen, to invite the Representatives of the six Powers to meet to-morrow, the 17th, for the purpose of concerting with them as to the meeting of the Conference on Egyptian affairs, with or without the acquiescence of the Sublime Porte.

I am informed that a Council is being held to-night at the Palace relative to the action to be taken by the Ottoman Government in regard to the Conference.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1128.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 11 A.M.)(No. 230.)
(Telegraphic.)*Alexandria, June 17, 1882, 10 A.M.*

MY German colleague made to me yesterday what I consider an outrageous proposal, viz., that I should insist on the Khedive going on board one of Her Majesty's ships and leaving the country. Terror had seized my colleagues, and they would all be glad to get rid of the Khedive to calm the danger to their countrymen. The Khedive is himself, no doubt, still in danger, and would be in a most precarious situation if Turkish intervention were known to be decided upon.

For his sake I venture to submit following plan:—
He and Arabi to be both summoned to Constantinople. Arabi would probably refuse to go, and the Turkish intervention would then become a matter of necessity. I am afraid of the Sultan allowing the Khedive to be murdered as the easiest solution of the difficulty. If he could be got away by the above plan we, at all events, have saved his life, in the preservation of which we are very deeply concerned.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1129.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 362. Ext. 230.)

Alexandria, June 17, 1882.

My Lord,

BARON SAURMA, my German colleague, came to me yesterday with the following proposal, which I cannot but characterize as outrageous. He wishes me to insist upon the Khedive's embarking on a British man-of-war and leaving the country.

The fact is that my colleagues are terrified at the prospect of affairs, and are anxious to get rid of His Highness the Khedive so as to avert danger from their fellow-subjects.

But I regret to state that the Khedive is still undoubtedly in danger, and if it should be announced that the intervention of Turkish troops had been decided upon, His Highness' situation would be most precarious.

For the sake of the Khedive himself, therefore, I venture to submit to your Lordship that the Sultan should summon both His Highness and Arabi Pasha to Constantinople.

In the probable event of Arabi's refusing to go, Turkish intervention would be resorted to as a matter of necessity.

I have a fear lest the Sultan should allow the life of the Khedive to be sacrificed, so as to afford an easy solution of the present difficulty; and Her Majesty's Government are so deeply concerned in the protection of His Highness that it would be a great satisfaction to get him out of bodily danger, which might be effected in the manner suggested above.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet.)
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 1130.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 11:30 A.M.)(No. 231.)
(Telegraphic.)*Alexandria, June 17, 1882, 10:30 A.M.*

SOME 20,000 Christians have now embarked; upwards of 11,000 have gone. The rest are on board waiting to go. The panic at Cairo continues. About 8,000 persons have left. The banks are closed. I have begged the Khedive to bring up the Government offices to Alexandria, so that Fitzgerald and others may come away.

No. 1131.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 363. Ext. 231.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 17, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that about 20,000 Christian refugees have embarked, of whom upwards of 11,000 have left the port, and the rest are now awaiting transports to take them.

The panic in Cairo continues, and about 8,000 persons have left. The banks have closed. I have urged the Khedive to bring the Government offices to Alexandria in order to enable the European employes to come away.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet.)
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 1132.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, noon.)

(No. 45. Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, June 17, 1882, 11:39 A.M.

FRENCH Government proposed yesterday to Prince Bismarck to tell the Porte that if the Sultan did not sanction meeting of Conference at Constantinople within forty-eight hours, the Conference would meet elsewhere, with or without the participation of the Turkish Government.

Prince Bismarck replied that he must object to the communication being made in the form of an ultimatum to the Porte, but that he would not object to the Conference meeting elsewhere, if all the Powers were agreed.

No. 1133.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 218. Confidential. Ext. 45.)

My Lord,

Berlin, June 17, 1882.

I HAVE been confidentially informed that, at an interview the French Ambassador had yesterday with Prince Bismarck, he communicated a telegram to his Highness from M. de Freycinet proposing to tell the Porte that, if the Sultan did not sanction the meeting of the Conference at Constantinople within forty-eight hours, the Powers would meet in Conference elsewhere, with or without the participation of the Turkish Government.

Prince Bismarck is said to have replied that he must object to the communication being made to the Porte in the form of an ultimatum, but that he would not object to the Conference meeting elsewhere if all the Powers were agreed to it.

My French colleague, with whom I spoke on the subject, has confirmed the above information.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPHILL.

No. 1134.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 12:30 P.M.)(No. 232.)
(Telegraphic.)*Alexandria, June 17, 1882, noon.*

THE Khedive has nominated Ragheb Pasha to be President of the Council, and has entrusted him with the formation of a Ministry. Arabi Pasha will be Minister of War.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1135.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 12:44 P.M.)

(No. 46.)
(Telegraphic.)
Berlin, June 17, 1882, 12:25 P.M.
THE German ship of war "Habicht" from Malta, and the Embassy gun-boat from Constantinople, have been ordered to Alexandria.

No. 1136.

Consul Cookson to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 12:45 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)
Alexandria, June 17, 1882, 12 20 P.M.
ONLY two Maltese, named Francesco Borg and Giuseppe Camilleri, are reported as killed. Other Maltese may have been murdered, but so many families having left I cannot at present ascertain. Moreover, the faces of many of the victims were so battered as to be unrecognizable. The number of deaths of Europeans and Arabs officially known is far below the mark.

No. 1137.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 337.)
(Telegraphic.)
Foreign Office, June 17, 1882, 1:10 P.M.
THE Germans decline to ask for Turkish troops—
1. Because the French Government has not acquiesced in that opinion.
2. Because the terms are too restrictive.
But they agree to the meeting of a Conference without the Turks if no other Power objects.
Ask the French Government to agree with us in Conference to ask for troops, in terms to be settled by the Ambassadors, so that satisfactory engagements are entered into for the maintenance of the *status quo*, as already described.

No. 1138.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 719. Ext. 337.)
My Lord,
Foreign Office, June 17, 1882.
I LEARN by a telegram (No. 43) from Lord Ampthill that the German Government decline the proposal to invite the Sultan to send troops to Egypt, first, because the French Government have not yet acquiesced in that proposal, and second, because the conditions imposed are so restrictive. Germany, however, agrees to the meeting of a Conference without the Sultan being represented, provided that no other Power objects.

I have to request that your Excellency will ask the French Government to agree with Her Majesty's Government in Conference to ask for the dispatch of troops in terms to be settled by the Ambassadors, so that satisfactory engagements are entered into for the maintenance of the *status quo*, as already described.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1139.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 1:35 P.M.)

(No. 233.)
(Telegraphic.)
Alexandria, June 17, 1882, 12:30 P.M.
I LEFT following instructions with Vice-Consul Borg, dated Cairo, June 14th:—

"Sir,
"Acting under instructions from Lord Granville, I leave to-day for Alexandria. You will remain here in a position of much responsibility, but I have confidence in your calmness of judgment to take the best measures which may be open to you to promote the safety of British subjects who remain in Cairo. In case of imminent danger, I authorize you in necessary cash to provide the expense of the removal of families who cannot afford to pay for themselves. At present I should recommend Ismailieh or Suez as points of embarkation rather than Alexandria, which is already overcrowded with refugees."

No. 1140.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.

(No. 119.)
(Telegraphic.)
Foreign Office, June 17, 1882, 2:5 P.M.
GERMAN Ambassador tells me that he is informed by a telegram of this morning that his Government are willing to consent to a Conference being held without participation of Turkey, if no other Government protests.

No. 1141.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.

(No. 250. Ext. 119.)
My Lord,
Foreign Office, June 17, 1882.
THE German Ambassador told me to-day that he had received a telegram dated early this morning, stating that the German Government were ready to agree to a Conference meeting without the participation of Turkey, if no other Government protested. Count Münster understood that the assent thus given was a Conference to be held at Constantinople.

His Excellency asked me whether there was any truth in a report which he had seen in the press, that preparations were being made for the dispatch of British troops.

I said that the report was without foundation.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1142.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 2:15 P.M.)

(No. 46.)
(Telegraphic.)
Rome, June 17, 1882, 12:45 P.M.
YOUR Lordship's telegrams Nos. 126 and 127 of yesterday, respecting immediate meeting of Conference at Constantinople or elsewhere, with or without Turkey.
Minister for Foreign Affairs informs me he telegraphed this morning to Berlin, St. Petersburg, Vienna, and also to London, on the above subject, and that as soon as he receives answers he will be able himself to take a decision, which he will communicate to me.

No. 1143.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.(No. 339.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 17, 1882, 4 P.M.*

FRENCH Ambassador has to-day communicated to me a form of self-denying engagement to be signed by the Powers with reference to Egypt, to which I have expressed assent of Her Majesty's Government.

No. 1141.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.(No. 340.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 17, 1882, 4.5 P.M.*

FRENCH Government entirely agree to principle that proposed Conference shall be strictly limited to affairs of Egypt, and have instructed their Ambassador to assure the Porte accordingly.

No. 1145.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.(No. 233.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 17, 1882, 4.25 P.M.*

WE abstain from making demands for the present, but let it be clearly understood that we shall require full reparation and satisfaction for the outrages committed during the recent disorders.

No. 1146.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.(No. 179. Ext. 233.)
Sir,*Foreign Office, June 17, 1882.*

HER Majesty's Government do not intend to make any demands upon the Egyptian Government at the present moment, but they desire that you should let it be clearly understood that they will require full reparation and satisfaction for the outrages committed during the recent disorders at Alexandria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1147.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 5.10 P.M.)(No. 234.)
(Telegraphic.)*Alexandria, June 17, 1882, 3.50 P.M.*

MY French colleague and I have abstained from any participation in recommending the formation of the Ragheb Ministry. We have confined ourselves to advising the Khedive to be guided by Dervish Pasha's advice.

The German and Austrian Consuls-General almost forced the Khedive to make the Ministry, and said that they gave him twenty-four hours to do it in. The Italian Agent has received instructions to join them in the course which they are pursuing.

Object of the German and Austrian Agents, as they explain it to me, is to gain time and to prevent a massacre, while the Conference decides the political question.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1148.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 364. Ext. 234.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 17, 1882.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 228 of the 16th instant, I have the honour to report that M. Sienkiewicz and I have abstained from any participation in recommending the Khedive to form a Ministry under the Presidency of Ragheb Pasha. We have confined ourselves to advising His Highness to be guided by the advice given to him by Dervish Pasha.

In charging Ragheb Pasha to form a Ministry, the Khedive acted under the urgent advice, almost under the compulsion, of my Austrian and German colleagues, who gave His Highness twenty-four hours to comply with their request. My Italian colleague has been instructed by his Government to join the Austrian and German Agents in the course which they are pursuing.

These latter have explained to me that their object in urging the formation of a Ministry is to gain time and prevent a massacre while the political question is being decided by the Conference.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet.)
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 1149.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 5.30 P.M.)(No. 47.)
(Telegraphic.)*Berlin, June 17, 1882, 3.56 P.M.*

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 115 of the 16th instant.

German Government have no objection to immediate meeting of Conference at Constantinople or elsewhere, with or without Turkey, if all the Powers agree.

No. 1150.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 221. Ext. 47.)

My Lord,

Berlin, June 17, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to state, with reference to your Lordship's telegraphic instruction No. 115 of yesterday, that the German Government would have no objection to the immediate assembling of the Conference, either at Constantinople or elsewhere, and with or without Turkey, in case all the Powers should agree to it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPHILL.

No. 1151.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 5.40 P.M.)(No. 48.)
(Telegraphic.)*Berlin, June 17, 1882, 4 P.M.*

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 116 of yesterday.

German Government have no objection to a self-denying agreement in regard to Egypt being entered into by all the Powers.

No. 1152.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 223. Ext. 48.)

My Lord,

Berlin, June 17, 1882.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegraphic instruction No. 116 of the 16th instant, I have the honour to inform you that there will be no objection on the part of the German Government to the self-denying agreement, as regards Egypt, to be entered into by all the Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPHILL.

No. 1153.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 5.45 P.M.)

(No. 25.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, June 17, 1882.

WITH reference to your telegrams Nos. 119 and 120 of the 16th instant, M. de Giers declines to give an answer until he knows what steps the other Powers intend to take.

No. 1154.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 205. Ext. 25.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, June 17, 1882.

I WAS absent from St. Petersburg when your Lordship's telegrams Nos. 119 and 120, of the 16th instant, reached this Embassy, but in accordance with my request Lord Frederic Hamilton carried out the instruction contained in them.

On the evening of the 16th, and before your Lordship's telegrams arrived, my French colleague had shown to Lord Frederic Hamilton a telegram from M. de Freycinet, instructing him to endeavour to obtain the consent of the Russian Government to a sort of ultimatum to the Porte, giving them forty-eight hours to decide whether they would take part in the Conference or not, the Conference to be held with or without Turkey, as they might decide.

Your Lordship's telegrams Nos. 119 and 120 arrived during the night, and on the morning of the 17th Lord Frederic called upon the French Ambassador, and showed them to him. The latter considered them identical with the one he had received, and the contents of which he had communicated to M. de Giers on the night of the 16th instant. But M. de Giers did not approve of the French proposal, which appeared to him to be too abrupt, though he at the same time expressed the opinion that if the Conference were held without Turkey it would still be better that it should be held at Constantinople. Admiral Jaurès was, however, of a contrary opinion, on the ground that it would be less humiliating for the Porte if it were held elsewhere.

On the morning of the 17th instant Lord Frederic communicated to M. de Giers the wording of your Lordship's telegram No. 119, as amended by No. 120. His Excellency immediately said that it was very different from my French colleague's communication. Lord Frederic observed that the only difference seemed to be that your Lordship's telegram made no mention of the forty-eight hours. M. de Giers seemed, however, dissatisfied with the proposal as made by the French Ambassador, and said that he could not give an answer till he should have learnt what steps the other Powers would take.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

No. 1155.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 239.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 17, 1882, 7.5 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 230.

I am afraid that new proposals to the Sultan will only confuse matters, and enable him to delay giving a decisive answer on what is most pressing.

No. 1156.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 180. Ext. 239.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 17, 1882.

HER Majesty's Government have had under their consideration your telegram No. 230 of this day, suggesting that the Sultan should summon both the Khedive and Arabi Pasha to Constantinople, as the latter would probably refuse to go, and Turkish intervention would then become a matter of necessity, and the Khedive would, by obeying His Majesty's command, be removed from the danger he is now in of being assassinated.

Her Majesty's Government fear that, if new proposals be made to the Sultan, they will only tend to confuse matters, and enable His Majesty to delay giving a decisive reply on the most pressing proposals which have already been urged upon him.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1157.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 17.)

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, June 17, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, copy of the instructions forwarded to Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour on the 16th instant, relative to the landing of men at Alexandria in certain emergencies.

I am to add that the substance of these instructions, to the paragraph ending "at all risks," was communicated to Sir Beauchamp Seymour by telegram on the 16th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) G. TRYON.

Inclosure in No. 1157.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.

(Secret.)

Sir,

Admiralty, June 16, 1882.

IN further explanation of the orders authorizing you "to land a force if required for the protection of British subjects and Europeans, such force not to leave protection of ships' guns without instructions from home," as conveyed to you in telegram of the 15th May last, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you that the apprehensions entertained, that any collision between the fleet and the Egyptian troops or the population of Alexandria might cause a massacre of Europeans, makes it necessary to avoid a collision unless under the gravest circumstances.

But in case—

1. Of a renewal of an outbreak, and if you are able, by landing a force or otherwise, to protect the embarkation of the Consul-General and British subjects, and after them of German subjects, until the arrival of a German ship of war;

2. Of the same condition of things as regards other Europeans, on the representation of the foreign Consuls-General, and in co-operation with the foreign ships;

3. Of the Khedive or the Turkish Commissioner being in danger, and desiring to embark;

you are to do all in your power to protect the embarkation at all risks.

Her Majesty's Government trust that Dervish Pasha may succeed in restoring the authority of the Khedive in Egypt, or that he and the Khedive may, at any rate, be able to remain at Alexandria until the arrival of Turkish troops; but it is desirable to contemplate the further development of the insurrectionary movement, and the possibility of the Khedive and the Turkish Commissioner being compelled to leave Alexandria.

Under these last circumstances, you are to consult the Consul-General, and act upon his advice as to the person with whom you should communicate as the Representative of the *de facto* authority with regard to the protection of British life and property, taking care not to commit Her Majesty's Government to any recognition of the revolutionary Government.

This instruction is sent in order to provide for the possibility that, under these circumstances, the Consul-General may consider it desirable that such a communication had better proceed from you than from himself.

I am, &c.
(Signed) G. TRYON.

No. 1158.

Prince Lobanow to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17.)

Mon cher Comte, Ce 17 Juin, 1882.
JE m'empresse de vous communiquer le télégramme ci-joint, qui vient de me parvenir.

A revoir, au levé.

Votre, &c.
(Signé) LOBANOW.

Inclosure in No. 1158.

M. de Giers to Prince Lobanow.

(Télégraphique.) St. Pétersbourg, le 17^e Juin, 1882.

LE Cabinet de Paris, d'accord avec celui de Londres, propose de fixer à la Porte un délai de deux jours pour se prononcer au sujet de la réunion d'une Conférence à Constantinople, en lui annonçant qu'en cas de refus, la Conférence s'assemblerait ailleurs, avec ou sans la participation de la Turquie.

J'ai répondu à l'Amiral Jaurès, qui m'a fait cette communication, que je ne pourrai donner une réponse définitive qu'après avoir consulté les autres Cabinets. Toutefois j'ai ajouté que la mesure proposée me paraissait d'une gravité extrême, comme pouvant, si elle était déclinée, amener une complication dont les Chrétiens deviendraient victimes en Égypte.

No. 1159.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 728 A.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 17, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 702 of the 15th instant, in which I repeated to your Excellency the observations which I had made to M. Tissot respecting the delay which had occurred in the dispatch of the French instructions corresponding to those which were sent to Her Majesty's Representatives at the Four Courts on the 13th instant, I have now to state to your Excellency that M. Tissot has to-day communicated to me a telegram from his Government dated yesterday, and which is to the following effect:—

That the non-dispatch of the French instructions at the same time as the English, which was equally regretted by M. de Freycinet and myself, was the consequence of

my not having concerted with his Excellency before changing the text of the instructions on which the two Governments had agreed, and of a want of a mutual understanding in regard to the proper time for making the communications which had already been discussed.

The telegram added that the French Government still retained their views on this subject, which were further confirmed by the dilatory persistence of the Porte, and which made the French Government apprehensive lest the precipitate dispatch of the instructions should compromise the meeting of the Conference, against the responsibility of which the French Government desire to guard themselves.

I thanked M. Tissot for the above communication, and explained that my only object in sending off the instructions at once had been to save time, which was so precious.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1160.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

E
(No. 322.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 17, 1882.

I TOLD the Turkish Ambassador to-day that Her Majesty's Government considered that the Porte, as the sovereign Power, was responsible, in ultimate resort, for the serious outrages and the loss of English life and property which had resulted from the recent riots at Alexandria, and that, considering the presence of Dervish Pasha in Egypt at the time as the Sultan's Special Commissioner, we must hold the Porte to be bound to see that proper redress was made.

Musurus Pasha said that he did not see how the Sultan or his Commissioner could be considered to be responsible for the disturbances of order when there was no Turkish force in the country to maintain it, but that the case would be different if the Sultan was urged to send troops there.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1161.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 196.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 17, 1882.

HER Majesty's Government approve the language used by your Excellency to M. Mancini, on the subject of the affairs of Egypt, as reported in your despatch No. 182 of the 8th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1162.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 7.50 P.M.)

(No. 235.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 17, 1882, 7 P.M.

ABOUT 220 destitute Maltese British beg to be removed from Cairo. The means of shipping them from here are now at hand. May I spend 150*l.* for their railway expenses?

No. 1163.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 365. Ext. 235.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 17, 1882.

I HAVE received, through Mr. Vice-Consul Borg, a petition, signed by 78 British subjects, representing families amounting in all to 220 persons, praying for means of leaving the country. They are destitute Maltese, who are unable to pay their passages; but, there being now plenty of room in the ships at Alexandria which have been chartered for the purpose of conveying refugees, I have only to request your Lordship to authorize me to defray the cost of their journey by railway from Cairo to Alexandria, which is estimated at 150l.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet.)
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 1164.

*Earl Granville to Sir E. Thornton.**(No. 131.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 17, 1882, 8.30 P.M.*

THE French Government have suggested, and Her Majesty's Government have agreed to propose to the Powers, the signature of the following Protocol on the meeting of the Conference:—

"The Governments represented by the Undersigned undertake (in any arrangement which may be made in consequence of their concerted action for the settlement of the affairs of Egypt) not to seek any territorial advantage, nor the concession of any exclusive privilege, nor any commercial advantage for their subjects which those of every other nation shall not be able to obtain."

No. 1165.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.†(No. 252. Ext.)
My Lord,*Foreign Office, June 17, 1882.*

I INCLOSE copy of a draft of Protocol communicated to me to-day by M. Tissot,‡ which it is proposed by the French Government that the Representatives of the Powers should sign at the meeting of the Conference, recording a self-denying engagement as regards individual attempts to obtain exclusive benefits as the result of concerted action in Egypt.

Her Majesty's Government have agreed to the proposal.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1166.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 10 P.M.)(No. 150.)
(Telegraphic.)*Constantinople, June 17, 1882, 5.15 P.M.*

MY telegram No. 147 of the 16th instant.

The Sultan has abandoned the idea for the present of sending another Agent to Egypt.
(Repeated to Sir E. Malet.)

* Also to the Earl of Dufferin (No. 254), Sir A. Paget (No. 149), Viscount Lyons (No. 355), Sir H. Elliot (No. 136), and Lord Ampthill (No. 126).
† Also to Sir H. Elliot (No. 175), Sir A. Paget (No. 198), Sir E. Thornton (No. 197), the Earl of Dufferin (No. 321), and Viscount Lyons (No. 731).
‡ See No. 1105.

No. 1167.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 462. Confidential. Ext. 150.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 17, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 459 of yesterday, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the Sultan has for the present abandoned the idea of sending another Agent to Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1168.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 10 P.M.)

(No. 151.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 17, 1882, 5.30 P.M.

THE Council broke up last night without arriving at any decision in regard to the Conference; but it is to meet again to-night, and Saïd Pasha told Sir A. Sandison, as his personal opinion, that he thought it would then be decided to acquiesce in the Conference.

No. 1169.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 463. Confidential. Ext. 151.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 17, 1882.

THE Council of Ministers which was held last night in regard to the Conference broke up without arriving at any decision on the subject. It is, however, to meet again to-night, and Saïd Pasha told Sir Alfred Sandison, as his personal opinion, that he thought it would then be decided to acquiesce in the Conference.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1170.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 10 P.M.)

(No. 152.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 17, 1882, 6 P.M.

THE meeting of the Ambassadors is just over. None of them had instructions, not even the French Ambassador, which permitted them to join me in carrying out, in their entirety, either instructions contained in your Lordship's telegram No. 236 of the 15th, or those in your No. 245 of the 16th. All that they felt themselves empowered to do was to join in pressing the Porte to agree to the Conference, but they did not feel authorized, in the absence of the Porte's Representative, either to go [into the] question of applying for troops or to discuss the affairs of Egypt otherwise than academically.

Sir E. Malet's telegram No. 230, in which he refers to the precarious situation of the Khedive if Turkish intervention were upheld, arrived while we were sitting. I conclude I shall [receive] instructions in regard to it.

No. 1171.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 464. Confidential. Ext. 152.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 17, 1882.

THE meeting of the Ambassadors on the affairs of Egypt took place to-day. None of them had instructions, not even the French Ambassador, which permitted

them to join with me in carrying out in their entirety either the instructions in your Lordship's telegram No. 236 of the 15th, or those in your telegram No. 245 of the 16th.

All that they felt themselves empowered to do was to join in pressing the Porte to agree to the Conference, but they did not feel authorized, in the absence of the Representative of the Ottoman Government, either to go into the question of applying for troops or to discuss the affairs of Egypt otherwise than academically.

I received Sir E. Malet's telegram No. 230 of this day, which refers to the precarious situation of the Khedive if Turkish intervention was upheld, while still at the meeting of the Ambassadors, and conclude that I shall receive instructions in regard to it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1172.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 10 P.M.)

(No. 96.) *Paris, June 17, 1882, 6:45 P.M.*
(Telegraphic)

I HAVE communicated to M. de Freycinet your telegram No. 337 of to-day. He says that he has now sent off the French adhesion to the proposal to ask for Turkish troops, but that while this removes the first German objection, the second, as to the too restrictive character of the terms, is untouched. He will take a short time to consider your proposal to ask in the Conference for Turkish troops in terms to be settled by the Ambassadors.

No. 1173.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 594. Ext. 96.) *Paris, June 17, 1882.*
My Lord,

ON the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of this afternoon (No. 96) I went to M. de Freycinet and communicated its contents to him.

The German Government had, I said, declined to agree to your Lordship's proposal to ask the Sultan to prepare Turkish troops for Egypt, firstly, because they had not received a communication on the subject from France; and, secondly, because the conditions to be propounded to the Sultan appeared to them to be too restrictive. They had, however, I added, expressed their willingness to consent to a Conference being held without the participation of Turkey, if no other Power objected.

M. de Freycinet replied that he had now sent the French communication about the troops, but that while this removed the first German objection, the second, of course, was untouched.

I went on to say that Her Majesty's Government had instructed me to request the French Government to agree with them to ask for Turkish troops in Conference, in terms to be settled by the Ambassadors, so that satisfactory engagements were entered into for the maintenance of the *status quo*.

M. de Freycinet answered that he would take a short time to consider this request.

I have had the honour to send the substance of this despatch to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1174.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 10 P.M.)

(No. 97.) *Paris, June 17, 1882, 7 P.M.*
(Telegraphic)

I HAVE communicated to M. de Freycinet your telegram No. 332 of yesterday respecting the self-denying engagement, but he wishes no further step to be taken in

the matter until he has received your answer on the subject of a slight modification of the Protocol of September 1880, which he has instructed the French Ambassador to propose to you.

No. 1175.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 17.)

(No. 596. Ext. 97)

My Lord,

Paris, June 17, 1882.

I SPOKE to M. de Freycinet this afternoon, in the terms of your Lordship's telegram No. 332 of yesterday, on the subject of his suggestion that the Powers should enter into a self-denying engagement respecting Egypt.

I said to him that Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to agree to such an engagement, to be entered into by all the Powers, and to apply to the Conference in the form adopted at Constantinople respecting Montenegro, on the 21st September, 1880.

M. de Freycinet replied that he had instructed the French Ambassador in London to propose to you a slight change in the wording used in the Protocol of the 21st September, 1880, and that he should wish to suspend further proceedings until he should receive your Lordship's answer to this proposal.

I have forwarded the substance of this despatch to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1176.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 241.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 17, 1882, 11 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 235 of to-day.
You may spend the sum mentioned.

No. 1177.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 343.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 17, 1882, 11:15 P.M.

IN my telegram to you No. 337, the words "as already described," apply to the *status quo*. I propose to leave the exact nature of the engagements to be taken by the Sultan for discussion among the Ambassadors.

No. 1178.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 729. Ext. 343.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 17, 1882.

TO avoid the risk of any misunderstanding as to the concluding portion of my despatch No. 719 of this day's date, I have to explain that the words "as already described" apply to the *status quo* already referred to in previous communications.

The proposal of Her Majesty's Government is to leave the exact nature of the engagements to be taken by the Sultan for discussion among the Ambassadors in Conference.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1179.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.(No. 344.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 17, 1882, 11.20 P.M.*

FRENCH Ambassador told me last night that M. de Freycinet had sent to the four Courts similar telegrams to mine of the 13th instant, relative to instructions for the Conference, and to the application to be made to the Sultan for troops. M. de Freycinet had inserted in the latter the words, "this force to remain under the orders of the Khedive during its stay in Egypt."

Since then I have heard of Prince Bismarck's objection to the conditions as too restrictive, and have endeavoured to meet it by the proposal contained in my telegram No. 337.

No. 1180.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.(No. 730. Ext. 344.)
My Lord,*Foreign Office, June 17, 1882.*

I HAVE to state to your Excellency that the French Ambassador informed me last night that M. de Freycinet had sent to the four Courts similar telegrams to mine of the 13th instant relative to the instructions for the guidance of the Ambassadors at the Conference, and the proposed invitation to the Sultan to send troops to Egypt, and that in so doing M. de Freycinet has inserted in the letter the words "this force to remain under the orders of the Khedive during its stay in Egypt."

I have since heard of Prince Bismarck's objection to the conditions for the employment of Turkish troops as being too restrictive, and I have endeavoured to meet this difficulty by the proposal contained in my despatch No. 719 of to-day's date.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1181.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.(No. 130. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 17, 1882, 11.25 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 43.

See my telegram to Lord Lyons No. 337 of to-day.

The French Government have not yet sent an answer, but it represents the views of Her Majesty's Government, and you may speak to Prince Bismarck in the same sense.

It would be as well that you should tell his Highness also, confidentially, that it is impossible the present state of things can be allowed to continue, and that, if the Sultan is unwilling to do anything, some other means must be found.

We attach importance to the consent to send troops, and the proviso in that telegram as to the object for which they are to be employed. We do not care about the form in which the engagement is given, provided it is sufficient.

No. 1182.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.(No. 131.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 18, 1882, 10.5 A.M.*

INTIMATE to Prince Bismarck in the course of conversation that, sharing as he does the strong wish of Her Majesty's Government to avoid unnecessary complications, he must feel that, even if Her Majesty's Government did not object, as they do, public opinion would prevent them permanently acquiescing in any arrangements in Egypt, especially after the late massacres at Alexandria, which would destroy, not only the influence and credit of this country, but also of Europe, in the East.

No. 1183.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.

(No. 253. Ext. 130 and 131.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 18, 1882.

I INCLOSE copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris,* in which I have informed his Excellency of the objections entertained by the German Government—explained in your despatch No. 213 of the 16th instant—to the form in which Her Majesty's Government proposed that the Sultan should be invited to send troops to Egypt, and of the reasons for their objections, and have requested him to invite the French Government to agree with Her Majesty's Government, in the Conference, to ask for the dispatch of troops in terms which the Ambassadors should settle, but on the basis that satisfactory arrangements shall be made for the maintenance of the *status quo* described and defined in previous communications.

I have telegraphed to you the substance of this despatch, in order that you may make use of it to-day in your interview with Prince Bismarck. No reply has yet been received from the French Government, but it represents the views of Her Majesty's Government in the sense of which you should speak to his Highness.

As regards the general tenour of the language which you should hold in your interview you have already received telegraphic instructions. You have been told that it is advisable that you should state confidentially that it is impossible that the present state of things can be allowed to continue, and that if the Sultan is unwilling to do anything, some other means must be found; that the consent of His Majesty to send troops is a point to which Her Majesty's Government attach importance; and that they consider the proviso, recorded in the despatch to Lord Lyons, as to the object for which the troops are to be employed, to be of no less importance, but that they are indifferent as to the form to be given to the engagement, provided that the engagement itself is sufficient. You have also been authorized to intimate that as his Highness shares the strong wish of Her Majesty's Government to avoid unnecessary complications, he must feel that, even if Her Majesty's Government did not entertain the objections which they do entertain to acquiescing permanently in any arrangements in Egypt which would destroy not only the influence and credit of this country, but also of Europe, in the East, public opinion would, especially after the late massacres at Alexandria, prevent them from following that course.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1184.

Consul Bidwell to Earl Granville.—(Received June 18, 8 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Malaga, June 17, 1882, 7 P.M.

UNITED States' flag-ship "Lancaster" called here last night for despatches, and left for Alexandria. American Mediterranean squadron proceeded to Alexandria.

No. 1185.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.(No. 217.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 18, 1882, 5.5 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 231.
Your action is approved.

No. 1186.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 181. Ext. 247.)

Sir,
HER Majesty's Government approve your having abstained, as reported in your telegram No. 234 of yesterday, from any participation in recommending to the Khedive the formation of a Ministry under Ragheb Pasha.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1187.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received June 18, 5.30 P.M.)

(No. 26.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, June 18, 1882, 4 P.M.

M. DE GIERS expressed great satisfaction that the question of the Conference has been simplified by the contents of your Lordship's telegram No. 121 of the 16th instant, and an explanation given at Paris of my French colleague having proposed that the Russian Government should join in insisting upon forty-eight hours' notice being given to the Sultan to agree to the Conference.

M. de Giers is now instructing by telegraph the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople to agree to the immediate meeting of the Conference at Constantinople, though without Turkey, and expresses the opinion that not a moment should be lost in carrying out this measure.

No. 1188.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 18.)

(No. 206. Ext. 26.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, June 18, 1882.

EARLY this morning my French colleague called upon me, and told me that he had received last night a telegram from M. de Freycinet, informing him, on your Lordship's authority, that the Sultan would prefer not to be represented nor to take part in the proposed Conference, but that he would have no objection to its meeting nor to its being held at Constantinople. He added that he had just come from M. de Giers, to whom he had communicated the contents of this telegram. His Excellency had expressed himself much satisfied with the question of the Conference having been thus simplified, and had said that, if I should make a similar statement to him, he would at once send by telegraph an instruction to the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople to agree to the immediate meeting of the Conference.

I therefore called upon M. de Giers and told his Excellency that your Lordship had informed me, confidentially, that the Turkish Ambassador had stated to you that the Sultan would prefer not to take part in, or be represented at, the Conference, but would give all the assurances that might be required. M. de Giers replied that this greatly simplified the question, and as he was entirely persuaded of the expediency of the Conference, he would telegraph at once to M. Onou, instructing him to agree to the proposed Conference, and to take part in it when it should meet. His Excellency strongly expressed his opinion that not a moment should be lost, and that the Conference should meet as soon as possible.

M. de Giers also informed me that he had telegraphed to Paris and London with respect to the different wording of the telegrams sent to my French colleague and myself, in the former of which the forty-eight hours were mentioned; that Prince Lobanow had telegraphed, on your Lordship's authority, that Lord Frederick Hamilton had correctly conveyed the contents of your Lordship's telegram, and that at Paris explanations had been given which had removed ("aplani") the difficulty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

No. 1189.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 18, 5.35 P.M.)

(No. 153.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 18, 1882, 3.25 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 248.

Musurus Pasha must be under some misapprehension. The Foreign Minister positively denies that the Sultan has the slightest intention of accepting the Conference under the conditions named. On the contrary, he is described through a [several groups omitted here, apparently] having fallen back into the obstinate mood of a sulky cordiality.

The Representatives have arranged to meet again to-morrow, and by that time I hope that my colleagues will have received powers to confer on Egyptian affairs independently of the Porte's consent.

No. 1190.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 18.)

(No. 165. Confidential. Ext. 153.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 18, 1882.

I AM very much afraid that Musurus Pasha, in stating to your Lordship, as reported in your telegram No. 218 of the 16th instant, "that the Sultan would prefer that the Conference should be held without him, and that he would give all the assurances that might be required," must have been under some misapprehension. The Foreign Minister positively denies that His Majesty has the slightest intention of accepting the Conference under the condition named.

The Representatives of the six Powers have arranged to meet again to-morrow, and by that time I hope my colleagues will have received powers to confer on Egyptian affairs independently of the Porte's consent.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1191.

M. Tissot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 18.)

Mon cher Comte,

Dimanche, le 18 Juin, 1882.

M. DE FREYCINET me charge de vous prévenir qu'il donne son assentiment à la réunion de la Conférence à Constantinople, alors même que la Turquie ne s'y ferait pas représenter.

L'Ambassadeur d'Allemagne lui a fait savoir que son Gouvernement acceptait également cette combinaison si les autres Puissances n'y font pas d'objection.

Veillez, &c.
(Signé) CH. TISSOT.

No. 1192.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 18, 7.30 P.M.)

(No. 47.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, June 18, 1882, 4 P.M.

[FRENCH Chargé d'Affaires] has received a telegram from M. de Freycinet stating that he had been informed by your Lordship that the Sultan has no objection to the Conference being held at Constantinople, but would prefer it without his participation. M. de Freycinet desires Chargé d'Affaires to acquaint Italian Government that French Government and also German Government, if no other Power opposes, have accepted this, and to ask Italian Government to do so also.

Minister for Foreign Affairs has replied that he will instruct Count Corti to support the proposal, if all his other colleagues are desired to do so.

I omitted inadvertently to mention, in my telegram No. 46 and despatch No. 204
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of yesterday, that I had informed his Excellency, confidentially, that I thought Her Majesty's Government had reason to believe the Sultan would prefer the Conference being held without him, and that he would give all the assurances that might be required. His Excellency thinks it would be very desirable to obtain such assurances before the meeting of the Conference.

No. 1193.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 18, 9 P.M.)

(No. 48.)
(Telegraphic.)

Rome, June 18, 1882, 5 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's No. 137 of yesterday.
French Chargé d'Affaires has been desired to concert with me for obtaining adhesion of Italian Government to Self-denying Protocol agreed upon between Her Majesty's Government and French Government, and I propose acting accordingly at 2 P.M. to-morrow, unless otherwise instructed.

No. 1194.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 18, 9:30 P.M.)

(No. 151.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 18, 1882, 6:30 P.M.

MINISTER for Foreign Affairs, probably by order of the Sultan, sent this morning for the First Dragomans attached to the German, Austrian, and Italian Embassies to thank them for the part their Agents had taken in the recent work of reconciliation in Egypt.

I imagine that, since the failure of Dervish Pasha's mission has become so apparent, and the attitude of the military party so menacing, the Sultan has got completely frightened, and had given orders for the patching up of the settlement which has been brought about by the Consuls of the four Powers, and will now pretend that the whole question is settled.

(Sent to Sir E. Malet.)

No. 1195.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 18.)

(No. 466. Confidential. Ext. 154.)
My Lord,

Constantinople, June 18, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Minister for Foreign Affairs, probably acting under orders from the Sultan, sent this morning for the First Dragomans attached to the German, Austrian, Russian, and Italian Embassies to thank them for the part their Agents had taken in the recent work of reconciliation in Egypt.

I imagine that since the failure of Dervish Pasha's mission has become so apparent, and the attitude of the Military party so menacing, the Sultan has got completely disheartened, and has given orders to his Commissioner to get any kind of settlement patched up which will enable him to pretend that a satisfactory order of things has been established.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1196.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 18, 9:30 P.M.)

(No. 155.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 18, 1882, 6:45 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 248.

I have sent to the Palace to try and get an explanation of Musurus Pasha's statement.

No. 1197.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 18.)

(No. 467. Confidential. Ext. 155.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 18, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch to your Lordship No. 465 of to-day's date, I have the honour to report that I have sent to the Palace to endeavour to obtain an explanation as to the statement made to your Lordship by the Turkish Ambassador.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1198.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 18, 11 P.M.)

(No. 50.)
(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, June 18, 1882, 10:16 P.M.

PRINCE BISMARCK invited all the Ambassadors to dinner this evening, and requested us to inform our respective Governments that he accepted the invitation of the Governments of England and France to a Conference, limited to the Egyptian question, to meet on Thursday next, the 22nd instant, at Constantinople, and he added that he would instruct the German Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople accordingly.

No. 1199.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 18.)

(No. 228. Ext. 50.)
My Lord,

Berlin, June 18, 1882.

PRINCE BISMARCK invited the Ambassadors of the Great Powers to dinner to-day, and after dinner read over and compared the telegrams received within the last forty-eight hours respecting the proposed immediate convocation of the Conference on Egyptian affairs at Constantinople.

His Highness said that as all the Powers were agreed, and as the Sultan preferred the Conference to meet without the participation of Turkey, some two or three days of telegraphic cross-firing from Foreign Office to Foreign Office might be saved in regard to the date of meeting, if it could be fixed at once.

It was for the Powers who had proposed the Conference to propose also the day on which its labours were to commence, and from a telegram just received from Prince Hohenlohe, the German Ambassador at Paris, he learnt that M. de Freycinet had suggested Thursday next, the 22nd instant, as a day convenient both to the Governments of France and England.

Under these circumstances, Prince Bismarck requested us to inform our respective Governments that Germany accepted the invitation of England and France to a Conference limited to the discussion of the Egyptian question to meet at Constantinople on Thursday next, the 22nd instant, and that he would instruct the German Representative at Constantinople accordingly.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 436. Secret and Confidential.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 11, 1882.

AS I have already informed your Lordship by telegram, last night the Sultan sent his Private Secretary, Reschid Bey, to me, for the purpose of making certain confidential communications. As it took His Majesty a whole hour to convey to his emissary the purport of what he desired me to know, I have only been able to send your Lordship an imperfect outline of the message, which I propose in this despatch to transmit in full.

After some very complimentary words in my own regard, the Sultan entered upon a review of the past relations of England and Turkey. When he came to the throne he was animated by a warm love for England; his confidence in the British Government was unbounded; and this feeling found its ultimate expression in the Cyprus Convention, when the two nations became like sisters, and England assumed the office of the guardian and the protector of Turkey. Subsequent events unfortunately had modified these intimate relations. Upon the character of those events His Majesty did not now care to dwell, but it could well be understood that they should have produced an estrangement upon his side. This estrangement had naturally provoked a corresponding feeling in the English Government, and this coldness upon the part of Great Britain had again reacted upon Turkey, and widened the breach. Evidences of this reciprocal unkindness had not been wanting, even since my own arrival at Constantinople. I had been instructed to press upon His Majesty certain internal reforms, which have been specified by the Treaty of Berlin. Various preoccupations had compelled him to postpone their consideration, and to defer for the moment compliance with our demands. This, again, was a circumstance which had probably not been without its effect upon the minds of Her Majesty's Government. Then came the inexplicable alliance between England and France in reference to the affairs of Egypt, an alliance which had resulted in a line of conduct on the part of the Western Powers which His Majesty could not but feel had been incompatible with what was due to him, both as the Sovereign of that province and the person most interested in its peace and welfare. That England should feel herself entitled to have a preponderating voice in the settlement of the Egyptian question was a fact His Majesty had frequently acknowledged and perfectly understood. He was eager to recognize it, but he could not make the same admission in regard to the aggressive pretensions of the French Republic. Under these circumstances, it seemed to him that the only proper course of procedure was for England and Turkey to agree between themselves as to what was best to be done. There would be no difficulty in arriving at such an agreement, inasmuch as the interests of England and Turkey in Egypt were identic, and if once the two countries were of one mind, they would find themselves in a position to impose their will upon the other Powers. His Majesty was ready to admit that, although his recent alienation from England was natural and easy to be accounted for by the painful events of the last few years, it was not a sentiment which need endure for all eternity. On the contrary, after all that had come and gone he could not but feel that there was no Power more interested in the preservation of Turkey than England, in the sincerity of whose friendship he could more entirely confide, and whose interests in the East so completely coincided with his own. Moved by these considerations, he was anxious and ready to enter into the most intimate and friendly understanding with England in relation to all matters of mutual interest in the East, and especially with regard to the Egyptian question.

I replied that it was a very great satisfaction to me to learn that at last the Sultan had apprehended what were the character of the relations which ought naturally to exist between two such Powers as England and Turkey. Ever since my first arrival I had never ceased to impress this fact upon his Ministers, who, I was bound to admit, had all along appeared sufficiently alive to the force of my representations. Nor, indeed, had I ever despaired of His Majesty's eventually coming round to the same opinion. It was natural enough that His Majesty should regard the events which had resulted in the loss of a considerable section of territory from a different point of view to that which had been accepted by the Powers at the Congress of Berlin, but although these questions had for a time generated an inevitable antagonism between the Porte and the Great Powers, including England, they had now happily received their solution, and had passed into the domain of history. With them had

happily disappeared those causes of irritation to which His Majesty had referred as having caused his estrangement. On all the other points which were likely to engage his attention in the future, he might safely count upon England as his warmest friend and coadjutor. His Majesty had already assured me that the reform of the internal administration of his dominions was the subject nearest to his heart. In attaining his object he might count upon the sympathetic assistance of the British Government, whose desire it was to see the Ottoman Empire prosperous, contented, powerful, and well-governed. With regard to our alliance with the French nation, which appeared so much to exercise His Majesty, it must be remembered that it was an alliance of very ancient date, that it had now endured with mutual advantage to the two nations for a great number of years, and that it was a fact altogether outside and independent of Oriental politics. Nevertheless, His Majesty must remember that, in spite of this alliance, in a famous despatch of your Lordship's it had been plainly declared to the French Government that any attempt upon the part of France to encroach upon the territory of Tripoli would completely forfeit the friendship of England. As to our joint action in Egypt, it had been the very reverse of prejudicial to His Majesty. Thanks to the spirit of moderation which we had infused into the concert we had been able, in spite of the provocations which the two Governments had received at the hands of the military faction, which had taken possession of the Egyptian Administration, to induce M. de Freycinet's Cabinet to incur great risks in running counter to French popular opinion, and to agree to large concessions in the interests of Turkey. No one could read the French newspapers or the French debates without seeing that, if left to herself, France would have been disposed to embark upon a far more aggressive line of conduct, and if she had now agreed to the dispatch of a Turkish Commissioner to Cairo, and even to more direct action upon the part of the Sultan, it had been at our instance, so that if the Sultan now found himself in so advantageous a position in reference to the Egyptian question, he owed it to the respect which England all along had insisted should be paid to his sovereign rights. With regard to the Conference it was an arrangement in which we had been induced to acquiesce by anything but a spirit of unfriendliness towards Turkey. On the contrary, it was the belief of the English Government that such a mode of dealing with the troubles which had arisen in Egypt was perfectly acceptable by the Porte, inasmuch as the majority of the Powers, with England at their head, would be benevolently disposed towards Turkey, and as the basis which she had laid down for the proposed consultations was entirely consonant with the ends which the Sultan himself had assured us he was desirous of attaining. In any event it was useless for me to enter into a discussion upon that part of the question. My instructions were most imperative; all Europe was unanimous in desiring the Conference, and it was evident that the abstention of Turkey would only lead to an arrangement which would be still more distasteful to the Ottoman Government.

Reschid Bey, in reply to these latter observations, proceeded to reiterate the objections to the Conference with which he was charged by His Imperial Majesty. He said it was inconceivable how a Conference could take any useful action so long as Dervish Pasha was exercising his present functions. The Conference would of necessity be imperfectly informed of what was going on, and of the changing phases of the situation. Its recommendations would be either impracticable or inopportune, and instead of strengthening Dervish Pasha's hands, it would weaken his influence, and deal a death blow to his prestige, as in place of appearing upon the scene as the Representative of the Commander of the Faithful, and as making known his wishes to his Mussulman subjects, he would have the air of a mere instrument in the hands of the foreign Powers.

To this I replied that there was a good deal of force in the considerations thus brought forward by His Majesty; and that I admitted that even if the Conference were sitting at the present moment, I did not see that it would be advisable that it should interfere in any way with the action of Dervish Pasha, who must be left to his own inspirations. But it must be remembered that events such as those which we were discussing marched with the utmost alacrity, and though it was now hopeful that Dervish Pasha would succeed, his success was very far from being completely assured. It was quite possible that some accidental fray might disappoint our expectations and precipitate a catastrophe in the presence of which the most vigorous and decisive action would have to be concerted by all the Powers interested. Under these circumstances, it was of immense importance that the machinery by which this concert could be arrived at should be at once organized; but, speaking as a private individual, and no longer as the Representative of Her Majesty's Government, I might

admit that if once the Conference was constituted there was no necessity, as long as the action of Dervish Pasha was producing satisfactory results, that it should enter upon its deliberations. After a formal meeting it might very well adjourn until the outcome of what was going on in Egypt was completely decided, and that I would even take upon myself to suggest this mode of procedure to your Lordship, if Reschid Bey would kindly submit to His Majesty's consideration the views I had developed.

The formal part of Reschid Bey's interview with me was here brought to a close, but he then entered into a confidential explanation of the origin and real nature of the "démarche" he was commissioned to make. He said that for some time past the Sultan's Ministers, and a considerable proportion of his private advisers at the Palace, had been impressing upon His Majesty's mind the desirability of establishing more friendly relations with the English Government. That for a long time, yielding to the influence of his less worthy courtiers, he had turned a deaf ear to these salutary counsels, but that now, at last, he had begun to entertain misgivings as to the wisdom of his reserved attitude towards England, and that I was to regard the overture which had now been made to me as altogether independent of the question of the Conference or of any mere casual circumstance, but as having reference to the permanent relations which his Majesty was anxious to inaugurate between the two countries.

Feeling it desirable that we should know the exact state of the Sultan's mind in reference to the dispatch of Turkish troops to Egypt, I touched with extreme reserve upon this contingency. Reschid Bey informed me, in reply, that although at one time such an idea had been perfectly agreeable to His Majesty, he had lately begun to regard it with great aversion, for he had suddenly taken it into his head that it had been suggested by the Powers with a perfidious intent of entrapping him into active hostilities with the Mahommedan population of Africa, and of thus destroying his prestige as Caliph amongst the Arabian nationalities.

I replied that such an absurd delusion upon the part of His Majesty was most unfortunate; that both the Sultan and the Porte had frequently expressed an opinion that if armed intervention were necessary it ought to be conducted by Turkey, and that the violent way in which all the French newspapers had cried out against the dispatch of Turkish troops to Egypt was a sufficient proof that if the Government of France could be brought to agree to such an expedient it would not be from the motives which had been suggested, still less could it be suspected that if England supported the idea she would do so from such childish and unpractical motives.

In taking leave, Reschid Bey informed me that the Sultan was possessed by an extreme desire to obtain an answer to this communication within as short a time as possible, and he even suggested that if I should receive a telegram from your Lordship to-morrow morning I should come with it at once to the Palace, where His Majesty would give me some breakfast. I merely mention this fact in order to make your Lordship understand the great importance which the Sultan evidently attaches to his message.

It remains for me to convey to your Lordship the impression I have derived from the foregoing conversation as to the Sultan's real motives and intentions in making the proposals which I have described. In considering any act or word which emanates from His Majesty we have to take into account the complicated, and even contradictory elements of his character. As I have already more than once described to your Lordship, Abdul Hamid is a man of great intelligence, astuteness, and finesse. If he had merely to deal with Orientals, and with men and questions with which he was familiar, and forces which he had had an opportunity of measuring, he would probably be regarded as a ruler of great force of character and ability. Unfortunately, the defects of his early education, his ignorance of the world, and of the machinery and elements of modern European politics, introduce into many of his combinations a certain strain of childishness and folly. The suspiciousness of his nature, moreover, is almost maniacal; he has no respect for truth, and his duplicity is unbounded. Taking these circumstances into account, I apprehend that his main motive in addressing me in the manner described has been to break up the Anglo-French alliance, and to tempt us, by the docility of his attitude, into an agreement to settle the Egyptian question in a sense adverse to French interests and to the exclusion, to such a degree as is possible, of the participation of France in the future government of Egypt. But side by side with this intention, I apprehend there has now come to exist in his mind a painful conviction that the

German alliance is not sufficient for his needs; that, in regard to many questions of vital importance to himself, Germany would be both unable and unwilling to come to his rescue, and that, inasmuch as Turkey has got an enormous seaboard, and is exposed to aggression at the hands of all the Mediterranean Powers, it will be to his advantage to possess a friend in a maritime nation whose interest it is to oppose the aggrandisement, at his expense, of any other naval Power. He has, probably, at last satisfied himself, thanks to the representations of some of those about him, that during the whole of the current Egyptian controversy, the attitude of England has been really very friendly and favourable to Turkey, and that in our jealousy of France he will find the best security for the maintenance of his own prestige and sovereign rights. It becomes, therefore, a question as to how far Her Majesty's Government may consider that they are in a position to reciprocate in any practical manner the friendly mood of the Sultan.

I cannot but think that the present may prove a favourable opportunity for entering upon a new and more advantageous phase in our relations with the Porte. At the same time, it is evident that our desire to act in concert with the views of France in reference to the whole African question is perpetually bringing us into collision with the susceptibilities of the Sultan, and even with his legitimate pretensions. I have been very much struck by the intense dislike which has been exhibited by so very a conciliatory and temperate a politician as the Marquis de Noailles to anything which may exalt the credit of the Porte or of the Sultan in Egypt. He acquiesced in the dispatch of a Turkish Commissioner with the greatest repugnance. He cannot allude with patience to the notion of the employment of Turkish troops. Even the idea of a Conference is distasteful to him. Only this morning the French First Secretary observed to me that perhaps Dervish Pasha might be only "too successful," and this pregnant remark probably expresses what is felt by the majority of his countrymen.

The promotion of the views thus indicated are clearly antagonistic to the policy of the Porte; and I should be very much afraid that as long as we are forced to travel along the same road as the French the intimate alliance proffered to us by the Porte could scarcely be maintained. I do not for a moment presume to hazard an opinion upon the degree to which we are bound to acquiesce in the French view of the Egyptian, or rather of the African question. The value of the French alliance is, I am aware, a matter of far greater importance than any of the minor questions which are now occupying our attention; but if it compels us to continue a line of action which will necessitate our placing ourselves in occasional antagonism to Turkey, I think it would be undesirable that we should meet the present overture of the Sultan by unnecessarily effusive expressions of friendship and good-will, as, on the next occasion we run counter to his interests and prejudices, he will, not unreasonably, consider himself to have been both deceived and ill-treated. Should, however, Her Majesty's Government see a way of avoiding this undesirable contingency, it would be well, I think, to take the present overture of the Sultan as a departure.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1201.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 438.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 12, 1882.

ON receipt of your Lordship's telegram No. 212 of the 11th instant, announcing the riots at Alexandria, I addressed the accompanying communication to each of my colleagues. The Ambassador of France did the same, and this being the day on which the Minister receives the foreign Representatives, we all went to the Porte and again insisted upon the pressing necessity, in the presence of the critical circumstances described in the telegrams, of the Turkish Government's accepting the invitation to the Conference.

I also thought it advisable to acquaint the Minister with the substance of Sir E. Malet's telegram No. 205, in which Dervish Pasha admits his own and the Khedive's impotence to deal with the crisis, and refuses to accept any responsibility in regard to the safety of European residents in Egypt.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs had evidently been very much distressed by the bad news of the morning, but the communication of Sir E. Malet's latter telegram

took him completely by surprise, as it revealed a state of things for which he was not prepared. He asked permission to take a note of the statements it contained, which he at once sent off, I presume, to the Palace and to the Prime Minister.

On the receipt of Sir E. Malet's reassuring telegram No. 206 of the 12th instant, in which he states that Dervish Pasha has consented to undertake a joint responsibility for the safety of the Europeans, I transmitted a copy of it to the Foreign Minister.

I have, &c.
(For the Earl of Dufferin),
(Signed) HUGH WYNDHAM.

Inclosure in No. 1201.

Circular to Ambassadors at Constantinople.

THE Undersigned trusts that in presence of the events which occurred yesterday at Alexandria, and of the evident critical state of affairs in Egypt, your Excellency will continue to use your good offices at the Porte in support of the invitation addressed by me to the Ottoman Government on behalf of Great Britain to assent to the re-union of the Conference at Constantinople.

British Embassy, Constantinople, June 12, 1882.

No. 1202.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 439.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 12, 1882.

AS it seems from a report of what passed in Parliament that an opinion prevails that the Porte has met the invitation to a Conference proffered by the Ambassadors of England and France with a categorical refusal, I think it right to state that both the Marquis de Noailles and myself consider that no such refusal has been conveyed to us. Whenever the question has been mooted the Foreign Minister has intimated the strong disinclination of the Sultan to such an idea, and has dwelt upon a Conference being unnecessary and inopportune; but in the Porte's communications with us it has never been positively declined. On the contrary, we have both been given to understand more or less clearly that, in the event of the failure of Dervish Pasha's mission, the re-union of the Conference was a question which the Porte would not refuse to consider.

I have, &c.
(For the Earl of Dufferin),
(Signed) HUGH WYNDHAM.

No. 1203.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 440. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 12, 1882.

THE Sultan sent his Secretary to me again last night. Before he entered upon the matter with which he was charged, I took an opportunity of observing that I trusted His Majesty had decided to accept the invitation of the Powers in regard to the Conference. Reschid Bey replied that the Sultan was still rather against than in favour of the Conference, but that he would accept it in principle, if it really became a necessity. He again insisted, however, on the ill-effects it would produce on the mission of the Turkish Commissioner if it were to intervene while Dervish Pasha was in the act of arriving at a satisfactory settlement. In a few days, perhaps in less than three or four, the ultimate issue of Dervish Pasha's efforts would be known, and His Majesty trusted that the Powers would give him that amount of breathing time.

Reschid Bey then proceeded to open the real purport of his visit, which was to supplement his communication of the previous night by a direct and categorical proposal that, when the Conference took place, Turkey and England should agree beforehand upon the various points of the settlement to be reached. Were England

and Turkey once agreed, no other single Power, nor all the other Powers united, would be in a position to oppose their wishes.

Reschid Bey reinforced the foregoing suggestion by the arguments of which he had previously made use, and he concluded by saying that the Sultan wished this suggestion also to be telegraphed to your Lordship. I promised compliance, but I added that the only end we had in view was the restoration of the *status quo* and the settlement of the affairs of Egypt on the bases already communicated to the Porte and to the other Governments of Europe, namely, the maintenance of the rights of the Sultan and the Khedive, of international engagements, and the arrangements existing under them, whether with England and France alone, or with those two nations and the other Powers, the conservation of the liberties secured by the Firmans of the Sultan, together with the prudent development of Egyptian institutions.

I have, &c.
(For the Earl of Dufferin),
(Signed) HUGH WYNDHAM.

No. 1204.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 441.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 13, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship a despatch on military matters which I have received from Major Swaine.

I have, &c.
(For the Earl of Dufferin),
(Signed) HUGH WYNDHAM.

Inclosure in No. 1204.

Major Swaine to the Earl of Dufferin.

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 12, 1882.

DERVISH PASHA, the Imperial Commissioner to Egypt, is reported to have stated that there are two army corps ready to be dispatched at once to Egypt should he give the signal for their departure.

I am at a loss to know where these two corps are. It is possible also that Dervish meant "divisions" when he used the word "corps," but in either case nothing is ready at present.

A Turkish army corps on a war footing represents 34,000 infantry, 4,500 cavalry, and 96 guns. If this number is doubled it gives 77,000 men and 192 guns, or, in other words, it would comprise about two-thirds of the present strength of the Imperial army.

It has been reported from Salonica that no less than 20,000 men have been discharged since the beginning of the year from the force, which up to lately was acting under the orders of Dervish Pasha himself, and I understand that another 20,000 have been discharged from the corps in the other parts of the Empire.

These discharges still continue; and the new levies, which in this command are seen drilling by dribblets in many parts of Stamboul and the Bosphorus, fall far short of the numbers sent to their homes.

It therefore remains to be seen, whatever Dervish Pasha meant when he spoke of two corps, whence he would be able to draw a force of from 20,000 to 30,000 men without unnecessarily denuding those parts of troops. I conclude that he could not well do with less than that number; and should the necessity for such an intervention arise, they should be in a sufficiently prepared state to reach their destination within eight days of Dervish's signal.

The nearest troops to Egypt are quartered in the Yemen, in Syria, and in Tripoli (Africa).

Would Arab troops, such as those from the Yemen or from Syria, be employed on such a mission? That is the first point. Were the answer to this question in the affirmative, it must further be remembered that in the Yemen the army corps is made up partly locally and partly by criminals, who are sent down there to fill the ranks and work off their punishment; and in Syria the army corps is already reduced to

sixteen battalions, from which it would be difficult to spare more. If disturbances took place on the banks of the Nile, it becomes a second consideration whether that would be the moment for withdrawing any of the 9,500 men from Tripoli.

The remaining army corps in Asia, viz., the 4th and 6th, are too far from Egypt to be thought of for such a duty, even if it were convenient or politic to employ them on such an emergency.

The strength of the force in Crete—ten weak battalions—is too useful in that island to bear of further reduction.

It is in European Turkey, then, where the Pasha's two army corps must be looked for.

There are seventy battalions quartered in Albania and Macedonia, comprising the districts of Epirus, Scutari, Kossovo, Monastir, the Greek frontier, and Salonica. The battalions are weak, and their total strength would not much exceed 30,000 bayonets. There are few reserve men in these districts to fall back upon for the local regiments, as the male population has been more or less decimated by wars and petty skirmishes with the Montenegrins and Servians for the last eight years, and the Albanian population invariably declined to submit to conscription.

The reserves of the remaining battalions which make up the seventy in these provinces are too far off to be of use in an emergency.

The two remaining districts are thus provided with infantry: Adrianople has fourteen battalions and Constantinople twenty-two. It is difficult to understand how a force of 30,000 or even of 20,000 could be collected from these battalions, especially as at present they barely muster 18,000 men. Yet it is from this neighbourhood alone where an expeditionary force, such as Dervish speaks of, could be equipped and shipped with the least inconvenience and delay.

In these two districts the reserves are sufficiently easily collected to raise the battalions to a war footing within a short time. And as the Pasha will probably give a private signal for troops before he gives a public one, there is little doubt but that, within a week, a sufficient number of men will have been collected at convenient spots like Smyrna, the Dardanelles, and the ports on the Marmora, to satisfy the immediate wants of the authorities.

Lastly, Constantinople, being the principal dépôt at which troops and ships can be equipped at the shortest notice, it is more likely that the dispatch of any force would take place from this neighbourhood than if preparations for such an eventuality were to be made at a distance from the capital, in the hope of keeping it longer a secret.

To have to send ships to Syria, or even to Salonica, would be a loss of time; whereas at Constantinople, while the ships are being provisioned, and coaled, and generally prepared for sea, which would take from two to three days, the reserves could be massed here and at the Dardanelles, and shipped without delay.

I have made no reference to the other arms of the service. As the cavalry and artillery are so weak in horses, it is impossible to ascertain, with any degree of certainty, what proportion of horse and guns could be got ready at a short notice.

From the foregoing I hope I have made it clear to your Excellency that, whatever Dervish Pasha may have said, there is no expeditionary force ready and massed at any one or two points for immediate service in Egypt, but that such a force could be got ready in this neighbourhood within a reasonably short space of time.

I have, &c.
(Signed) L. V. SWAINE.

No 1205.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 327. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 8, 1882.

IN compliance with the instructions conveyed to me in your Lordship's despatch No. 138 of the 22nd ultimo, I have the honour to report that on the 3rd instant I represented to the Khedive the injustice of prolonging any further the proceedings of the Commission appointed to inquire into alleged charges brought against the Customs Administration, and pressed His Highness to give orders that the inquiry should be brought to an immediate conclusion.

The Khedive replied that he did not think it would be wise for him, under the

present circumstances, to close the Commission absolutely, but he said that he would order it to send him a Report showing what had been done up to the present moment, and that he hoped that this Report, when presented, would warrant him in acting according to your Lordship's desire.

I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a private letter, addressed to me by Rogers Bey, a Member of the Commission, reporting the steps taken at a meeting held on the 6th instant, in consequence of an order which His Highness had addressed to the President of the Commission after the representation which I had made by your Lordship's instruction.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 1205.

Rogers Bey to Sir E. Malet.

Alexandria, June 6, 1882.

My dear Sir Edward,
WHEN I met you last Sunday you suggested that I should call at the Palace to ask whether the promised order had been sent to the President of our Commission.

I was unable to see either the Khedive or Khairy Pasha, both being engaged, but as Tarino Bey informed me that Khairy Pasha had been instructed to write, I left with the conviction that the matter would be attended to.

Yesterday I called on Omar Pasha Soutfi, Governor of Alexandria and President of the Commission, who informed me that he had received a letter from Khairy Pasha, and, at my suggestion, he convened a meeting of the Commission for 10 o'clock this morning.

At this meeting Khairy Pasha's letter was read, the following being a translation of it:—

"To his Excellency the Governor of Alexandria.

"It is necessary to know what has been done by the Commission appointed under your Presidency to inquire into the complaints against the Administration of the Custom-house. You are therefore requested to furnish me with a clear Report upon what the Commission has done, and as to what has been revealed to it by its inquiries."

(Signed) "KHAIRY."

A member of the Commission was then appointed to go through the Minutes of the meetings with the Secretary, and to submit to us a project of answer to this letter, on the general basis that the Commission had instituted inquiries into all of the accusations brought forward against the Administration; that the cases were in various stages of elucidation when Mr. Caillard refused to give any further information; and then to state in a concise form how far we had proceeded in each inquiry. This answer cannot be ready for two or three days.

At this same meeting I laid on the table of the Commission the Report of the Sub-Commission on the subject of the receipts and expenditure of the Custom-house under Mr. Caillard's Administration as compared with the native Administration previous to 1877. Some members of the Commission said this Report was unnecessary and un-called for, and opposed all reference to it in the *procès-verbal*. M. Mazuc and myself insisted that the Report should be laid on the table, and that its receipt be mentioned in the Minutes of the meeting. The President ruled that the Report of the Sub-Commission be received, and that its receipt be mentioned in the *procès-verbal*, but that it could not be read until a translation were made, and this was accordingly ordered.

This Report is, to my mind, and in the opinion of M. Mazuc, and perhaps of one other member of the Commission, the only important result of our labours, and the only point in the list of complaints upon which a serious inquiry was really necessary. M. Mazuc and myself were appointed as a Sub-Commission to examine the first point in Touroungia's accusation, namely, that there had been a very considerable falling-off in the receipts and a considerable increase of expenditure since the Custom-house had been under European administration.

We were requested to make out our Report within a very limited time, and we made our calculations on the gross receipts, because the Custom-house could not, in

so short a time, furnish the details of expenditure. Our Report was translated from French to Arabic, and was read in both languages at a meeting of the Commission.

Two of the native members expressed a doubt as to the accuracy of the figures, and asked to be allowed to verify them by comparing them with the Arabic books in the Custom-house. This proposition was agreed to, and after a few days this second Sub-Commission presented a second Report, containing not merely the verification of the figures as suggested, but basing the calculation on different principles, and examining the whole term of the European Administration from 1877 to 1881, inclusive.

When the first Sub-Commission saw the tenour of the second Report, we opposed it on the ground that we could not be expected, nor even allowed, to reopen the work of a former perfectly competent Commission, and, insisting that we were only justified in examining the receipts and expenditure of the Administration under Mr. Caillard, we began to draw up a counter-Report. Just before this was finished, Mr. Caillard sent his protest, and refused to furnish any more information, whereupon the work of the Commission was suspended until further orders.

More than once I asked the President to allow us to present our Report, but his Excellency argued that, after having announced the suspension of the work of the Commission, we could not hold another meeting until we received further instructions.

Thus it was not till to-day that we had an opportunity of laying our Report before the Commission.

I hoped to be able to send you a copy of this Report, but as it is in the hands of the translator I cannot do so for a few days. In the meantime I send you these particulars of our latest meeting, and beg that you will kindly inform Sir A. Colvin of the contents of this letter.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) E. P. ROGERS.

No. 1206.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 335.)

My Lord,

Cairo, June 10, 1882.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 190 of the 8th instant I have the honour to inclose on article from the "Phare d'Alexandrie," commenting upon the temporary remission of land tax in the Upper Provinces, and upon the serious consequences which have in so short a time resulted from the ascendancy of Arabi Pasha and the Ministry of Mahmoud Pasha Samy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 1206.

Extract from the "Phare d'Alexandrie."

LES IMPÔTS DANS LA HAUTE-ÉGYPTE.—Conformément à l'Article 5 du Décret du 15 Novembre, 1879, le "Moniteur Égyptien" publiait le 31 Mars dernier, le Rapport annuel adressé par les Contrôleurs-Généraux à Son Altesse le Khédive.

Après avoir constaté que la situation financière s'était progressivement améliorée depuis deux ans, et noté les résultats acquis, grâce à l'union constante du Contrôle et du Ministère, MM. de Blignières et Colvin terminaient leur Rapport en s'exprimant ainsi :—

"L'organisation politique qui a permis d'obtenir ces résultats a été en fait profondément modifiée par des événements récents. Nous ne pensons pas qu'il rentre dans le cadre de ce travail d'apprécier quels peuvent être, au point de vue de l'action du Contrôle, les effets de ce régime nouveau, et dans quelle mesure il peut porter atteinte aux garanties accordées aux créanciers de l'Égypte, en compensation des sacrifices que leur a imposés la Loi de Liquidation."

Cette dernière partie du Rapport des Contrôleurs souleva au plus haut point la colère de Mahmoud Pacha Samy, et le Ministère tout entier déclara qu'il fallait

rédiger au plus vite une protestation qui serait livrée à la publicité en même temps que le document qu'elle prétendait réfuter. Et quelques jours plus tard paraissait dans le "Moniteur Égyptien," à la suite du Rapport des Contrôleurs, une lettre du Président du Conseil des Ministres à Son Altesse le Khédive, par laquelle Mahmoud Pacha affirmait la ferme intention du Gouvernement de soutenir, avec loyauté, les institutions créées pour assurer le service de la Dette Consolidée, et au premier rang desquelles il déclarait ranger le Contrôle Général. On ajoutait que les attributions des Contrôleurs seraient respectées, que les modifications survenues dans l'organisation politique ne pouvaient point affecter l'institution du Contrôle, et qu'il n'y avait pas lieu de redouter qu'aucun des effets résultant de l'établissement du nouveau régime, puisse atteindre, soit l'action du Contrôle dans l'étendue de ses attributions, soit les garanties que donnent ces attributions aux créanciers de l'Égypte.

On voit bien que les poètes sont de pauvres logiciens, et qu'il ne suffit pas de faire des vers ou de porter un sabre pour opposer des raisons à des raisons.

En effet, que disait le Contrôle et que lui répondait Mahmoud Pacha ?

Le Contrôle Général disait : "Vous avez changé la forme de gouvernement du pays ; vous avez introduit en Égypte la révolution ; vous allez apporter le trouble dans les transactions commerciales, dans les finances, et dans l'agriculture."

Mahmoud Pacha répondait vaguement : "Vos attributions seront respectées, et le Gouvernement soutiendra, avec loyauté, les institutions créées pour assurer le service de la Dette Consolidée."

Ce que préoyaient les Contrôleurs-Généraux, avec une lucidité de vues à laquelle nous regrettons d'avoir à rendre hommage, est arrivé avec plus de rapidité qu'ils ne le croyaient eux-mêmes, et les hommes du 9 Septembre peuvent se vanter de n'avoir pas mis longtemps à accomplir leur œuvre. Il y a quelques jours, en effet, les Moudirs de la Haute-Égypte ont avisé le Ministère des Finances que les provinces qu'ils administrent ne sont pas en mesure de payer en entier les 6 kirats d'impôt dont l'échéance est fixée au mois de Juin.* Ils ajoutent que la perturbation apportée dans le pays par les derniers événements empêche toutes transactions commerciales, et que d'un autre côté les banques refusent aux fellahs les avances d'argent auxquelles ils s'étaient habitués.

Qu'on le remarque bien, nous ne nous trouvons point ici en face d'un acte de mauvaise volonté, mais en présence d'une impossibilité matérielle constatée, dont il a fallu tenir compte ; c'est pourquoi le Gouvernement a décidé de n'exiger pour le moment, des propriétaires des provinces de la Haute-Égypte, que la moitié de l'impôt du mois de Juin, et de leur accorder un délai d'un mois pour le paiement du solde.

Mahmoud Pacha Samy, Arabi Pacha, et leurs amis, avaient promis à l'Égypte une ère de prospérité sans précédent ; nous demandons au pays tout entier de juger de quelle façon ils ont tenu leur promesse.

En six mois ils ont compromis l'œuvre due aux efforts du Khédive et du Contrôle ; il ne leur faudrait pas bien longtemps encore pour en faire disparaître jusqu'au dernier vestige.

No. 1207.

Consul Cookson to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 15.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 9, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a despatch, dated the 8th instant, which I have addressed to Sir E. B. Malet.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHAS. A. COOKSON.

* L'impôt est divisé en 24 kirats ; le second quart, soit 6 kirats, est exigible fin Juin.

Inclosure in No. 1207.

Consul Cookson to Sir E. Malet.

Sir,
SINCE my despatch of 6th inst. nothing has occurred to disturb the public tranquillity.

Alexandria, June 8, 1882.

Dervish Pasha, the Imperial Commissioner, arrived here in the Sultan's yacht "Yzzedeon" yesterday at 3 P.M. His Excellency had the intention to go at once to Cairo, and preparations had been made for his escort to the railway station. On his arrival, however, this intention was abandoned, and he decided to spend the night in the Palace of Ras-el-Tin and go to Cairo by an early train this morning.

In accordance with instructions I had received from you, I had arranged with M. Kleczkowski, the Acting French Consul, to pay a visit of compliment to his Excellency if he stayed here long enough. This we did at about 7 P.M., confining ourselves strictly to presenting to his Excellency, on behalf of the Diplomatic Representatives of England and France, compliments and congratulations on the safe completion of his voyage.

I heard on good authority that Yacoub Pasha, the Special Envoy sent by the Minister of War, wished to accompany Zulfiar Pasha on board the "Yzzedeon," but that Zulfiar Pasha positively declined to allow this, or to present him except in company with other officers.

On the morning of the 6th a large crowd of Maltese came to this Consulate exclaiming that the soldiers at the Caracol near the Square had threatened to kill all Christians, and had taken to their arms with that purpose. I told them that I was sure there was no cause for alarm, and ordered them to go to their houses and their work, and to be most careful to take no notice of any threats, to avoid collecting in crowds. I was asked what they were to do if they were attacked, and I replied that in that case they might defend themselves. They then dispersed quietly. I immediately drove to the Caracol in question, and found, as I expected, that nothing of any consequence had happened. A petty quarrel between a Greek and an Arab attracted a crowd, and which the police appear to have tried to disperse. In doing so they used more violence perhaps than was absolutely necessary, but no harm was done to any one. The incident is only worth mentioning as showing the excitement that prevails in the minds of the population generally.

When Dervish Pasha was about to arrive, I sent Mr. Croghan, the Chief Constable of this Court, with my Maltese Janissary and Mr. Norrish, the Chief Clerk of the Consulate, also of that nationality, round to the principal streets inhabited by Maltese British subjects, to beg them to take no notice of any demonstration by the Arabs or soldiers that might be made on the arrival of the Imperial Commissioner, as it was purely a local affair, which did not concern foreigners. This message seems to have had a good effect.

This morning, as Mr. Croghan, my Chief Constable, was passing through the crowd which had collected in consequence of the passage of Dervish Pasha to the railway station, he and other Europeans were hustled and spat upon repeatedly by the Arab "roughs," men and boys, around him, and the police and soldiers made no effort to protect him. He kept his temper and took no notice of it. On his reporting the circumstance to me, I sent Mr. Zananiri, my Dragoman, to the Prefect of Police to mention the fact, in order that measures might be taken to prevent conduct which was so likely to lead to a breach of the peace, and which at this moment might have very serious consequences. The Sub-Prefect, in the absence of the Prefect, expressed his regret for what had occurred, and sent for the ringleader of the crowd, who appears to have been known, with the expressed intention of punishing him.

I this morning received a telegram from Earl Granville, asking me, with a view to answering a question to be put in the House of Commons, whether any heavy guns had been put in position on the new earthworks in the harbour.

After communicating by telephone with Admiral Sir B. Seymour, I replied to his Lordship by telegraph that guns had been placed in position, but that, though efforts had been made to reconnoitre, it was not possible to ascertain their calibre, as they were concealed by the works.

I yesterday communicated confidentially to M. Kleczkowski, my French colleague, a detailed plan for self-defence by the European residents of Alexandria, in case of emergency, which had been prepared by Lieutenant Bradford, R.N., in concert with Lieutenant Marriott, R.M.A. This plan had been already generally approved by

an officer of the Greek Navy, named by M. Rangabi, the Greek Agent and Consul-General, and by the Doyen of our Consular Body here, M. Bödtker, the Swedish Consul-General. If approved by the French authorities, it will be then shown in strict confidence to the other Consular Representatives, and the necessary arrangements entered into by which it can be put into execution at any moment, if, unfortunately, it should be necessary. Every possible precaution has been, and will be, taken to avoid this scheme becoming known so as to create a panic.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. A. COOKSON.

No. 1208.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

E

(No. 280. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 11, 1882.

IN the conversation with Count Kálnoky, referred to in my preceding despatch, his language respecting the necessity of guarding against an attempt upon the part of the Sultan to extend his authority in Egypt was all that your Lordship could desire.

I had mentioned to him that Dervish Pasha had spoken to Sir E. Malet of some restrictions to be made of the Khedive's privileges, and Count Kálnoky alluded to this to-day as affording additional reason for seeing that the *status quo* was not interfered with, and for obtaining from the Sultan a declaration to that effect, such as proposed by Her Majesty's Government.

He evidently does not doubt that, if permitted, the Sultan will endeavour to obtain some advantage out of the present Egyptian complications, and he also fears that Her Majesty has such a conviction, that they cannot be settled without his interference, as may render him little disposed to act as a *mandataire* of the Powers.

Count Kálnoky, no doubt, was of opinion that the indisposition to admit any interference by the Sultan in the affairs of Egypt was persisted in too long, and has been greatly the cause of the very serious position into which matters have now got, and although he has been reticent in criticism on the proceedings of England and France, his opinion that a general European action would have been a safer course was not difficult to detect, and he hailed with satisfaction a return to it, which he attributes entirely to Her Majesty's Government, to whose moderation and disinterestedness he does full justice.

It can be hardly necessary for me to say that, on any point on which there is likely to be any great disagreement between England and France, Count Kálnoky's views on the question in general agree so closely with those of Her Majesty's Government that his support may safely be relied upon.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 1209.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 283.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 15, 1882.

A STATEMENT has appeared in some foreign newspapers according to which M. Kosjik, the Austro-Hungarian Consul-General in Egypt, had been availing himself of his knowledge of Turkish to have frequent conversations with Arabi Pasha, to whom he had been giving encouragement.

Count Kálnoky, alluding to this statement, observed that it was hardly necessary for him to say that there was not a word of truth in it.

I said that, as far as Her Majesty's Government were concerned, no contradiction was required, as they certainly could never have given it the slightest credit.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 1210.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

E
(No. 286. Confidential.)
My Lord,

Vienna, June 16, 1882.

COUNT KALNOKY mentioned to me to-day, quite confidentially, that the Italian Ambassador has called his attention to the expression in the proposed invitation to the Sultan to send troops to Egypt, by which it is stipulated that they are not to remain there beyond a month, except at the request of the Khedive, and with the consent of the Great Powers or "of the Western Powers representing them."

The last words, which I have quoted, appear to have caused some suspicion in the mind of the Italian Government, which has invited Count Corti's attention to them. Count Kalnoky tells me that he said to Count Roubilant that he saw nothing objectionable whatever in the words taken with their context, and with the rest of the proposed invitation, which he was quite prepared to adopt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 1211.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 200.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 15, 1882.

IN yesterday's sitting of the Chamber of Deputies M. Massari questioned the Minister for Foreign Affairs as to the condition of the Italian Consul and the Italian Residents at Alexandria. M. Mancini replied that the information received showed that the occurrences at Alexandria had been of a graver nature than he had described them to be the other day. The Italian Consul and Vice-Consul had been lightly wounded, but had been saved by some guards from the fanatical fury of the mob. The Government, to be prepared for further dangers, had sent orders to the "Castelfidardo," which had arrived at Alexandria on the 13th, and the "Affondatore" had been sent to Port Saïd, and was ready to join her consort for the protection of the Italian Colony if necessary. Austria had also ordered an iron-clad to Alexandria. The latest advices stated that a relative calm was established, and no fresh riots had taken place. The Khedive and the Turkish Commissioner had gone in person to Alexandria. Hence there was no occasion for a disembarkation of troops, which was also excluded from certain overtures made to-day by the English Cabinet in concert with France to Italy and the other Powers.

The official Report of the debate is herewith inclosed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1212.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

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(No. 214. Secret.)
My Lord,

Berlin, June 16, 1882.

WITH reference to my preceding despatch No. 213 of to-day's date, I must add that Count Hatzfeldt, after going through the usual form of saying that he would not now speak any longer as the Foreign Secretary to the British Ambassador, but privately and confidentially, as Hatzfeldt to Ampthill, assured me that the French Government persisted in telling the German Government that to sanction Turkish intervention in Egypt would be to commit suicide, and that, in face of that declaration, Prince Bismarck could not in cold blood pass sentence of death on a friendly French Administration. Besides which, Prince Bismarck, by siding more with one than the other Power, would be departing from the benevolently-neutral attitude he wished to preserve towards the Anglo-French alliance in regard to Egypt, whilst, on the other hand, he would gladly support both whenever they were cordially agreed.

Prince Bismarck, however, he said, would never be a party to restricting the

Sultan's sovereign rights in regard to his independent employment of troops for the re-establishment of order in Egypt, and in his (Count Hatzfeldt's) opinion, the only possible settlement of the present difficulty was to let the Sultan settle it alone his own way, without interference on the part of the Powers, and then to make His Majesty responsible for the maintenance of order and of the *status quo* in Egypt.

The Turks, he said, had a way of their own of pacifying their co-religionists. They gave their Agents a sword in one hand, a bag full of decorations in the other, and money in every pocket, and told them to make the best of their chances.

I asked Count Hatzfeldt how he proposed to drive the Turks out of Egypt again, once they were unconditionally in possession?

That, he replied, was a question which might be left for future consideration. The first thing to think of was the safety of the foreign residents of all nations in Egypt, and the Agents of Germany, Austria, Russia, and Italy reported that even a Turkish armed occupation would lead to a general massacre: was it then not better to let the Turks try their own national method of pacification, by means of money, decorations, and promotions, rather than by forcing their hands and bringing on, perhaps, an inevitable outburst of Egyptian atrocities?

To every objection I raised, Count Hatzfeldt replied by an assurance that he and Dr. Busch knew the Turks and the Sultan better than any one else, from the peculiar circumstances attending their long residence in the East; that the German Government had no other interests in the question but solely and absolutely those of general peace among nations; and that Prince Bismarck would be happy to wash his hands of all Oriental questions, if he were not compelled by the institution of the European concert to support the Powers interested and concerned the moment they were agreed amongst each other. Prince Bismarck had always believed from the very beginning that a difference of opinion in regard to Egypt between France and England was inevitable, and his earnest wish was not to foster such difficulties when they sprang up by favouring one Government more than another; but, on the contrary, to contribute, as far as was in his power, towards the continuance of the Anglo-French alliance, which he had always welcomed as a guarantee of peace in Europe—thanks to the love of peace which animated England in particular.

If the Sultan, Count Hatzfeldt said, were a man capable of accepting well-meant advice, he would joyfully jump at the proposed Conference, but he was not—he was *unberechenbar* ("incalculable")—and would resist friendly pressure by deceitful assurances, duplicity, and intrigue, which would baffle his best friends, and produce inextricable complications.

At this very moment, Count Hatzfeldt said, he had received confidential information that the Sultan was making secret overtures to Lord Dufferin to separate England from France, and obtain English ships for the transport of Turkish troops; and he should not be surprised to hear that the Sultan was playing a similar secret game with any of the other foreign Representatives at Constantinople.

Count Hatzfeldt spoke on for some time in the same friendly, confidential, and, as he explained, strictly secret manner, illustrating his views with well-told anecdotes and more or less light pleasantries.

I could not, however, refrain from an impression, that he was paving the way for some unexpected action on the part of Prince Bismarck, who may wish to retrieve his political reputation, after the severe defeat his home policy has just sustained in the German Parliament, by some signal moral triumph in foreign policy, which would increase the influence of Germany in Turkey, and extend it also to Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

No. 1213.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 597. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 17, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a Confidential despatch from Captain Rice, dated this day, reporting information which he has obtained relative to the French forces which would be available for Egypt, and the length of time which would be required for sending them off.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 1213.

Captain Rice, R.N., to Viscount Lyons.

(Confidential.)

Paris, June 17, 1882.

My Lord,

I WAS at the Ministry of Marine this morning, and had a conversation of some length with Admiral Peyron, Chef d'État Major-Général, who is charged with the movements of ships and military operations.

My object was to ascertain (unofficially) what force the French fleet now at Alexandria could disembark, and whether any arrangements had been made between War Office and Marine for the dispatch of troops from France should orders to that effect be given.

M. Peyron informed me that 300 men armed with the repeating rifle had been sent to the fleet at Alexandria within the last few days. These no doubt were the 300 passengers reported in the public press as having gone in the transport "Sarthe," which vessel sailed from Toulon the beginning of this week.

With these 300 men the French could disembark a fighting force of about 1,100 men.

The French Mediterranean Squadron "Escadre d'Évolutions" is at Toulon, ready at a moment's notice, and there are at Toulon 2,000 "Infanterie de la Marine" that could embark in that squadron in a few hours.

This is about all the French Navy could do single-handed. As regards troops, M. Peyron informed me that no concentration of troops had taken place at or near Toulon; that he did not know what arrangements the War Department had made as regards preparing troops for embarkation, but he added he did know that the troops ordered for service under M. Gambetta's short régime were not now as a body available; some had been sent to Tunis, others to different manœuvres, and that no arrangement at present existed between War Office and the Marine for dispatch of troops.

M. Peyron went on to say that in sending troops there would be no difficulty as to transport.

Three large transports were at present held in readiness at twenty-four hours' notice at Toulon, and transport for 15,000 men could be provided at that port within a week. Finally, he added that, in his opinion, 10,000 men could be sent off from Toulon in six days after notice being given.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ERNEST RICE.

No. 1214.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 19.)

(Confidential.)

Admiralty, June 17, 1882.

My Lord,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the decypher of a telegram, dated the 16th June, from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, respecting the absence of fortifications at Suez and Port Saïd.

I am, &c.
(Signed) G. TRYON.

Inclosure in No. 1214.

Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Paraphrase of Telegram.)

Alexandria, June 16, 1882, 9 P.M.

OFFICERS at Port Saïd and Suez report that there is no sign whatever of construction of fortifications at those places. This information has been called for in compliance with your telegram of the 14th instant.

No. 1215.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 19.)

(Confidential.)

Admiralty, June 17, 1882.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your letter of the 16th instant, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to request that you will inform Earl Granville that a telegram has been addressed to Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, informing him that the French Government have intimated that the French Admiral at Alexandria will receive similar instructions to those already in his possession respecting landing men in a certain emergency.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. TRYON.

No. 1216.

M. de Freycinet to M. Tissot.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by M. Tissot, June 19.)

(Télégraphique.)

PROJET de télégramme pour nos Ambassadeurs auprès des quatre Cours:—

"À la suite de l'échange de vues qui vient d'avoir lieu entre elles, les Grandes Puissances ont reconnu, sur l'initiative de la France et de l'Angleterre, qu'il y avait lieu de délibérer en commun sur la situation actuelle de l'Égypte, et sur les mesures que cette situation peut comporter.

"En conséquence, le Gouvernement de la République et le Gouvernement de la Reine proposent que les Représentants des six Grandes Puissances se réunissent en conférence à Constantinople le 22 de ce mois.

"Les délibérations de la Conférence auront pour objet exclusif de régler les questions posées en Égypte par les derniers événements sur les bases indiquées dans les communications identiques adressées le 12 Février et le 2 Juin derniers par la France et l'Angleterre aux quatre autres Puissances."

No. 1217.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19, 8 A.M.)

(No. 52. Confidential.)

Vienna, June 18, 1882, 11 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

GERMAN Ambassador has informed Austrian Minister that Prince Bismarck considers the proposed restrictions to the invitation to the Sultan as too hard upon him.

The Minister answered that he had accepted the form proposed, intending to leave it to the Representatives at Constantinople to put the invitation into the shape most likely to obtain a favourable acceptance.

No. 1218.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 19.)

(No. 291. Confidential. Ext. 52.)

Vienna, June 18, 1882.

My Lord,

PRINCE REUSS having informed Count Kálnoky that Prince Bismarck considered the restrictions in the proposed invitation to the Sultan as too hard upon him, his Excellency answered that he had accepted the form proposed by the British and French Governments, intending that the Representatives at Constantinople should use their discretion in putting it into the shape most likely to ensure its favourable reception by the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 1219.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19, 8 A.M.)

(No. 53.)

(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, June 18, 1882, 11.15 P.M.

AUSTRIAN Minister for Foreign Affairs agrees to Self-denying Declaration.

No. 1220.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19, 8 A.M.)

(No. 55.)

(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, June 18, 1882, 11.45 P.M.

IF the Porte does not object, Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs will have no objection to go into a Conference without Turkey, but he will not be inclined to do so contrary to its wish.

I have a strong [conviction] that if it were proposed that the Representatives at Constantinople should meet to discuss the invitation to be made to the Sultan, as they frequently do about other matters, without calling their meeting a Conference, he would at once agree to it.

No. 1221.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 19.)

(No. 296. Ext. 55.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 18, 1882.

I INFORMED Count Kálnoky that Musurus Pasha had said to your Lordship that the Sultan would not object to a Conference being held without the participation of Turkey, and I asked his Excellency whether, under these circumstances, he would not agree to take part in one.

He replied that he had no sort of objection to do so if the Sultan is really not opposed to it, but he will not be disposed to take part in a Conference assembled contrary to His Majesty's wishes.

As it is very usual for the Representatives at Constantinople to meet to discuss matters of general interest, it struck me that this mode of proceeding might perhaps be followed in the present instance, as their principal business would be to agree upon the invitation to the Sultan to send troops to Egypt, and to surround it with the necessary safeguards.

I dropped a hint to this effect to Count Kálnoky, saying, of course, that I was in no way authorized to make it, and that I could not even say that it would meet your Lordship's views, and from the manner in which he received it I believe that he would at once agree to such a proposal if it were thought likely to offer a way out of the difficulty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 1222.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19, 12.30 P.M.)

(No. 27.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, June 19, 1882, noon.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 131.

French Ambassador has received instructions to submit to Russian Government the Protocol contained therein,* and ask their adherence to it.

I joined him this morning in doing so, and M. de Giers at once expressed the approval of his Government, and said they would agree to it.

* Self-denying Protocol.

No. 1223.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 19.)

(No. 207. Ext. 27.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, June 19, 1882.

MY French colleague called upon me last night, and showed me a telegram he had received from M. de Freycinet instructing him to submit to the Russian Government the "Self-denying Protocol," a copy of which I had the honour to receive in your Lordship's telegram No. 131 of the 17th instant, and to ask their adherence to it.

As your Lordship had in that telegram stated that Her Majesty's Government had agreed with the French Government to propose it to the Four Powers, I thought that I should be only carrying out your Lordship's wishes by joining my French colleague in asking the adherence of the Russian Government to the Protocol. We therefore called upon M. de Giers this morning, and gave him a copy of it. After reading it, his Excellency at once said that the Imperial Government were perfectly ready to give their adhesion to it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

No. 1224.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 254.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 19, 1882, 2.10 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 233.

I approve your instructions to Vice-Consul Borg.

No. 1225.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19, 3.50 P.M.)

(No. 51.)

(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, June 19, 1882, 2.10 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 126 of the 17th instant.

I have given the proposed text for the self-denying Protocol to Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs.

No. 1226.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 19.)

(No. 230. Ext. 51.)

My Lord,

Berlin, June 19, 1882.

HAVING compared with my French colleague the text of the Self-denying Protocol, sent me in your Lordship's telegram No. 126 of the 17th instant, with the text received from Paris by his Excellency, we communicated both to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, as instructed by our respective Governments.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPHILL.

No. 1227.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19, 3.30 P.M.)

(No. 52. Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, June 19, 1882, 2.10 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 130, Confidential, of the 17th instant.

I spoke to Prince Bismarck in the sense of your Lordship's telegram to Lord Lyons No. 337.

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His Highness said that [as] the Sultan himself saw serious objection to sending his troops to Egypt, he agreed with the French Government that it was better to adjourn the question for the present.

No. 1228.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 19.)

(No. 232. Confidential. Ext. 52.)
My Lord,

Berlin, June 19, 1882.

I FOUND an opportunity last night, agreeably to your Lordship's instructions of the 17th instant, to speak to the Chancellor in the sense of your Lordship's telegram No. 337 to Lord Lyons of the same date, and explained that, in consequence of the objections he had raised to the restrictive nature of our previous proposal, we had asked the French Government to agree with us in the coming Conference to ask the Sultan for troops for Egypt, in terms to be settled by the Ambassadors, so that satisfactory arrangements may be entered into for the maintenance of the *status quo*.

Her Majesty's Government, I said, solicited his Highness' support in the question, because they attached importance to the consent to send troops, and to the engagement entered into as to the object for which they were to be employed, but did not care about the form in which the engagement was given, provided it was sufficient.

It was impossible, I added, that the present state of things could be allowed to continue, and, if the Sultan was unwilling to do anything, His Highness would, no doubt, agree with Her Majesty's Government that some other means must be found.

Prince Bismarck replied that he agreed with Her Majesty's Government, but that, in the present case, it appeared to him that the French Government were right in preferring not to press the question, while the Sultan himself saw serious objections and dangers to sending his troops to Egypt, and believed in the ultimate success of the conciliatory policy he had for the moment adopted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

No. 1229.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19, 4.20 P.M.)

(No. 53.)
(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, June 19, 1882, 2.30 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 131 of yesterday.

I spoke to Prince Bismarck in the sense desired by your Lordship, and pointed out that, sharing, as he does, the strong wish of Her Majesty's Government to avoid grave complications, he must feel that public opinion would not permanently acquiesce in arrangements for Egypt which would destroy the prestige of England and of Europe in the East. Prince Bismarck agreed with Her Majesty's Government, and said that he felt it the more strongly since almost every Government commercially interested in Egypt and the Canal had privately appealed to him to try his hand at conciliation.

He had, in consequence, yielded, in the first instance, to a private appeal of the Khedive, and in the second to an urgent appeal of the Sultan to that effect, and had authorized the German Consul-General at Cairo to place himself at the disposal of the Khedive, and try to conciliate the contending parties, so as to avoid further bloodshed, with the support of his colleagues, which Prince Bismarck hoped the Powers would instruct their Agents to lend to their German colleague.

As a first step, the German Consul-General had proposed the formation of a new Ministry under Ragheb Pasha, which both the Khedive and the Sultan had accepted.

No. 1230.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 19.)

(No. 234. Confidential. Ext. 53.)

My Lord,

Berlin, June 19, 1882.

IN obedience to your Lordship's instructions, I spoke to Prince Bismarck in the sense of your telegram No. 131 of the 18th instant, and pointed out, in the course of conversation, to his Highness that, sharing as he does the strong wish of Her Majesty's Government to avoid grave complications, he must feel that public opinion would not permanently acquiesce in arrangements for Egypt which would destroy the influence and credit of England and of Europe in the East.

Prince Bismarck, after expressing his entire agreement with the views of Her Majesty's Government, said that he felt the more strongly in the matter, since almost every Government commercially interested in the state of Egypt and of the Suez Canal had privately appealed to him to try his hand at conciliation.

He had, in consequence, yielded to a private appeal of the Khedive, which had also been privately supported by the Sultan, and had authorized Count Saurma, the German Consul-General at Cairo, to place himself at the disposal of the Khedive, and ascertain what could be done with the co-operation and support of his colleagues to conciliate the contending parties in Egypt, so as to avoid, if possible, further bloodshed and massacre.

In so doing he was acting merely the part of an "honest broker" ("ein ehrlicher Makler"), as on former occasions, and he hoped the Powers would instruct their Agents to lend their assistance and influence to their German colleague.

He now learnt from Count Saurma that the first step proposed was the formation of a new Ministry under Ragheb Pasha, a measure which both the Khedive and the Sultan had agreed to.

In the further course of conversation, Prince Bismarck observed to some of my colleagues that Arabi Pasha had become a power "avec lequel il faut compter," from which I draw the conclusion that the Sultan must be favourably disposed towards, and Prince Bismarck willing to negotiate with, Arabi Pasha.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

No. 1231.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 152.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 19, 1882, 4.55 P.M.

FRENCH Government agree to principle that proposed Conference shall be strictly limited to affairs of Egypt, and have instructed their Ambassador to assure the Porte accordingly.

No. 1232.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19, 6.20 P.M.)

(No. 239.)
(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 19, 1882, 4.30 P.M.

SIR A. COLVIN requests me to send the following telegram:—

"Ragheb Pasha is expected to return from Cairo this evening, bringing with him the list of his proposed Ministry. As yet nothing whatever is known of its constitution.

"Dervish Pasha is pressing the Khedive to prepare for returning to Cairo, if only for a few days, after the Ministry is formed. The Khedive seems to think he cannot refuse Dervish, speaking on behalf of the Sultan. But if he returns to Cairo his life will be in the greatest danger; his departure will certainly revive the panic, now somewhat subsiding here, while it will give no confidence in Cairo, where comparatively few Europeans remain. I have urged him to endeavour to gain time, and to point out to Dervish that the step will decrease rather than secure public confidence.

"Cannot the Sultan be induced, in the interests of public tranquillity and safety, to rescind his orders?"
(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1233.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 19.)

(No. 369. Ext. 239.)

My Lord, *Alexandria, June 19, 1882.*
RAGHEB PASHA is coming back from Cairo this evening to submit the names of his proposed Ministry to the Khedive, but nothing is hitherto known in regard to its constitution.

Dervish Pasha, acting under orders from Constantinople, is pressing the Khedive to return, at least for a few days, to Cairo when the Ministry has been formally appointed. His Highness is very unwilling to oppose the wishes of the Sultan, but, on the other hand, there are many reasons which render it inadvisable. In Cairo his life will be in the greatest danger; his departure from Alexandria will undoubtedly revive the panic, which has now commenced somewhat to subside, and so few Europeans are now left in Cairo that his presence will give no confidence there.

Sir Auckland Colvin has urged the Khedive to temporize as long as possible, and to explain to Dervish Pasha that public confidence will be rather diminished than increased by his return to Cairo.

Sir Auckland is anxious that, in the interests of general tranquillity and safety, the Sultan should be induced to rescind his orders to Dervish Pasha on this subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1234.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 361.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 19, 1882, 6.50 P.M.

FRENCH Ambassador has brought to me a telegram which M. de Freycinet proposes to address to French Representatives at the four Courts, containing a joint invitation on the part of England and France for a Conference of the six Powers to meet at Constantinople on the 22nd instant, on the bases indicated in the communications of the 12th February and the 2nd June.

I said I agreed to send the telegram, but it was needless to add that Her Majesty's Government accepted it on the understanding that M. de Freycinet, according to his statement to you on the 17th instant, had signified to the four Powers his assent to the request to be addressed to the Sultan to send Turkish troops to Egypt.

No. 1235.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 734. Ext. 361.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 19, 1882.

THE French Ambassador called up me this afternoon and said that he had just received a telegram from M. de Freycinet, who, from the advices received from the several Courts, considered that the Four Powers agreed that a Conference should meet at Constantinople on the 22nd instant, without the participation of Turkey, according to the desire expressed by the Sultan, and that the invitations to this Conference should be issued by France and England.

M. Tissot said he was accordingly instructed to place before me the inclosed draft of a telegram which the French Government proposed to address to their Representatives at the Four Courts, if it had my approval.

I told his Excellency that I was ready to send an identic instruction to Her Majesty's Representatives, but that it was needless for me to add that Her Majesty's Government agreed to this step on the understanding that M. de Freycinet, as he

had stated to your Excellency on the 17th instant, had intimated to the Four Powers the assent of the French Government to the request to be addressed to the Sultan to send Turkish troops to Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1236.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 19.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, June 19, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, copy of a letter from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, dated the 12th instant, relative to the disturbance which occurred at Alexandria on the 11th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) G. TRYON.

Inclosure in No. 1236.

Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Invincible," at Alexandria, June 12, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that a disturbance, attended with considerable loss of life, occurred in Alexandria on the evening of Sunday, the 11th instant. Up to that time all had been quiet in this neighbourhood since Monday, the 5th (and even before that date no disturbance had taken place).

It began with a quarrel between the Greeks and Arabs, and, before it was quelled by the Egyptian troops, the Arabs had attacked every Christian they met, irrespective of nationality. The majority of Europeans who have fallen are Greeks, but I deeply regret to report that Mr. James Pibworth, Engineer of the "Superb," was killed, and Mr. Charles A. Cookson, C.B., Her Majesty's Consul for Alexandria, severely wounded, the latter while on his way to a meeting of the Consuls, summoned by the Governor. Two of my servants are also missing, and I have but faint hopes for them.

2. The disturbance had been going on for two or three hours before garrison was got under arms; the streets were then cleared with fair rapidity, and order maintained during the remainder of the night.

3. This morning the panic among the Maltese is indescribable, and it is not entirely confined to them.

We have over 300 refugees on board the "Invincible," and the same number on board the "Monarch," the English steamers "Iris," "Marengo," "Bengal," and "Diadem" are full of them, and I am now arranging to send those from Her Majesty's ships to the Khedivial steamers, a line managed entirely by Englishmen, as it is positively necessary that we should be prepared for eventualities in the ships under my command.

4. The French are not hampered in this way, and the Greek ships positively refuse to take their countrymen on board.

5. The "Invincible" remains at her former moorings, the "Monarch" is in the outer harbour, and the "Superb" is anchored outside the reef. The rest of the squadron from Suda Bay remains at the rendezvous, 20 miles north-north-west of this port.

The French iron-clads "La Galissonnière" and "Alma" are with "Invincible," and the "Thétis" is near the "Monarch."

6. Early this afternoon I received the following telegram from Her Majesty's Minister at Cairo:—

"Viceroy says if men land from the ships, or the garrison apprehends hostile action, there will be a general conflagration throughout the country. The Representatives of the Powers are now going to Dervish Pasha to attempt to obtain a temporary arrangement by which the security of the Christians may be insured."

And a few hours later a second arrived, viz.:—

"At meeting taken place at the Palace. Present: the Khedive, Dervish Pasha
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and Suite, also Chérif and Arabi Pashas, and Representatives of Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia, France, and myself.

"The object of our meeting was to receive an answer to the demands which we had made to Dervish Pasha in the morning, that measures which should be satisfactory to us should at once be adopted to insure the safety of Europeans in Egypt.

"The following guarantees were given to us, and accepted:

"Arabi Pasha undertook to obey implicitly all orders given to him by the Khedive, and stated that he would stop all inflammatory preaching, meetings, and newspaper articles, and guaranteed the maintenance of public order by the troops.

"The Khedive undertook to issue orders immediately with the object of restoring public tranquillity.

"Dervish Pasha said that under the urgent circumstances of the case, he would assume joint responsibility with Arabi Pasha for the execution of the orders of the Khedive."

7. A similar telegram to the latter has been received at the Consulate here, a copy of which will be published this evening to reassure the European population.

8. At the urgent request of Mr. Cookson, who is unable to attend to business, I have ordered Commander Hammill, of the "Monarch," to conduct the duties of the Consulate, with the assistance of Mr. Calvert, the Vice-Consul.

9. The telephonic communication which I reported in my previous letter had been established between the "Helicon" and the British Consulate has proved of the utmost value to me since the outbreak of this *émeute*, and inspired the English residents with a certain amount of confidence, as by its means I have been kept constantly aware of the state of affairs generally. In default of this ready means of communication it would have been impossible for some hours to have gained any information from the town, except by special messengers at imminent risk of life.

10. I would add, for their Lordships' information, that at 2 P.M. to-day I sent the following telegram to Her Majesty's Minister at Cairo, in reply to the first-mentioned message received from him:—

"Neither the French Admiral nor myself have any idea of landing men, nor do we intend making any hostile movement."

This was sent in consequence of a report having been circulated in Cairo, that the ships of war had their steam up and were preparing for action.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. BEAUCHAMP SEYMOUR.

No. 1237.

*Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.**

(No. 199.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 19, 1882.

I HAVE to acquaint you that the French Government have expressed their entire concurrence in the principle, that the proposed Conference should be strictly limited to the consideration of the affairs of Egypt, and they have instructed the French Ambassador at Constantinople to give assurances to that effect to the Porte.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1238.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.

(No. 182. Ext. 256.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 19, 1882.

I HAVE received your telegram No. 256 of yesterday, requesting instructions as to the arrangements to be made for carrying on Sir E. Malet's duties during his illness.

Her Majesty's Government cannot think of calling upon Mr. Cookson to resume active duty at present, and I have so informed him. I therefore desire that you

* Also to Lord Amphil (No. 264), Sir H. Elliot (No. 184), Sir E. Thornton (No. 198), the Earl of Dufferin (No. 323), and Sir E. Malet (No. 183).

should conduct the business of Her Majesty's Agency in Sir E. Malet's name, taking the advice of Sir A. Colvin in all matters of importance.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1239.

*Earl Granville to Lord Amphil.**

(No. 146.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 19, 1882, 7:50 P.M.

WITH reference to my telegram to Lord Lyons No. 361, repeated to you to-day the following is the joint instruction to the British and French Representatives at the four Courts, agreed upon between ourselves and the French Government:—

"As the result of the exchange of views which has just taken place between them, the Great Powers have agreed, on the initiative of England and France, that there was ground for deliberation in common on the present state of Egypt and on the measures which it may entail.

"Consequently, Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the Republic propose that the Representatives of the six Great Powers shall assemble in Conference at Constantinople on the 22nd of this month.

"The deliberations of the Conference shall be exclusively restricted to the regulation of the questions raised in Egypt by recent events, upon the bases indicated in the identic communications addressed, on the 12th February last and the 2nd instant, by England and France to the four other Powers."

Act upon the above, in concert with your French colleague.

No. 1240.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19, 9:30 P.M.)

(No. 49.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, June 19, 1882, 5 P.M.

MINISTER for Foreign Affairs will instruct Count Corti to join his colleagues in signing the self-denying Protocol on the meeting of the Conference, according to the text given in your telegram No. 137 of the 17th, which has likewise been communicated by French Chargé d'Affaires.

No. 1241.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 19.)

(No. 210. Ext. 49.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 20, 1882.

I YESTERDAY called on M. Mancini and communicated the text, according to the terms of your Lordship's telegram No. 137 of the 17th instant, of the Self-denying Protocol agreed upon between Her Majesty's Government and the French Government, to be signed on the meeting of the Conference, and his Excellency said he would instruct Count Corti to sign it if the other Representatives received orders to do so.

M. Marehand, on behalf of the French Chargé d'Affaires, had made a similar communication a little before me, and received the same reply.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

* Also to Sir H. Elliot (No. 155), Sir A. Paget (No. 155), and Sir E. Thornton (No. 151).

No. 1242.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19, 9-30 P.M.)

(No. 50.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, June 19, 1882, 5-15 P.M.

ITALIAN Ambassador at Berlin having reported communication made yesterday by Prince Bismarck to the Ambassadors of the Great Powers and Turkey collectively, to the effect that the German Ambassador at Paris had been informed by M. de Freycinet that the French and English Governments proposed that the Conference, exclusively on the affairs of Egypt, should meet at Constantinople on the 22nd instant, without the participation of Turkey, and that [his Highness] had suggested that this proposal should be accepted, the Minister for Foreign Affairs will telegraph to Count Corti that the Italian Government accepts this arrangement if it is agreed to by the other Powers.

His Excellency expressed some surprise that no communication had been made to him as to the day of meeting by England or France.

No. 1243.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 19.)

(No. 211. Ext. 50.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 20, 1882.

M. MANCINI read to me yesterday a telegram from Count de Launay, giving a long account of what passed after a dinner to which Prince Bismarck had invited the Ambassadors of all the Great Powers and the Turkish Ambassador the evening before, when his Highness announced to them collectively that the German Ambassador at Paris had been informed by M. de Freycinet that the French and English Governments proposed that the Conference, whose deliberations should be exclusively confined to the affairs of Egypt, should meet at Constantinople on Thursday, the 22nd instant, without the participation of Turkey, and that his Highness consequently suggested that this proposal should be accepted.

Count de Launay requested M. Mancini to inform him immediately of the answer he was to return to Prince Bismarck on the part of the King's Government.

M. Mancini gave directions in my presence for a telegram to be sent to Count Corti informing him of the communication received from Berlin, and that the proposed arrangement was accepted by the Italian Government if it was agreed to by the other Powers, and for a further telegram to Count de Launay desiring him to acquaint Prince Bismarck, with the consent of the Italian Government.

M. Mancini expressed some surprise that no communication had been made to him as to the date of the meeting of the Conference, either by England or France.

I said I felt sure the instructions would shortly reach us.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1244.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19, 10 P.M.)

(No. 98.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 19, 1882.

MY despatch No. 594 of yesterday: Proposal to French Government to ask in Conference for Turkish troops in terms to be settled by Ambassadors.

M. de Freycinet's answer is "that he should be disposed to instruct the French Ambassador to act with his colleagues as to the terms in which should be formulated the measures suited to the attainment of the object which we propose to ourselves, and which object, shortly stated, is the re-establishment of the *status quo*. M. de Freycinet would be disposed further to instruct the Ambassador that, if Turkish intervention should take place, it would be necessary to come to an understanding on the terms proper to prevent all risk of this intervention degenerating abusively into an occupation prejudicial to the independence of Egypt."

I said that to me it appeared that the immediately urgent matter was to take

such measures concerning the Alexandria massacre as would prevent a repetition of such horrors, and re-establishment of the prestige of the European Powers, which is absolutely necessary for the safety of our countrymen in the East.

No. 1245.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 19.)

(No. 599. Ext. 98.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 19, 1882.

THE day before yesterday, in my telegram No. 96 and my despatch No. 594, I had the honour to report that M. de Freycinet had said that he would take a short time to consider the proposal I conveyed to him on that day from your Lordship that the French Government should agree with the Government of Her Majesty to ask in the Conference for Turkish troops in terms to be settled by the Ambassadors, so that satisfactory engagements were entered into for the maintenance of the *status quo*.

M. de Freycinet asked me this evening to transmit to your Lordship the following answer to your proposal:—

He would, he said, be disposed to instruct the French Ambassador to concert with his colleagues as to the terms in which should be formulated the measures suited to attain the object in view, which, briefly stated, is the re-establishment of the *status quo*. He would be disposed further to give instructions to the Ambassador to the effect that if Turkish intervention were to take place, he should come to an understanding with his colleagues on the terms proper to prevent all risk of this intervention degenerating abusively into an occupation prejudicial to the autonomy of Egypt.

I observed to M. de Freycinet that to me it appeared that the immediately urgent matter was to provide that such measures should be taken concerning the massacre at Alexandria as would prevent a repetition of such horrors, and would restore the prestige of the European Powers, which is absolutely necessary for the safety of their subjects in the East.

I have had the honour to transmit the substance of this despatch to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1246.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 19, 10 P.M.)

(No. 99.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 19, 1882, 8 P.M.

M. DE FREYCINET tells me that the Spanish Ambassador has, professedly in a private manner only, been sounding him on the admission of Spain to the Conference on Egyptian affairs.

M. de Freycinet mentioned this to the German Ambassador, who answered that his instructions from Prince Bismarck were not to moot the question himself, but if he should be asked by the French Government, to say that Germany had no objection.

M. de Freycinet says that he expressed no opinion whatever either to the Spanish or the German Ambassador.

He would like to know your Lordship's opinion.

No. 1247.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 19.)

(No. 601. Confidential. Ext. 99.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 19, 1882.

M. DE FREYCINET told me this evening that the Duc de Fernan-Núñez, the Spanish Ambassador here, had twice spoken to him, in a vague and professedly private

manner, on the subject of Spain being invited to take part in the Conference on Egyptian affairs.

M. de Freycinet went on to say that he had mentioned the matter confidentially to Prince Hohenlohe, the German Ambassador, who had answered that his instructions from Prince Bismarck were not to moot the question himself, but, if he should be spoken to by M. de Freycinet on the subject, to say that the German Government would have no objection to the admission of Spain.

M. de Freycinet proceeded to tell me that he had expressed no opinion whatever on the subject, either to the Duc de Fernan-Núñez or to Prince Hohenlohe.

He concluded by saying that he should be very glad to be made acquainted with your Lordship's opinion.

I have forwarded the substance of this despatch to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1248.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20.)

(No. 203.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 17, 1882.

DURING an interview I had with M. Mancini yesterday, his Excellency informed me that he had immediately telegraphed to Count Corti desiring him, if his colleagues had received similar instructions, to join in giving an assurance to the Sultan that no question outside that of Egypt would be treated by the Conference, and also in inviting the Sultan, when the Conference were assembled, to send troops to the Khedive for the purposes and upon the conditions specified in your Lordship's telegram of the 13th instant, which I had communicated to him.

His Excellency went on to observe, however, that it had occurred to him whether in the event of an urgent necessity arising for the presence of these troops in Egypt before the Conference could assemble, and in order to avoid the loss of time which would be entailed by discussing objections which might possibly be raised by the Sultan as to being tied down by conditions, it would not be sufficient if the Six Powers were to ask that the troops might be sent for the general purpose of restoring His Majesty's and the Khedive's authority, the suppression of the military rebellion, &c., with the distinct reserve, however, that the Conference would have to determine the duration and other conditions of the expedition.

His Excellency informed me that he had telegraphed in the above sense to the King's Representatives to the Great Powers, desiring them to submit it to the Governments to which they were accredited, not as a formal proposition, but simply as an idea for the appreciation of those Governments.

In speaking of the proceedings of the Porte, which almost appeared to warrant the supposition that the policy of the Sultan was to bring things to such a pass that he would be asked to interfere, and then remain in Egypt, unfettered by any conditions, establishing his own direct authority in the place of the arrangements by which the position of Egypt had been guaranteed by the Treaty of 1840 and confirmed by other Treaties, as well as by the Sultan's Firmans. His Excellency said that such a pretension was wholly inadmissible, and must be resisted by the united opposition of Europe.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1249.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20.)

(No. 204.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 17, 1882.

THE French Chargé d'Affaires, who, I regret to say, is suffering from a severe attack of fever, and is unable to leave the house, sent to me yesterday afternoon one of the Secretaries of the Embassy, M. Marchand, to say that he had not yet received any instructions similar to those I had communicated to the Italian Government, and with which I had made the Marquis de Reverseaux acquainted, respecting the limita-

tion of the Conference to the Egyptian question, and the invitation to be addressed to the Sultan by the Conference to send troops to Egypt; but he had just received a telegram, M. Marchand was directed to tell me, from M. de Freycinet, stating that he had agreed with your Lordship to request the Powers to join with England and France in informing the Porte that if it did not notify its assent to the Conference within forty-eight hours, the Six Powers were determined to "passer outre," and to hold the Conference in some other capital without the participation of Turkey.

This telegram, or the substance of it, was to be communicated to the Italian Government, with a request that they would send instructions in the sense desired to the Italian Ambassador at Constantinople.

M. Marchand was on his way to M. Mancini to make the communication, and he was good enough to call upon me, after having seen his Excellency, whom he found at the Chamber, to acquaint me with the result of the interview.

His Excellency, I understood from M. Marchand, before making any reply upon the subject immediately before him, expressed some surprise at not having heard anything from the Marquis de Reverseaux relative to the communications which had been made to him by me two days before, as above alluded to, and on which he had been led to expect he should also receive a communication from the French Government, and he asked whether the Marquis de Reverseaux had not received similar instructions. M. Marchand was obliged to confess that he had not.

M. Mancini then said that I had been with him only two hours before, and that I had said nothing to him on the new project now brought under his notice, and he commented upon the apparent want of concord between the two Governments.

With regard to the present proposal, all his Excellency could say was that he would immediately telegraph to Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Vienna, and that if those Cabinets were prepared to join England and France in calling collectively upon the Porte to notify its assent to the Conference within forty-eight hours, the Italian Government would do so likewise.

His Excellency, however, added, I believe, some remark to the effect that at present the Turkish Ministry appeared favourable to the Conference, and that it was only the opposition of the Sultan which had to be overcome. He was almost afraid lest the action now proposed might defeat the object for which it was suggested, and that a comminatory step of this nature might convert the Turkish Government also into being an adversary of the Conference.

This morning I had the honour to receive your Lordship's telegrams Nos. 126 and 127, directing me to urge the Italian Government to agree to the immediate meeting of the Conference at Constantinople or elsewhere, with or without Turkey, and to send instructions accordingly to their Representative at Constantinople.

I lost no time in acquainting M. Mancini with these instructions, informing him also that Her Majesty's Government still think it would be preferable that the Conference should meet at Constantinople, even if the Porte does not take part in it, for reasons of convenience and saving of time.

I begged his Excellency to let me know, as soon as possible, the reply I was to make to your Lordship on the part of the Italian Government, and shortly afterwards I received from him the following answer:—

"Ce matin, sur une communication de M. de Reverseaux, peu différente de la vôtre, je me suis empressé de télégraphier à Berlin, Vienne, St. Pétersbourg, et même à Londres à Menabrea. Aussitôt que je recevrai des réponses, je me trouverai moi-même en mesure de prendre une décision, et de la communiquer à votre Excellence."

I have informed M. de Reverseaux of the instructions received from your Lordship this morning, and he tells me that he has now received instructions similar to mine respecting the assurance to be given to the Sultan as to the limitation of the Conference to the affairs of Egypt, and to the invitation to be addressed by the Conference to the Sultan to send troops. He will inform M. Mancini accordingly.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1250.

Saïd Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, June 20.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 19 Juin, 1882.*

LE Maréchal Dervish Pacha s'efforce avec succès de remplir sa mission en Égypte, conformément au désir général, et j'espère que sous peu je serai à même de vous donner de meilleures nouvelles encore.

À cette occasion, je juge utile de vous répéter que nous nous croyons toujours fondé à ne point être convaincus (?) de la réunion d'une Conférence pour les affaires Égyptiennes.

No. 1251.

Saïd Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, June 20.)

(Personnelle et Confidentielle.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 19 Juin, 1882.*

NOUS avons eu sous les yeux un télégramme officiel où il est dit que Lord Granville aurait déclaré que Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan préférerait n'être pas représenté à la Conférence; que Sa Majesté n'aurait aucune objection à ce que la Conférence se réunisse à Constantinople sans sa participation, et que le Cabinet Britannique aurait donné son adhésion.

On dit même que votre Excellence aurait fait part de ce soi-disant acquiescement souverain au Chef du Foreign Office.

Nous nous refusons à croire à une pareille démarche de votre part, d'autant plus qu'aucune instruction dans ce sens n'a été donnée à votre Excellence.

Je vous engage instamment à me dire sans retard ce qui en est, et à me faire connaître quelles sont les raisons ou les suggestions qui auraient entraîné sa Seigneurie Lord Granville à faire une pareille déclaration.

No. 1252.

Pro-memorandum communicated to Earl Granville by Count Károlyi, June 20.

COUNT KÁLNOKY has informed me that the Ambassadors of England and France in Vienna have communicated to him the draft of a Self-denying Declaration to be made at the approaching Conference, and that they have requested the assent of the Imperial and Royal Government. Count Kálnoky tells me that he has not hesitated to accept this proposition.

Belgrave Square, June 20, 1882.

No. 1253.

Pro-memorandum communicated to Earl Granville by Count Károlyi, June 20.

I HAVE been authorized to inform Lord Granville of the following telegram from Count Kálnoky to Baron Calice:—

"The Imperial and Royal Government have received a proposition from England and France, that the Representatives of the Six Powers should meet on the 22nd instant at Constantinople in conference, to deliberate on the affairs of Egypt, as the Sultan would prefer that Turkey should not be represented in the Conference.

"I have accepted this proposal in the supposition that the other Powers should likewise agree to it, and you are authorized to enter into negotiations with your colleagues on the day named, with the reserve, however, that these negotiations will be limited to the affairs of Egypt.

"I suppose that the other Ambassadors have received similar instructions."

Belgrave Square, June 20, 1882.

No. 1254.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 8 A.M.)
(No. 156.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 19, 1882, 11.45 P.M.

THE Representatives of the six Powers met to-day at 1 P.M., but the Austrian Ambassador had not yet received instructions authorizing him to attend a Conference without the Turks.

No. 1255.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 20.)

(No. 472. Confidential. Ext. 156.)

My Lord,

Therapia, June 19, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Representatives of the six Powers met to-day, but that the Austrian Ambassador had not yet received instructions authorizing him to attend a Conference on the affairs of Egypt without the presence of a Turkish Delegate.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1256.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 8 A.M.)
(No. 157.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 19, 1882, 11.55 P.M.

THE Representatives of the six Powers waited to-day in turn upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs. His Excellency told each Ambassador successively, in his own name and in the name of the Sultan, that he must repudiate, in the most categorical manner, the communication made by Musurus Pasha relative to the meeting of the Conference at Constantinople without the participation of Turkey.

His Excellency then said that the news from Egypt had satisfied the Ottoman Government that the authority of the Khedive was again in the ascendant, that a new Ministry had been formed under Ragheb Pasha, that order had been restored, and that the administration of the province had resumed its normal character. Under these circumstances the Porte did not consider that a Conference was either necessary or in accordance with its interests, and must therefore decline to enter into it.

I replied that I was certain Her Majesty's Government would not accept the foregoing view of the situation, that I was surprised that his Excellency should congratulate himself on the formation of a Ministry in which a person held the office of Secretary for War whom he himself had told me, a fortnight before, it was the intention of the Sultan to banish as a criminal to the Soudan; that the arrangement which had been patched up gave no guarantee for the future, and that I must continue to insist, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, on the necessity for a Conference.

His Excellency, after reiterating his former arguments, then referred to the question of sending troops, and observed that, for the same reason that a Conference was no longer necessary, the dispatch of troops to Egypt would be no longer justifiable.

On taking leave, I observed that, considering the enormity of the interests which we had at stake in Egypt, his Excellency must not be surprised if, in presence of the refusal of the Porte to enter into consideration with us, we, upon our part, should endeavour to safeguard those interests in whatever way we might think desirable.

His Excellency replied that, although they could not agree to a Conference, they would be too glad to give the most attentive consideration to the individual counsels of England in regard to any matter connected with Egyptian affairs. His Excellency made a corresponding intimation to my colleagues. We all agreed to note as a fact to be brought to the attention of our Governments that this was the first time the Porte had refused the Conference.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 20.)

(No. 473. Confidential. Ext. 157.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 19, 1882.

THE Representatives of the Six Powers waited to-day in turn upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs. His Excellency told each Ambassador successively, in his own name and in the name of the Sultan, that he must repudiate in the most categorical manner the communication made by Musurus Pasha to your Lordship relative to the Sultan's preference for the meeting of the Conference at Constantinople without the participation of Turkey.

Having cleared up this point, his Excellency said that the recent news from Egypt had satisfied the Ottoman Government that the authority of the Khedive was again in the ascendant; that a new Ministry had been formed under Ragheb Pasha; that Arabi Bey had made ample promises of submission; and that the administration of the province had reassumed its normal character. Under these circumstances, the Porte did not consider that a Conference on Egyptian affairs was either necessary or in accordance with the interests of the Ottoman Government, and they must therefore decline the proposal.

I replied that I was quite certain Her Majesty's Government would not accept the foregoing view of the situation in Egypt; that I was surprised that his Excellency should congratulate himself on the formation of a Ministry, of which the principal member was a person whom he himself had told me a fortnight before it was the intention of the Sultan to banish as a criminal to the Soudan; that his Excellency knew as well as I did that, so far from Dervish Pasha's mission having succeeded, he had totally failed in liberating the Khedive from the domination of the military faction which had usurped the Government; that it was futile to pretend that the new arrangement which had now been patched up afforded any guarantee for the future; and that, under these circumstances, I must continue to insist, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, on the necessity for the immediate assembly of the Conference.

His Excellency, after reiterating his former arguments, then referred to the question of sending troops, and observed that for the same reason that a Conference was no longer necessary, the dispatch of Turkish troops to Alexandria was no longer justifiable. On taking leave I observed that, considering what we had at stake in Egypt, his Excellency must not be surprised if, in presence of the refusal of the Porte to enter into consultation with us, we, upon our part, should endeavour to guard our interests in whatever way we might think most desirable.

His Excellency replied that although the Ottoman Government could not agree to a Conference, it would be too glad to give the most attentive consideration to the individual counsels of the European Governments in regard to any matter connected with Egyptian affairs.

In reference to the foregoing observations, I have, in the first place, to state that I am unable to comprehend the incident involved in Musurus Pasha's communication to your Lordship, which the Foreign Minister has declared to have been absolutely unauthorized. Before making this declaration his Excellency had no doubt communicated with the Palace, for, when the Ministers first heard of it, they at once suspected that the Sultan might have sent an instruction to his Ambassador in London, of which they had been kept in ignorance. The Porte, however, is now convinced that this could not be the case.

Artin Effendi, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, tells me that he alone keeps the Sultan's cypher, and that such a message, had it been transmitted, must have gone through him; but it is difficult to believe that the Sultan, to whose Palace there is attached a regular telegraphic establishment, should not possess a Foreign Office cypher.

From my previous despatches your Lordship will have perceived that, although from the outset the proposal of a Conference was regarded with disfavour at Constantinople, up till yesterday it had never been absolutely refused (this being a point to which all my colleagues agreed yesterday to call the attention of their Governments), and that there have been various indications not merely that the Sultan hesitated to come to a positive conclusion, but that more than once he has shown an inclination to yield upon the point. Indeed, your Lordship will remember that on the 17th instant the Foreign Minister expressed a personal opinion that the Council which was to be held on the same night would result in His Majesty's acquiescing in the Conference.

His question as to whether England would lend him transports, as well as various private indications made to me by persons in His Majesty's confidence, point to the same conclusion. It is possible, therefore, that when he was in this mood he did really instruct Musurus Pasha in the sense in which his Excellency spoke to your Lordship, but that circumstances having suddenly induced His Majesty to adopt an opposite line of conduct, he now gets out of the difficulty by simply disavowing his Ambassador. Indeed, he has given orders at the Porte that if Musurus Pasha ventures to persevere in his assertion he is to be at once dismissed.

Be this as it may, it is still a matter of interest to inquire into the considerations which have induced the Porte, after a fortnight's delay, at last to communicate to the Powers their formal refusal of a Conference.

From the secret telegraphic despatches which I have submitted to your Lordship, you will have seen that the two currents of opinion which have all along been contending at the Palace for the mastery in regard to Egyptian affairs were represented in the mission to Cairo, Dervish Pasha having in charge, in his capacity of a great military dignitary, to vindicate the political sovereignty of the Sultan, while to Sheikh Ahmed Essad was intrusted the task of asserting His Majesty's religious supremacy as Caliph and Commander of the Faithful. It is evident, from the documents in question, that the Sultan at the outset stood to win on Dervish Pasha. Had Dervish Pasha succeeded in crushing Arabi and in re-establishing the undisputed authority of the Khedive, the Sultan would evidently have played a very brilliant part in the face of Europe and of his own subjects. The *raison d'être* of the Conference would have disappeared and the fleets would have been got rid of. Finding, however, that Dervish Pasha had completely failed in carrying out the high-handed policy he had been authorized to pursue; that Arabi Pasha, from being the mere chief of a military faction, had acquired, not only in Egypt, but in the estimation of the Mussulman world of Constantinople and elsewhere, the character and position of a champion of the rights of Islam against the aggression of the infidel Western Powers (one of whom was actually at war with Mussulmans in Tunis); and that all classes in Egypt, including the Bedouins, according to Dervish Pasha's own admissions, were united in his support, the Sultan began to feel that, instead of extending his influence and prestige by the exhibition of force, he would come to be regarded as a traitor to the Faith if he and his army appeared upon the scene as the cruel coercors of a Mahomedan population in the interests of England and France, whose only object was to maintain a system under which a parcel of European officials were employed in sucking the life-blood of the province for their own benefit and for the benefit of sordid creditors, with whom it would be far more convenient to deal in the way adopted by Turkey than that imposed by the Control. Under these circumstances, the only escape from his difficulties was to abandon the policy of which Dervish Pasha had been the exponent, and to fall back on the line of conduct recommended by Essad.

With this view, he orders Dervish Pasha to place himself in communication with the Austrian and German Consuls, and, through their mediation, to patch up such a settlement as would enable him to meet our proposals for the Conference by the assertions in reference to the reascendency of the Khedive's authority and the disappearance of all difficulties in Egypt which have been now made to us by the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

In forcing this view on the Western Powers, I cannot help suspecting that he counts to some extent upon the support of Austria. For some time past I have had reason to suspect that Austria desired to play a part in the affairs of Egypt. She has recently sent there Baron Kosjek, a very able Agent, and, although there has been nothing I could exactly lay hold of, I have been latterly conscious that she was not altogether quiescent at Cairo.

I now observe that Count Kalnoky seems still unwilling to accept the Conference without the consent of Turkey. I have also noticed, as has my French colleague, a certain inclination, on the part of Count Corti, to speak of the present as not altogether delusive, which leads me to imagine that Italy also may be unwilling to discredit an arrangement of which she has been one of the authors.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1258.

Consul Cookson to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 9:30 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 20, 1882, 8:20 A.M.tly

MRS. NICHOLAS quite well, safe, still here. Mr. Croghan very slightly wounded, quite well.

No. 1259.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 11:45 A.M.)

(No. 240.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 20, 1882, 8:25 A.M.

I LEARN that application has been made through private [? person]s to the Lord Mayor to obtain organized charitable relief for the refugees landing in Maltese and English ports. The exodus continues undiminished, and the need is certain, not only of immediate help, but later on of assistance to the ruined poorer classes to recommence life.

No. 1260.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 20.)

(No. 370. Ext. 240.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 20, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report that Dr. Mackie informed me this morning that, learning during the last few days the state of want and misery in which many of the refugees are leaving Egypt, he has made an application to the Lord Mayor to obtain organized charitable relief for the refugees who land at Malta and other English ports from Egypt. The exodus of Europeans continues undiminished, and many of the refugees will certainly require help, not only immediately on landing, but later on, to enable them to recommence life. A large number have sold at any sacrifice everything they had, to enable them to leave Egypt.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 1261.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 12:30 P.M.)

(No. 242.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 20, 1882, 9:45 A.M.

SIR A. COLVIN is sending the following in reply to Lord Dufferin:—

"French Consul-General no longer speaks of Halim Pasha. But the Austrian Consul-General has several times lately, in private conversations reported to me, mentioned Halim Pasha as vastly preferable to Tewfik Pasha, of whom he speaks contemptuously. German Consul-General is understood to share opinions of his Austrian colleague."

No. 1262.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 12:50 P.M.)

(No. 243.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 20, 1882, 10:10 A.M.

THE Consular Agent at Zagazig reports that the Chiefs of the Bedouins of Ismailia have received orders from the Governor to hold themselves in readiness. The reason of this is not known, but it is probably in the interests of order, and to prevent any incident arriving on the Canal in regard to ships in transit.

No. 1263.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 20.)

(No. 371. Ext. 243.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 20, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Mr. Camillieri, the Acting Consular Agent at Zagazig, reports that the Chiefs of the Bedouins of Ismailieh have been sent for by the Governor of that place, and ordered to hold themselves in readiness. The reason for this step is not known; but I am inclined to think it is in the interests of order, and to prevent ships from being molested while passing through the Canal—the Bedouins, if necessary, being formed into a Canal-side police.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 1264.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.

(No. 147.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 20, 1882, 2:25 P.M.

I DO not understand Prince Bismarck's statement reported in your No. 52. M. de Freycinet told Lord Lyons on the 17th that he had sent off the French adhesion to the proposal to ask for Turkish troops, and that this removed the first objection of Prince Bismarck.

See my telegram to you No. 139.

No. 1265.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.

(No. 254. Ext. 147.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 20, 1882.

YOUR Excellency states in your telegram No. 52 that Prince Bismarck, in the conversation which you had with him yesterday, said that he agreed with the French Government that it would be better that the question of the dispatch of Turkish troops to Egypt should be adjourned for the present.

I do not understand how it could be said that the French Government are now wishing for the adjournment of this question. Your Excellency has seen Lord Lyons' telegram No. 96 of 17th instant, in which he stated, on M. de Freycinet's authority, that the French adhesion to the proposal to ask for Turkish troops had been sent off, and you are aware that M. de Freycinet expressly alluded, in giving this information, to the fact that the first objection of Prince Bismarck to the dispatch of the troops, recorded in your despatch No. 213 of the 16th instant, would be thereby removed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1266.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.

(No. 148.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 20, 1882, 2:40 P.M.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 53, make it clear that we have been no parties to the present arrangement in Egypt, and that, although it may possibly be expedient as a provisional means of saving European lives and property from violence, we do not think it in any way a settlement of the political question.

No. 1267.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.

(No. 255. Ext. 148.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 20, 1882.

IT is desirable that your Excellency should make it clear to Prince Bismarck, with reference to the remarks made by his Highness as reported in your telegram No. 53 of yesterday, that Her Majesty's Government have been no parties to the present arrangement in Egypt, and that although they admit that that arrangement may be possibly expedient, as a provisional means of saving from violence the lives and property of Europeans, they do not consider that the political question is in any way settled by it.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1268.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 277.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 20, 1882, 3.10 P.M.

CARTWRIGHT'S telegram No. 239 of yesterday, repeated to you by him. Apply again that Sultan's order to Khedive to go to Cairo should be rescinded.

No. 1269.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 325. Ext. 277.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 20, 1882.

YOUR Excellency will have learnt from Mr. Cartwright's telegram No. 239 of yesterday, which he repeated to you, that Dervish Pasha is pressing the Khedive to prepare to return to Cairo after the formation of a new Ministry.

Her Majesty's Government understand that, should His Highness return to Cairo, his life would be in the greatest danger, and that his departure from Alexandria would revive the panic at that port. I have accordingly to instruct your Excellency again to make application in the proper quarter that the Sultan's order to the Khedive to proceed to Cairo should be rescinded.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1270.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 3.35 P.M.)

(No. 244.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 20, 1882, noon.

RAGHEB PASHA returned from Cairo last night with Arabi and Ahmed Rashed. They spent some time with the Viceroy, but no conclusion was come to. They are to return to His Highness this morning. German and Austrian Consuls-General insist on His Highness coming to an understanding with Ragheb and Arabi, no matter what their conditions or the composition of the Ministry may be. I and my French colleague remain completely outside these negotiations, neither assisting nor opposing them. In the event of a Ministry being formed with Arabi as member, I should be glad of early instructions as to my attitude towards it. I have consulted my French colleague, through Sir A. Colvin, and he proposes to receive President should he call on him, while carefully abstaining from any engagement, or any expression which could be so understood, to limit his subsequent communications to questions affecting public safety, and to have relations with the President only. I should prefer, unless in case of urgency, to communicate with the Ministry through the Viceroy or Dervish Pasha.

No. 1271.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 20.)

(No. 372. Ext. 244.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 20, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report that Ragheb Pasha returned last night from Cairo, accompanied by Arabi Pasha and Ahmed Rashid Pasha. Nothing was settled at their interview with the Khedive last night, but they are to go again to the Palace this morning.

The Khedive is strongly pressed by the German and Austrian Consuls-General to arrive at some understanding with Ragheb and Arabi Pashas, and to accept their conditions and the names of their Ministry, however unpalatable they may be.

The French Agent and I have taken no part in these negotiations, and have neither assisted nor denounced the action of our colleagues.

If Arabi Pasha is retained as Minister of War, I should be glad to receive your Lordship's instructions as to my attitude towards the new Ministry.

Sir A. Colvin has ascertained from M. Sienkiewicz that he proposes to receive the President of the Council if he calls upon him. My French colleague will, however, carefully abstain from entering into any engagement or using any expression which could be considered as binding. He intends to confine himself, in his subsequent communications with the President, to matters regarding the safety of his countrymen in Egypt, and will have no relations with the other members of the Ministry.

Except in cases of urgent necessity, I should prefer to make my communications through the Khedive himself, or by means of Dervish Pasha.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

No. 1272.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 4 P.M.)

(No. 28.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, June 20, 1882, 3 P.M.

MY French colleague and I have communicated to M. de Giers the proposal contained in your Lordship's telegram No. 151. His Excellency having previously heard from Berlin that Germany and the other two Powers had accepted it, had already telegraphed to the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople instructions to take part in the Conference to meet on Thursday.

No. 1273.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 20.)

(No. 208. Ext. 28.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, June 20, 1882.

MY French colleague received this morning a telegram similar to your Lordship's telegram No. 151 of yesterday, and we agreed to call at once upon M. de Giers for the purpose of communicating to him the proposal of our two Governments, that the Conference on the state of Egypt should meet at Constantinople on the 22nd instant. We found, however, that his Excellency had already gone to Peterhoff for his usual weekly interview with the Emperor. We therefore saw M. Vlangally, who has just been appointed "Adjoint" to M. de Giers in the Russian Foreign Office, and informed him of the object of our visit, and left with him, to be delivered to M. de Giers copy, of the proposal agreed upon between the two Governments.

M. Vlangally informed us that M. de Giers had received last night a telegram from Berlin informing him that Prince Bismarck had already agreed to the proposal, and had sent instructions to the German Representative at Constantinople in accordance with it. It was believed that the other two Powers had also intimated their adhesion to the proposal. M. de Giers had therefore already sent this morning similar instructions to the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople.

My French colleague and I begged M. Vlangally to convey to M. de Giers our

sincere acknowledgments for the promptness with which he had forwarded these instructions to M. Onou.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

No. 1274.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 4 P.M.)

(No. 54.) *Berlin, June 20, 1882, 3.5 P.M.*
(Telegraphic.)
NOTWITHSTANDING the Sultan's change of mind and renewed objections, Prince Bismarck is of opinion that the Conference should meet at Constantinople on Thursday the 22nd, as proposed by England and France.

No. 1275.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 20.)

(No. 236. Ext. 54.) *Berlin, June 20, 1882.*
My Lord,
COUNT HATZFELDT told me to-day that the Sultan had renewed his objections to the meeting of the Conference at Constantinople, but that Prince Bismarck had already intimated to the German Ambassadors accredited to the Great Powers that he thought the Conference should meet, nevertheless, on Thursday next, the 22nd instant, as proposed by Her Majesty's Government and the Government of France.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

No. 1276.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 279.) *Foreign Office, June 20, 1882, 4.15 P.M.*
(Telegraphic.)
YOUR telegram No. 157 of yesterday.
Her Majesty's Government approve your language to Minister for Foreign Affairs.

No. 1277.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 326. Ext. 279.) *Foreign Office, June 20, 1882.*
My Lord,
HER Majesty's Government have had under their consideration your Excellency's telegram No. 157 of yesterday, in which you record your interview with the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, and report the language you held to his Excellency when he announced to you the refusal of the Porte to agree to a Conference on the affairs of Egypt, and stated that the dispatch of troops to that country was no longer justifiable.

Her Majesty's Government approve the observations your Excellency made to Saïd Pasha.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1278.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 6 P.M.)

(No. 55.) *Berlin, June 20, 1882, 5.10 P.M.*
(Telegraphic.)
YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 139 of the 18th June.

French Ambassador assures me that he has finally communicated to Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs the French adhesion to the proposal to ask for Turkish troops, by order of his Government.

No. 1279.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 20.)

(No. 238. Ext. 55.) *Berlin, June 20, 1882.*
My Lord,
WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 139 of the 18th June, I am now assured by my French colleague that he has finally been instructed to communicate to the German Government the French adhesion to the proposal of Her Majesty's Government to ask for Turkish troops for Egypt, and that he has already done so, and has given copy of the instruction to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

No. 1280.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 6 P.M.)

(No. 56.) *Berlin, June 20, 1882, 5.10 P.M.*
(Telegraphic.)
YOUR telegram No. 146 of the 19th June.

In concert with my French colleague, I have communicated to the German Government the joint instruction respecting meeting of Conference at Constantinople on the 22nd instant.

No. 1281.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 20.)

(No. 240. Ext. 56.) *Berlin, June 20, 1882.*
My Lord,
THE French Ambassador called this morning to show me the text of the joint instruction he had received from Paris respecting the meeting of the Conference at Constantinople on Thursday next, the 22nd instant, which your Lordship sent me in your telegram No. 146 of yesterday. Having compared the texts and found that they were correct, we communicated them later in the day to Count Hatzfeldt at the Foreign Office.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

No. 1282.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 6.45 P.M.)

(No. 100.) *Paris, June 20, 1882, 5.10 P.M.*
(Telegraphic.)
M. DE FREYCINET begs me to ask whether there is any truth in statements he has seen in the newspapers that Her Majesty's Government intend to send a second Plenipotentiary to the Conference, and that Mr. Vivian had been selected for that office.

No. 1283.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 20.)

(No. 605. Ext. 100.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 20, 1882.

M. DE FREYCINET has just sent a member of his Cabinet to ask me to inquire of your Lordship whether there is any truth in statements he has seen in the newspapers that Her Majesty's Government intend to send a second Plenipotentiary to the Conference at Constantinople, and that they have appointed Mr. Vivian to act in that capacity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1284.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 267.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 20, 1882, 7.15 P.M.

HER Majesty's Government intend, when the proper moment arrives, to prefer a claim upon the Egyptian Government for damages and losses sustained by British subjects at Alexandria.

Take such steps as may be necessary to call upon them to register their claims at the British Consulate, giving notice also to relatives of the killed of intention of Her Majesty's Government.

No. 1285.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 184. Ext. 267.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 20, 1882.

WHEN the proper moment arrives it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to make a claim upon the Government of Egypt on account of the damages and losses sustained by the Queen's subjects at Alexandria. I have, therefore, to instruct you to give notice to the relatives of the British subjects who were killed of this intention, and to take steps to call upon all British subjects who may have suffered losses during the disorders to register particulars of their claims at Her Majesty's Consulate.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1286.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 20.)

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, June 19, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the decypher of a telegram dated the 16th instant from Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, reporting that there are no signs whatever of the construction of fortifications at Suez or Port Saïd.

I am, &c.
(Signed) G. TRYON.

Inclosure in No. 1286.

Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 16, 1882.

IN reference to your telegram of the 14th instant, officers at Suez and Port Saïd report no sign whatever at Suez or Port Saïd of the construction of fortifications.

No. 1287.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

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(No. 330.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 20, 1882.

THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me this morning, and said that he understood that I had stated, on his authority, that the Sultan was willing to agree to a Conference at Constantinople on Egyptian affairs without the participation of the Porte. His Excellency said that he had never had any intention of suggesting such an idea.

I told Musurus Pasha that I had certainly derived from his language to Sir Charles Dilke and myself the impression that the Sultan would prefer that the Conference should be held without the presence of a Turkish Representative, that the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers should address to the Porte such representations as they might think necessary, and that His Majesty would be prepared to give satisfactory assurances.

I consulted Sir Charles Dilke as to his recollection of the circumstances, and, later in the day, I communicated to Musurus Pasha our view as to what had passed.

Sir Charles Dilke's recollection was that, at the French Embassy on the evening of Thursday, the 15th instant, Musurus Pasha took him aside and said: "We cannot agree to take part in a Conference about Egypt. If Conferences once begin to sit on Egypt, we fear they will never end. But what does it matter to you? Let your Ambassadors sit in Conference, and agree among themselves; let them tell us what they want, and we at once shall do it. The Sultan, as Sovereign, will be asked to act by the European Conference, and he will act." Sir Charles Dilke thought this statement so important that he called me aside to tell me of it, and that, on returning to the House of Commons immediately afterwards, he told Mr. Gladstone, Lord Hartington, and Mr. Chamberlain of what had passed. I observed that, after Sir Charles Dilke had told me of the language held to him, I had myself spoken to Musurus Pasha, who told me that the Sultan objected to join the Conference, that he saw no necessity for it, and that Conferences had always ended unfavourably to Turkey. He suggested that Lord Dufferin might communicate with the Porte as to what was required. To this I had replied that it was impossible for us to separate ourselves from the other Powers.

Musurus Pasha had then asked why the Ambassadors should not formulate the demand for Turkish troops and the conditions on which they should be sent. The Porte, in return, would give satisfactory assurances.

On a subsequent occasion, I continued, on Saturday, the 17th, his Excellency had told me that the great thing was that the communications should be made quietly, and that there should be no Protocols.

To confirm my impression, Count Münster had told me that Musurus Pasha had held the same language to him on Thursday as he had to me. In conclusion, I expressed my regret that any misunderstanding should have occurred.

After hearing this statement, Musurus Pasha assured me that Sir Charles Dilke and I had entirely misapprehended him; that his objection had been to a Conference, and not to the participation of the Porte. He denied strongly that, in speaking to Sir Charles Dilke, he had suggested that the Ambassadors should meet "in Conference;" and he made a statement in explanation of his views and of the suggestion which he had meant to offer.

His Excellency said that he had been constantly and strongly opposed to a Conference on Egyptian affairs. He had always declared that the Sultan would never consent to his action being considered as undertaken by mandate of the foreign Powers. He had said also that His Majesty could not consent to his acts being recorded in the Protocols of a Conference.

Musurus Pasha continued that when I had represented to him the urgent

necessity for the immediate dispatch of an Ottoman army to Egypt in order to maintain order and public security, and to procure the success of Dervish Pasha's mission, he had replied that if the dispatch of an armed force was necessary, the Sublime Porte might send such force on its own initiative in its quality of sovereign Power, and without appearing as the mandatory of Europe. On my observing that this was inadmissible, as in this manner Turkey might end by making the conquest of Egypt, and that Europe must have an assurance as to the limits of the results to be attained by the dispatch of an Ottoman army, he had said, in reply, that the Porte might, if necessary, give these assurances in a Circular to be addressed to its Ambassadors, but that, in order to avoid subsequent discussions between the Turkish Government and the Powers, the Porte might come to a friendly understanding *vis-à-vis* with Lord Dufferin on the principal points of the Circular. I had remarked that it would be impossible for England alone to come to an understanding with the Porte to the exclusion of the other Powers. Thereupon, said Musurus Pasha, he had observed that this friendly *vis-à-vis* understanding might take place also between the Porte and the other Ambassadors. In this manner the European Powers would have in their hands the Circular of the Porte as a guarantee, not less effective than that which could be secured by a Conference, while the machinery of Conference Protocols and international discussions would be dispensed with.

As to the convocation of a Conference at Constantinople without the participation of the Porte, Musurus Pasha again affirmed that the idea of such a method of procedure had never occurred to him.

I could only repeat to his Excellency my regret that there should have been a misunderstanding.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1288.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 735.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 20, 1882.

THE French Ambassador called upon me this morning and asked me what view Her Majesty's Government took of the desire of Spain to be represented in the Conference on Egypt.

I repeated to M. Tissot what I had said to the Spanish Minister on the subject, as stated in my despatch to Mr. Morier, of which a copy is inclosed herewith.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1289.

Earl Granville to Mr. Morier.

(No. 92.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 20, 1882.

THE Spanish Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, in order to ask for my reply to the inquiry he had addressed to me a few days ago as to the claim of Spain to be represented in the Conference on Egypt.

I told the Marquis de Casa Laiglesia that the idea was quite new to me when he mentioned it to me a few days ago, and that it came at a very late stage of the proceedings. It was one which required careful deliberation between the Powers, and in the present case time was of paramount importance. Moreover, it must be considered what answer was to be given to applications which would probably come from other Governments, such as that of Greece, who had large interests in Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1290.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 8 P.M.)

(No. 56.)

(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, June 20, 1882, 5 P.M.

I HAVE communicated to Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs the invitation for the Conference at Constantinople on the 22nd instant, as given in your Lordship's telegram of yesterday.

He said that, in consequence of Prince Bismarck's having, two days ago, proposed the 22nd for the meeting, he had already intimated his acceptance of it, but that everything was now changed by the Porte's disavowal of Musurus Pasha's statement that the Sultan did not object to the Conference.

No. 1291.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 20.)

(No. 301. Ext. 56.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 20, 1882.

THIS morning, when I communicated to Count Kálnoky your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, containing the invitation to the Conference of the 22nd instant, he said that Count Szechenyi having informed him that Prince Bismarck had proposed to all the Ambassadors that the 22nd should be the day for it to assemble, he had already intimated his acceptance of it.

Everything had, however, now been changed by the report he had this morning received from Constantinople of the Sultan's absolute disavowal of Musurus Pasha's statement, that he did not object to a Conference being held.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 1292.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 7.45 P.M.)

(No. 57.)

(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, June 20, 1882, 5.45 P.M.

I ASKED the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs what he proposed to do in face of the objection of the Porte to the Conference.

He said that he had consented to take part in it only on the condition that the Sultan did not object, and on the faith of Musurus Pasha's statement, and he must now wait to see what course is proposed. It is, I believe, certain that he will not join in any Conference to which the Sultan objects, and I therefore asked whether the Representatives might not meet to confer on the steps to be taken with respect to the affairs of Egypt without having a recognized Conference, and he said that he thought it might be done, but that, as the Sultan has now declared that he will not send troops to Egypt, he did not see what was to be gained by it.

No. 1293.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 9.30 P.M.)

(No. 58.)

(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, June 20, 1882, 5.30 P.M.

THE Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs having observed to me to-day that the accounts from Egypt gave hope that order was about to be restored, I said that I did not believe Her Majesty's Government would be satisfied with any mere patching up of the difficulty which would leave the power in the hands of the military mutineers.

He admitted that this was most undesirable, but what was to be done? The Sultan could not be forced to send troops if he did not choose, and most of the Consuls concurred in believing that the dispatch of foreign troops would be the signal for a massacre of the Europeans.

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Austria, he said, had little political interest in Egypt, but must watch over the safety of her subjects.

His language makes me think that he would strongly oppose any proposal to send European troops.

No. 1294.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 20.)

(No. 304. Confidential. Ext. 57 and 58.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 20, 1882.

I HAVE asked Count Kálnoky what he proposes to do in face of the objection of the Porte to the Conference.

He replied that he must now wait to see what course it may be thought desirable to follow, as he had only consented to joining in the Conference on condition of the Sultan making no objection to it, as appeared from Musurus Pasha's statement to your Lordship.

As none of the other Turkish Ambassadors had held similar language, and the Ottoman Ambassador here being unable to confirm the statement of his London colleague he did not feel altogether satisfied on the point, he had directed Baron Calice to ascertain the truth, and the result was the disavowal of Musurus Pasha, which has been notified to all the Courts.

I could perceive no sign of a disposition on the part of Count Kálnoky to modify the objection which he has always felt to taking part in a Conference protested against by the Sultan, and I therefore asked him whether the Representatives at Constantinople might not be instructed to meet to confer on the steps to be taken with respect to the affairs of Egypt without being assembled in a recognized Conference.

He said that he thought this might be done, but as the Sultan had now declared that he would not send his troops to Egypt, and could not be forced to do so if he did not choose, he did not exactly see what benefit was to be expected from any meeting of the Representatives; he hoped, moreover, from the latest accounts which he had received, that there were better hopes of order being shortly restored in Egypt.

I said that if order was to be restored by leaving the Military party in possession of the power they had usurped, I did not believe that Her Majesty's Government would be satisfied with an arrangement that was only a momentary patching up of the difficulty.

Count Kálnoky admitted that it would be nothing more, but he asked what was to be done?

The Sultan could not be forced to send his troops if he did not choose to do so, and most of the Consuls were convinced that if European troops were sent it would be the signal for a general massacre of the foreigners, and although the political interests of Austria in Egypt were small, she must watch over the safety of her subjects.

Altogether, I gathered from his Excellency's language that he considers the safety of the Europeans the first thing to be insured, and believing that it would be very dangerously affected by the appearance of a European force, he would be likely strongly to oppose a proposal for sending one.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 1295.

Mr. Morier to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 8 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Madrid, June 20, 1882, 3:30 P.M.

YOUR despatch No. 89, Confidential, of the 15th.

There is a very strong, and, I think, legitimate, feeling here respecting admission of Spain to the Conference at Constantinople, on the ground that she is a Mediterranean Power, and that she has a direct interest in the Suez Canal as the high road to the Philippines. The hearty assistance of Her Majesty's Government in securing this object would, I am sure, produce an excellent effect, and materially aid in surmounting the many difficulties by which I am surrounded.

No. 1296.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 370 A.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 20, 1882, 8:15 P.M.

YOUR No. 100.

Tell M. de Freycinet Her Majesty's Government do not propose appointing any second Plenipotentiary.

No. 1297.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 736. Ext. 370 A.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 20, 1882.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 100, reporting that M. de Freycinet is desirous of knowing whether there is any truth in certain newspaper statements, that Her Majesty's Government intend to send a second Plenipotentiary to the Conference, and that Mr. Vivian has been selected for that office; and I have to authorize you to state to his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government do not propose appointing any second Plenipotentiary.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1298.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 9 P.M.)

(No. 51.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, June 20, 1882, 4:20 P.M.

JOINT identic proposal for Conference of 22nd instant, according to terms of your Lordship's No. 155 of yesterday, made to Minister for Foreign Affairs, who accepts.

Instructions in conformity sent to Count Corti yesterday.

No. 1299.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 20.)

(No. 212. Ext. 51.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 20, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I called on M. Mancini this afternoon, accompanied by M. Marchand, acting on behalf of the French Chargé d'Affaires, and communicated to his Excellency the joint identic proposal of the English and French Governments, according to the terms of your Lordship's telegram No. 155 of yesterday's date, for the meeting of the Conference exclusively on the affairs of Egypt, without the participation of Turkey, on the 22nd instant, at Constantinople.

His Excellency informed us that he accepted the proposal on behalf of the Italian Government, and that he had already yesterday sent instructions to Count Corti in conformity with the desire expressed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1300.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 9:30 P.M.)

(No. 57.)

(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, June 20, 1882, 6:34 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 147 of to-day.

It appears that Prince Bismarck was not aware at the time that the French Government had finally sent off adhesion to proposal to ask for Turkish troops, by which his first objection is naturally removed.

No. 1301.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 20.)

(No. 242. Ext. 57.)

Berlin, June 20, 1882.

My Lord,

IN reply to your Lordship's telegraphic query No. 147 of to-day, I sent a message to explain that Prince Bismarck was not aware, at the time I spoke with him, that the French Government had finally consented to intimate their adhesion to the proposal of Her Majesty's Government to ask the Sultan for troops for Egypt, by which his first objection is naturally removed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

No. 1302.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 9.30 P.M.)

(No. 158.)

Constantinople, June 20, 1882, 4.15 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

I NOW transmit the substance of another telegram from Dervish Pasha, dated the 16th June:—

The Ottoman Commissioner acknowledges the receipt of the telegram of the 14th June from the Prime Minister, ordering him to act in concert with Arabi Pasha. He says that he has already entered upon the new line of conduct recommended; that the ideas of Arabi are not for the moment very exaggerated, and he sends proper replies to the orders he addresses to him. Dervish Pasha sees a possibility of reconciling him with the Khedive. The idea of the new Government is to acquiesce in the views of Arabi. For the present, Dervish Pasha does not think that he will be able to get them to accept the demands of England and France, but he hopes eventually to do so, after he shall have established tranquillity. He goes on to say that the union of the Egyptians is not superficial, but serious and strong. They are not prompted by a desire for pillage and massacre, but they wish to reduce to its ordinary level the violence of the attitude of the foreigners, the removal of whose fleets is impatiently waited for; but he adds that the Powers can hardly be expected to withdraw their vessels until security is reassured. He says that Arabi meets his advances with apparent cordiality. Great military preparations continue. The rumour of the dispatch of Turkish troops having reached the ears of the chiefs, it has become impossible to learn their secrets. Though they dissemble their hatred of the Turks, he thinks that it is quite as great as their hatred of the foreigners, and that resistance is to be expected. He admits that the question of sending troops ought to be well considered, but he again asserts that, without the support of troops, the authority of the Khedive can never be consolidated, or his mission successful. He ends by saying that he obeys the instructions he receives day by day from the Palace, but for the last two days he has had none, and that the greatest promptitude is necessary.

No. 1303.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 10.45 P.M.)

(No. 245.)

Alexandria, June 20, 1882, 3.50 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

KHEDIVE has just sent me following list of new Ministry:—
Ragheb Pasha, President and Foreign Affairs; Ahmed Pasha Rashed, Interior; Arabi Pasha, War and Marine; Abdurrahman Ben Rushdi, Finance; Mahomed Pasha Falaki, Public Works; Hassan Pasha Sharui, Wakfs; Suleiman Abaza Pasha, Public Instruction; Ari Pasha Ibrahim, Justice.

No. 1304.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20, 11 P.M.)

(No. 246.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 20, 1882, 4 P.M.

MY telegram No. 245 of to-day.

The Minister of the Interior is said to share very much Arabi's views. Of the Minister of Finance I know little; he is believed to be inoffensive. The Minister of Public Works is the Government Astronomer, and has hitherto taken little part in public affairs. He is an opinionated, impracticable official. The Minister of Wakfs had the same portfolio in the last Ministry. The Minister of Public Instruction is a Deputy and influential landholder. He belongs entirely to Arabi's party. The Minister of Justice was Minister of Instruction in the Riaz Ministry, and has no political colour. Excepting the National members, the rest, though Egyptians, are rather of the old Conservative Turkish than of any other party. The Khedive will send me the programme of the Ministry this evening.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1305.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 20.)

(No. 373. Ext. 246.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 20, 1882.

I HAVE telegraphed to your Lordship the names of the new Ministry appointed by the Khedive to-day, and His Highness will furnish me with a copy of the Ministerial programme this evening.

With regard to the Ministers themselves, it is said that Ahmed Pasha Rashid holds very much the same views as Arabi Pasha. Little is known of Abdurrahman Bey Rushdi, but he is believed to be inoffensive. Mahmoud Pasha Falahi is the Astronomer of the Egyptian Government, and has hitherto taken little part in public affairs. What is known of him in an official capacity (he was, for example, a member of the Settlement and Survey Board instituted by Riaz Pasha) has shown him to be opinionated and impracticable. Hassan Pasha was Minister for the Wakfs in the last Government. Suleiman Abaza Pasha is a Deputy to the Chamber of Notables, and possesses much influence as a landed proprietor in Arabi Pasha's own province. He belongs to the National party. Ali Pasha Ibrahim was Minister of Public Instruction under Riaz Pasha, and has no strong political tendencies.

With the exception of the adherents of Arabi whom I have specified, the Ministers, though Egyptians by race, belong rather to the old Turkish and Conservative party than to any other.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1306.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 268.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 20, 1882, 11.30 P.M.

YOURS No. 244.

Adopt the same course as your French colleague.

No. 1307.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 185. Ext. 268.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 20, 1882.

IN your telegram No. 244 of this day, you ask what should be your attitude towards any Ministry which should include Arabi Pasha as a member. Her Majesty's

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Government consider that the course proposed by your French colleague, viz., to have relations with the President alone, and with him only, on questions affecting public safety, appears judicious, and I have to request that you will act accordingly.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1308.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21.)

(No. 442. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 14, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you a very important document which has fallen into my hands. It is a cypher telegram addressed by Sheikh Ahmed Essad to the Prime Minister, and to the First Private Secretary of the Sultan. Your Lordship will perceive that Effendi complains of the high-handed attitude assumed by Dervish Pasha in Egypt, which he says is directly contrary to the sentiments he himself had manifested, and to the assurances which he had given in conformity with the wishes of the Sultan. He then goes on to say that his influence with Arabi Pasha has been thus destroyed, and that he is regarded as a traitor by him and his partisans. He observes that it is very unwise on the part of Dervish not to have endeavoured to conciliate the military chiefs, inasmuch as they are supported by the whole population, and as Dervish has no military force at his back. As a consequence, there are already signs that the mission will be unsuccessful. He adds that he no longer knows what language to hold, as the policy of Dervish Pasha is in direct contradiction to the instructions he himself had received at Constantinople. He therefore asks for fresh orders.

The foregoing important document is an illustration of a characteristic of the Sultan to which I have frequently had occasion to draw the attention of your Lordship. The suspicious nature of His Majesty seems to render him incapable of giving his full confidence to any one single individual. He, therefore, always doubles one Agent by another, in the intention that each should be a spy upon his colleague; and, frequently, as in this instance, the secret mandate given to the one is in direct contradiction to the official instructions of the other.

It is also very significant that Ahmed Essad warns the Minister that he has sent a copy of his communication to the Sultan's Private Secretary.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

Inclosure in No. 1308.

Ahmed Essad Effendi to the Prime Minister.

(Traduction de l'Arabe.)
(Télégraphique.)

Le 22 Mai 10 Juin, 1882.

L'ATTITUDE prise par Dervish Pacha avec entêtement est en opposition directe aux sentiments que j'avais manifestés et aux assurances que j'avais données en conformité de la volonté Impériale. Toute l'influence que j'avais acquise auprès d'Arabi Pacha est en voie de se perdre.

On me regarde comme si j'avais commis une trahison à lui et à ses partisans et ils ne me communiquent plus leurs secrets et leurs pensées. Dervish Pacha, au lieu d'employer la douceur, a pris "du coup" envers eux une attitude violente et cela sans avoir entre ses mains aucune force. Je suis en anxiété des conséquences désastreuses d'une telle attitude. Les hommes de confiance des habitants tiennent en leurs mains les rênes du pouvoir. On devrait les persuader par la douceur.

Le Commissaire Pacha ne daigne plus me consulter. Il dit que la mission est à lui et que c'est à lui que revient tout ce qui arrive. Cependant, on sent déjà les traces de la prépondérance des opposants. Si la chose arrive à la connaissance du public elle prendra des grandes proportions. Je demande des instructions, à savoir : si je dois, ou non, me conformer à l'attitude prise par Dervish Pacha. Avant mon départ de Constantinople, j'ai reçu des instructions, mais elles sont contraires à ce que je vois arriver actuellement.

Je ne sais plus quel langage tenir pour persuader. Par conséquent, je demande des ordres pour savoir comment agir. J'ai adressé un télégramme identique au Premier Secrétariat de Sa Majesté. J'attends des instructions télégraphiques.

No. 1309.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21.)

(No. 443. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 14, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a résumé of some interesting telegrams, which have come into my possession, from Dervish Pasha to the Palace, dated from the 7th to the 10th June. From these documents your Lordship will perceive that Dervish Pasha has been really doing his best to give a loyal support to the Khedive, and that he desires no better than to put down the faction of Arabi Pasha and the military officers.

In the first telegram Dervish Pasha desires to make it appear that the dispute between the Khedive and Arabi Pasha originated in Arabi's endeavouring to induce the Khedive to place himself in antagonism to the Porte. He then admits that there is a strong local feeling in favour of Arabi, which, however, he flatters himself he has in a great measure succeeded in dissipating.

He then recounts his interview, on the 8th June, with Arabi Pasha and his officers, at which he told them that he was authorized to arrest them if they did not mind what they were about. They replied that they were not unsupported, upon which Dervish Pasha observes he was in half a mind to make them prisoners on the spot; but that eventually he thought it more prudent to see what the Sheikhs had to say. Accordingly, he then admitted to his presence these latter personages, but he says he found their notions altogether hostile to his policy. They told him that the Bedouins were entirely upon their side, that Arabi was quite in the right, and that they intended to massacre the Europeans if they did not leave the country. Having thus satisfied himself as to the hostile attitude of the Sheikhs, he telegraphed at once to the Palace, begging that preparations might be made to send him reinforcements, if they should be required.

On the 9th June Dervish Pasha says that he arrested nine Sheikhs of position, and that he has succeeded in gaining over the Bedouins to his side. He then has an interview with the Great Council, but he finds that many of its members are determined to oppose him. Upon this he tells them that he is prepared to take upon himself the direction of the Ministry of War, and he informs them that the Sultan has instructed him to see to the security of the Europeans.

The Consuls-General came to see Dervish Pasha on the 9th, and he reports that they are very well content with his arrangements. He is now persuaded that Arabi and his adherents are altogether hostile to him, and he says he is only waiting an opportunity of laying hands upon Arabi and sending him to Constantinople.

On the 10th June some persons come to warn him that Arabi is organizing plots against him and against the Powers. He accordingly states that he has arrested the chiefs of these conspiracies, and that he is going to have them tried.

He is also taking precautions against the Arabs in the neighbourhood of Cairo, whose conduct has become suspicious.

He concludes by saying that the Imperial Government would do well to use every effort to attain the ends which the Powers have in view.

The foregoing occurrences so dramatically described by Dervish Pasha, are in amusing contradiction to Sheikh Essad's notion of the character of their joint mission. It is possible that the rude soldier and unscrupulous man of action has, as Sheikh Essad complains, taken the conduct of the mission out of the hands of his more politic comrade more entirely than perhaps the Sultan intended, and that he has acted rather in accordance with the official instructions he received from the Porte than with the secret recommendations by which they were accompanied from the Palace; or, it may be, that Sheikh Essad was merely attached to Dervish Pasha's mission to be used at the Chief Commissioner's discretion as a bait for enticing Arabi Pasha into the net.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

Inclosure in No. 1309.

*Résumé of Telegrams from Dervish Pasha.**Caire, le 7 Juin, 1882.*

JE suis installé au Palais et après une heure de mon arrivée Son Altesse est venue me voir. Je lui ai remis les ordres supérieurs et lui ai demandé son opinion ; il est tout à fait d'accord de suivre les ordres de Sa Majesté.

Il me raconte les conseils qu'Arabi a voulu lui donner de ne pas reconnaître la Sublime Porte ; mais Son Altesse était tout à fait contre Arabi. Voilà d'où ont commencé les causes des inconvénients entre Arabi et le Khédive. Les partisans d'Arabi ont commencé à publier que Son Altesse abandonnera le Royaume d'Égypte aux Gouvernements Anglais et Français. C'est pourquoi les flottes Européennes sont venues. Les Cheikhs ont commencé à prêcher dans les mosquées que nous sommes perdus et ont conclu en s'écriant—“aux armes mes enfants !”

Caire, le 8 Juin, 1882.

Les Cheikhs sont venus chez moi et m'ont dit qu'ils ne sont plus contents de leur Khédive et qu'ils n'est pas capable de Gouverner la population Égyptienne. Il y a, selon eux, seulement Arabi Pacha qui soit capable pour cela. Nous aimons notre Souverain et devons suivre ses ordres. Alors je leur ai communiqué de nouveau les ordres de Sa Majesté. Ils sont tout à fait contre les Européens. Je les ai calmés en leur disant que dans peu de temps tout sera arrangé, et ils ont crié alors “Vive le Sultan !” Je leur ai dit que les flottes Européennes ne sont pas venues pour nous faire du mal, mais, au contraire, pour sauvegarder nos intérêts, et le même jour ils sont allés dans les mosquées, ont appelé les habitants Arabes et leur ont dit qu'il faut être calmes, et que notre Souverain nous a envoyés sa haute mission pour régler les affaires d'État. Ils ont commencé à crier alors “Vive le Sultan !”

Caire, le 8 Juin, 1882.

J'ai reçu Arabi avec ses officiers et je leur ai remis les ordonnances de Sa Majesté, et j'ai vu qu'ils sont tout à fait contraires à nos opinions. Alors je leur ai dit que j'avais les moyens de les faire arrêter s'ils ne voulaient pas écouter nos conseils. Ils m'ont répondu qu'ils ne sont pas seuls, mais qu'ils y a des Cheikhs de haute position qui sont d'accord avec eux. Alors j'ai bien voulu les faire arrêter, mais j'ai pensé de voir aussi les Cheikhs qui étaient d'accord avec Arabi.

Caire, le 8 Juin, 1882.

J'ai fait venir chez moi les Cheikhs, et comme l'avait indiqué Arabi, j'ai trouvé que leurs opinions sont tout à fait contre nos arrangements et ont dit que si les Européens ne partiront pas d'ici ils les feront massacrer, car tous les Bédouins sont de leur parti.

Arabi a bien raison, ont-ils dit, d'être contre le Vice-Roi, qui nous abandonnera aux Européens. Ayant bien examiné leurs opinions je viens vous prier de donner les ordres nécessaires aux commandants de nos troupes de se tenir prêts jusqu'à nouvel ordre, mais j'espère, grâce à Dieu, de calmer les têtes échauffées.

Caire, le 9 Juin, 1882.

J'ai fait arrêter neuf Cheikhs de haute position, et j'ai gagné à notre cause tous les Cheikhs Bédouins. Aujourd'hui j'ai vu les membres du Grand Conseil et ayant examiné leurs opinions, j'ai trouvé que plusieurs sont tout à fait contre notre Gouvernement. Alors je leur ai expliqué clairement que je prendrais la Direction du Ministère de la Guerre pour leur faire savoir les ordonnances du Souverain. J'espère qu'ils seront en peu de temps tout à fait calmés. Je leur ai fait comprendre aussi que Sa Majesté veut sauvegarder les intérêts des Européens. Aujourd'hui je dois recevoir les hauts fonctionnaires et les Consuls-Généraux des Puissances.

Caire, le 9 Juin, 1882.

Les Consuls-Généraux sont très contents de mon administration et arrangements avec les Égyptiens. Je crois pouvoir bientôt mettre en ordre les questions qui ont dérangé notre Souverain. Je pense qu'aujourd'hui Arabi et ses partisans sont contre moi. Je guette une occasion pour faire prisonnier Arabi et l'envoyer à Constantinople.

Caire, le 10 Juin, 1882.

Quelques personnes de la Chambre sont venues me dire en secret qu'Arabi fait organiser des complots contre nous et contre les Puissances. J'ai fait arrêter les chefs de ces complots et aujourd'hui je les ferai juger. Ayant entendu que les Arabes des voisinages du Caire, qui sont contre les Européens, jouent de mauvais tours, j'ai pris toutes les mesures nécessaires pour faire rentrer dans l'ordre les Arabes en question. Le Gouvernement de notre Souverain doit prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour obtenir les intérêts des Puissances. J'attends vos ordres supérieurs.

No. 1310.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21.)

(No. 444. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 14, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, a further telegraphic message, dated the 11th instant, from Dervish Pasha to the Porte, which has come into my possession.

Dervish Pasha states in it that he has informed the Assembly of Notables that in future they will not be allowed to sit ; that his mission is to consolidate the power of the Khedive, and, if necessary, to take into his own hands the Ministry of War.

Dervish Pasha goes on to say that the Notables manifested displeasure at the foregoing declarations, and insisted upon the preservation of their existence as an Assembly. They then told him that they would never consent to the dismissal of Arabi, and began to threaten him, upon which he ordered them out of the Chamber. He concludes that there is no compromise possible between the Khedive and Arabi and his colleagues. Under these circumstances the despatch of troops has become a necessity in order to assure the success of his mission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

Inclosure in No. 1310.

Dervish Pasha to the Minister of the Interior.

(Traduction.)

(Télégraphique.)

Le 28 Mai 9 Juin, 1882.

J'AI reçu votre télégramme en date du 27 Mai, et selon les ordres reçus j'en ai fait part à l'Assemblée de Notables, en leur expliquant que dorénavant il n'y aura pas d'Assemblée de Notables, et que ma mission consiste à préparer les moyens qui consolident le pouvoir dont le Khédive est investi, ainsi qu'à prendre entre mes mains, le cas échéant, la direction du Ministère de la Guerre. Ces messieurs ont manifesté de l'opposition aux susdites déclarations, et ils ont insisté sur la conservation de l'Assemblée des Notables.

Ensuite ils ont déclaré avec colère qu'ils ne consentiraient jamais à la destitution d'Arabi Pacha, et comme il se sont mis en même temps à faire des menaces, j'ai coupé court à la conversation, et j'ai ordonné qu'ils sortissent de la Chambre.

Il n'y a pas de compromis possible entre le Khédive d'un côté et Arabi et le Ministère actuel de l'autre. Je sens que je rencontrerai de grandes difficultés pour exécuter littéralement mes instructions. Les opposants font tout leur possible pour rendre mes efforts infructueux. Il faut de la force, c'est pourquoi l'envoi d'un certain nombre de troupes, en tant que cela est possible, me semble nécessaire, afin de mener mon entreprise à un résultat.

En même temps je ne cesse pas de chercher les moyens de réussite sans être à charge au Gouvernement Impérial.

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J'attends les ordres télégraphiques de votre Excellence en réponse à mon télégramme.

No. 1311.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21.)

(No. 444A. Very Confidential.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 14, 1882.

IN accordance with the wishes of the Sultan, I repaired to the Yildiz Kiosk immediately after the receipt yesterday of your Lordship's telegrams Nos. 218 and 219 of the 12th instant.

I repeated to His Majesty the substance of my previous observations to his Secretary, as contained in my telegrams Nos. 130 and 133 of the 11th instant. I informed him that he would see from the Parliamentary papers which had already been published, and from those which were in course of publication, that, from the outset, your Lordship had been anxious that His Majesty should associate himself with the two Powers in their endeavours to discourage, by the presence of their ships at Alexandria, the military revolt which appeared to be imminent in Egypt. I went on to explain to him that so long as the French Government loyally and faithfully co-operated with us in maintaining His Majesty's sovereign rights, the authority of the Khedive, the *statu quo*, and all the existing arrangements in Egypt, he could not expect that we should separate ourselves from them and from the other Powers; that your Lordship fully appreciated the loyalty and good faith with which he was acting in Egypt through his Commissioner, Dervish Pasha; and that he might rely upon us to offer the most strenuous resistance to any proposals which might tend to diminish his position in Egypt.

I further repeated to His Majesty, on your Lordship's behalf, what I had already hinted as my personal opinion to his Secretary, viz., that if the safety of the Europeans was secured, and if Dervish Pasha appeared to be in a fair way of re-establishing the authority of the Khedive, there was no reason why the Conference, after it had been once constituted, should not adjourn until the ultimate outcome of the Ottoman Commissioner's efforts should be ascertained. I further stated that I should be quite happy to give the most favourable consideration to any proposals which the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs might have to make to me, provided they were consistent with the principles which your Lordship had already enunciated, and which, indeed, were in accordance with the ends His Majesty himself was anxious to attain.

The Sultan seemed extremely pleased by the tenour of my communication. He begged me to thank your Lordship for the kind expressions you had authorized me to convey to him; and he added that, as the interests of the two countries were identical, not only in Egypt, but in the Red Sea, there would be no difficulty in coming to an intimate and close understanding. He added that he fully recognized that it was necessary whatever authority existed in Egypt, that it should possess the confidence of the British Government.

His Majesty, however, continued to argue against the Conference, upon the grounds of the injury it would inflict upon the prestige of Dervish Pasha; but he eventually contented himself with saying that at all events his Government must consider the matter maturely before accepting our proposition.

I then asked the Sultan (as a question coming entirely from myself, and in no way authorized by your Lordship) whether, if Dervish Pasha's efforts proved manifestly unavailing, His Majesty would be prepared, upon the invitation of the Powers, to send a certain number of troops to Egypt. He replied—and he added that I might at once telegraph his answer—that it had always been his policy to adopt conciliatory measures; that hitherto this mode of procedure had succeeded, and that he hoped in this case it was also destined to succeed; but he allowed me to understand that in the last resort he would be prepared to send the necessary forces to Egypt.

As your Lordship will have gathered from my previous correspondence, I have never had any doubt that there would be difficulty on this head. I knew that the Sultan had formerly caressed with pleasure the notion of such a contingency, though at that time he did not anticipate that his troops would meet with any serious opposition. Since then it has become manifest that this might happen, and that if so, on the one hand, his prestige and popularity as the head and champion of Islam might be damaged both in Arabia and in Africa, and, on the other, that Arabi Bey or some

other popular champion might be tempted to revive the tradition of an Egyptian Caliphate. Still his interest in asserting his supremacy as temporal Sovereign in Egypt is so direct and manifest, that he is certain to be willing to run any risk rather than sacrifice the opportunity of asserting it.

Having ascertained, from my previous conversation with Reschid Bey, that the Sultan was ignorant of the correspondence which had passed between the English and French Governments during the discussion of the Tunisian questions, I took special pains to acquaint him with the decisive manner in which your Lordship had interdicted to the French any aggressive action along the Tripolitan frontier. This reference made a great impression upon His Majesty's mind, and he begged me, with great earnestness, to thank your Lordship for your assistance on that occasion.

After I had taken my leave, Reschid Bey followed me out of the room, and said that His Majesty had told him to ask me, quite privately and confidentially, whether, in the event of Turkish reinforcements being required in Egypt, England would lend two or three transports. I said that I could not reply on the spot to the question, but that if His Majesty was required to embark on such an expedition, the British Government I was sure would be glad to facilitate it.

In making the foregoing communications, I thought it advisable to warn the Sultan that the instructions on which they were founded had left London before the news of the recent troubles in Alexandria was known. His Majesty observed, in regard to these, that they did not appear to have a political character, and that when called upon the troops did not hesitate to obey the orders they had received. The strictest injunctions also had been laid on Dervish Pasha and the Khedive to bring the authors of the disturbances to justice.

I then asked His Majesty whether he really thought that Dervish Pasha was likely still to succeed in getting the better of Arabi Pasha and the military faction. The Sultan replied that he thought he would, and that he had other plans in his mind by which to reinforce his Commissioner's efforts. I asked him whether he would deign to acquaint me with their character. He said he would communicate part of them to me then and part the next day. His Majesty then gave utterance to a number of meaningless phrases, which did not contain the vestige of a practical suggestion; and I do not expect that the subsequent revelations I have been promised (if ever they are made, which is doubtful) will be at all more precise or effectual.

In conclusion, His Majesty referred to a complaint which had been made by Dervish Pasha, to the effect that when he had declined, at the instance of the European Consuls, to guarantee the safety of the Europeans, they declared that they would then appeal to Arabi Pasha.

His Majesty added that this reference to Arabi Pasha would have a bad effect, and that he trusted that Sir Edward Malet would give his entire confidence and do his best to act in concert with Dervish Pasha. I said I was quite certain that Sir Edward Malet desired no better than to do so; and I added that I hoped His Majesty would instruct Dervish Pasha to enter into equally friendly and confidential relations with the British Agent.

The Sultan replied that he would at once give the strictest injunctions to his Excellency to that effect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

P.S.—As I could not help suspecting that Dervish's assertion that he had arrested so many Sheikhs was possibly untrue, I asked Sir Edward Malet the question, who just replied to me that he does not believe the statement.

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No. 1312.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21.)

(No. 450. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 16, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 444 of the 14th instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of another telegram, which has come into my hands, from

Dervish Pasha to the Prime Minister and to the Minister of the Interior, in which he asks for the dispatch of troops to Egypt and for fresh instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

Inclosure in No. 1312.

Dervish Pasha to the Prime Minister.

(Télégraphique.)

Le 2 Juin, 1882 (v.s.)

J'AI expédié par Osman Bey, Aide-de-camp de Sa Majesté, un rapport exposant ce que j'ai vu ici et mes considérations à cet égard. Dans un autre télégramme que j'ai envoyé au Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, j'ai fait savoir que l'affaire des flottes indispose les esprits de tout le monde ici. Ils m'ont à plusieurs reprises supplié que les flottes étrangères fussent éloignées des eaux de l'Égypte, et comme j'ai dû rejeter leur demande ils me regardent maintenant avec aversion. Arabi Pacha, bien qu'en apparence soit d'accord avec moi en certaines matières, intérieurement il est tout opposé à moi. Tous les chefs Égyptiens entretiennent les mêmes opinions. Son Altesse le Khédive se trouve aussi dans une position difficile. Il est nécessaire d'envoyer des troupes et que le nombre n'en soit pas moins de vingt-trois bataillons. Ayant expliqué au Ministère de la Guerre le mode dans lequel l'envoi des troupes devrait être effectué on m'a répondu par télégramme on nous demandant si cela ne causerait pas des troubles intérieurs. Je ne saurais donner une réponse à cela. Je ne crois pas que l'armée Égyptienne puisse faire de la résistance. Cependant il appartient au supérieur de penser là-dessus. J'ai fait savoir, après avoir demandé si je dois ou non modifier mes anciennes instructions, que si je dois rester avec ces dernières le succès sera difficile. J'ai demandé une réponse mais je n'en ai pas encore reçue. J'attends un ordre péremptoire.

No. 1313.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21.)

(No. 205.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 18, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to forward an extract from the Official Report of M. Mancini's speech on Egyptian affairs, giving the passages in which M. Mancini summed up his declaration of policy to the Chamber.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 1313.

*Extract from the Official Report of M. Mancini's Speech on Egyptian Affairs,
June 12, 1882.*

RIASSUMENDO le mie dichiarazioni, ben vede dunque la Camera, che il programma della nostra politica relativamente alla questione d'Egitto è molto chiaro e semplice. Escludere, con tutti i legittimi mezzi, l'intervento armato e l'azione isolata di alcune Potenze. Custodire il principio della competenza del concerto Europeo per la risoluzione della questione Egiziana. Procedere in perfetto accordo con gli altri tre Gabinetti di Vienna, Berlino, e Pietroburgo, e per tal mezzo, anziché respingere, attirare in un'azione comune anche quelli di Londra e di Parigi, e riuscire a conseguire e mantenere un accordo fra tutte le grandi Potenze Europee e la Turchia per risolvere la questione anzidetta. Garantire l'Egitto per l'avvenire dai pericoli d'un rinnovamento dei presenti danni e disordini. Per la pratica esplicazione di questo sistema, ove sia necessario, favorire la riunione di una Conferenza Europea, con uno scopo e mandato determinato, il quale dovrebbe essere, come più volte è stato dichiarato, il mantenimento dell'attuale condizione politica dell'Egitto, con la sua indipendenza ed autonomia garantita dai Trattati e dai Firmani, salvi i legami con la Porta che i medesimi Trattati e Firmani stabiliscono: in altri termini, tutelare ad un tempo l'indipendenza dell'Egitto e i diritti del Sultano; restituire al Kedive il libero esercizio

della sovranità, ed al Sultano l'efficacia della suprema autorità; ma altresì mantenere immuni da qualunque offesa, e verso chiunque, la libertà garantita dai Trattati e dai Firmani al popolo Egiziano, e le istituzioni nazionali, sciogliendole da profani legami con la militare violenza.

Finalmente, se un intervento armato potesse divenire necessario, preferire ad ogni intervento straniero, come il minore dei mali (perchè qualunque intervento armato è sempre un danno), un invio temporaneo di truppe Turchie in Egitto, ma previo accordo delle Potenze col Sultano, per preservare da ogni pericolo l'indipendenza e l'autonomia del Vicereame.

Chiuderò le mie parole con una considerazione che a me sembra importante: ed è che el leale disinteresse, con cui da molti mesi in questa vertenza Egiziana si è mantenuto un accordo costante, completo, perfettissimo fra i quattro Gabinetti, ed il contegno assunto al cospetto della loro concordia anche dalle due Potenze Occidentali, che si associarono all'opera nostra pacificatrice, sono un bell'esempio, un felice esperimento, perchè dimostrano che anche in occasione di altre gravi questioni d'interesse Europeo questo sistema può esercitare una efficace e benefica influenza.

Tanto più desideriamo che ora possa riuscire al suo scopo finale, per poterlo considerare come un buon augurio ed un pegno di pace e di conservazione per l'avvenire di Europa.

No. 1314.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21.)

(No. 208.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 18, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the French Chargé d'Affaires has received a telegram from M. de Freycinet, stating that he had heard from Lord Lyons that your Lordship had been informed that the Sultan had no objection to a Conference being held at Constantinople, but that he would prefer its being held without his participation.

The Chargé d'Affaires is desired, in acquainting the Italian Government with this communication, to state that the suggestion has been accepted by the French Government, and also, as M. de Freycinet is informed, by the German Government if no other Powers oppose it, and he is to express the hope that the Italian Government will give instructions to their Ambassador at Constantinople in the same sense.

M. Marchand has accordingly been to M. Mancini to execute the instructions addressed to the Marquis de Reverseaux, and has just called to tell me that his Excellency has consented to instruct Count Corti to act in the sense desired on the condition of all his other colleagues having received similar directions.

M. Mancini, however, informed M. Marchand that he thought it would be very desirable to obtain from the Sultan some assurance before the meeting of the Conference that His Imperial Majesty would agree to the conditions which it might lay down relative to the duration, &c., of the military expedition.

I regret that I inadvertently omitted to mention, both in my telegram No. 46 and despatch No. 204 of yesterday's date, that I had informed M. Mancini confidentially that I thought Her Majesty's Government had reason to believe that the Sultan would prefer the Conference without his participation, and that he would give all the assurance which might be required.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1315.

Mr. Stuart to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21.)

(No. 59.)

My Lord,

The Hague, June 20, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report that a telegraphic order was lately sent to the Commander of the Netherlands flying squadron in the Mediterranean to dispatch the wooden screw corvette "Marnix" to Alexandria for the protection of Netherlands subjects in case of need.

It is expected that the "Marnix" will touch at Malta at about the present time,
[804] 60

and that she will there take in coal and provisions, and immediately afterwards proceed to the above-mentioned destination.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 1316.

M. de Giers to Prince Lobanow.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Prince Lobanow, June 21.)

(Télégraphique.) *St. Pétersbourg, le 20 Juin, 1882.*
JE reçois de notre Chargé d'Affaires à Constantinople l'avis que, vu l'apaisement qui s'est fait en Égypte, le Sultan trouve la Conférence inutile, et désapprouve la déclaration de Musurus. M. Onou ajoute que, par conséquent, la Conférence ne se réunira pas le jour proposé.

En présence de cette situation, veuillez m'informer des décisions du Gouvernement Anglais.

No. 1317.

Said Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, June 21.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 20 Juin, 1882.*
PENDANT ces jours derniers, Messieurs les Représentants d'Autriche-Hongrie, d'Italie, d'Allemagne, et de Russie sont venus me dire qu'ils étaient chargés par leurs Cabinets respectifs de conseiller au Gouvernement Impérial d'adhérer à la proposition déjà faite par les Gouvernements de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française pour la réunion à Constantinople d'une Conférence destinée à faciliter la mission du Maréchal Dervish Pacha, et ont ajouté, en dernier lieu, que la Conférence en question n'aurait à s'occuper exclusivement que des affaires Égyptiennes, telles que les deux Cabinets proposant venaient de le déclarer à leur tour.

Mes réponses successives à Messieurs les Représentants des Six Puissances ont eu pour base les arguments que mes dépêches circulaires vous ont déjà énoncés, et qui ont démontré, nous aimons à l'espérer, la non-nécessité de la Conférence, qui se réunirait, d'après ce qui nous revient tout récemment, Jeudi prochain, le 22, à Constantinople.

Les dernières nouvelles qui nous parviennent d'Égypte confirment les progrès de l'apaisement dans cette province; et les mesures sages et pratiques concertées dans ce but par la mission Impériale et Son Altesse le Khédive, ainsi que la formation du nouveau Ministère Égyptien, font espérer le prompt et entier rétablissement de l'ordre et de la tranquillité publique.

En présence de cette situation, nous sommes persuadés que les Puissances, dans leurs sentiments d'impartiale équité et dans leur sollicitude égale à la nôtre, pour le retour de l'état de choses normal en Égypte, voudront bien constater que les efforts de Dervish Pacha répondent au désir général de paix, et que, dès lors, la réunion d'une Conférence constituerait double emploi d'un même projet et présenterait peut-être des inconvénients de nature à rendre stérile la tâche du Maréchal, à l'encontre du but que l'on se serait consciencieusement proposé.

Nous nous estimerons très-heureux, comme je l'ai dit à Messieurs les Représentants, d'entrer dans un échange de vues avec eux, en prêtant une oreille attentive aux considérations que leurs Gouvernements croiront devoir émettre, dans leur saine appréciation, pour la sauvegarde de leurs intérêts.

S'il m'était permis de compléter ma pensée, j'ajouterais qu'en face de notre meilleur vouloir et de notre empressement à déférer au vœu des Cabinets pour le maintien des stipulations du Firman Impérial octroyé au Khédivat et du *statu quo* Égyptien, le fond de la question resterait le même, à savoir: le retour désiré de la situation normale dans cette province par une entente entre nous et les grandes Puissances séparément, et qu'il n'y aurait que la forme qui différencierait, je veux dire: la réunion d'une Conférence dont nous croyons devoir décliner, cette fois encore, la nécessité et l'opportunité.

Nous avons donc le ferme espoir que notre thèse sera agréée par le Gouvernement près duquel vous êtes accrédité, et qu'il voudra bien croire qu'en réalité cet exposé de

notre part n'a en vue que l'intérêt général et la réussite de la chose à la satisfaction commune.

Je prie votre Excellence de déployer tous ses efforts pour faire valoir les considérations qui précèdent auprès de M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, en laissant à son Excellence copie de la présente dépêche, et pour arriver à en écarter le projet de Conférence dont il s'agit.

No. 1318.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21, 8 A.M.)

(No. 247.)
(Telegraphic.) *Alexandria, June 20, 1882, 6 P.M.*

I HAVE ascertained from the Khedive the programme of the new Ministry. Though not yet officially communicated, it has been signed by him. First, a general amnesty, except to those who have taken part or have been implicated in the events of the 11th June. Secondly, the Government of the country according to terms of Khedivial Rescript of the 28th August, 1878. Thirdly, that no one shall be punished except in virtue of and according to terms of law. Fourthly, that the conduct of foreign affairs should be exercised between Consuls-General and Foreign Minister, and by no other functionary.

My German, Russian, and Italian colleagues visited the Khedive this afternoon after the formation of the Ministry. My Austrian colleague is slightly indisposed. My German colleague rather peremptorily warned the Khedive to work loyally with his Ministry, and without *arrière-pensée*, and asked whether no remonstrances had been made to His Highness in regard to the composition of his personal staff, to which the Khedive replied in the negative.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1319.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 21.)

(No. 374. Ext. 247.)
My Lord, *Alexandria, June 20, 1882.*

WITH reference to my foregoing despatch, I have the honour to furnish your Lordship with the heads of the Ministerial programme, which has been signed by the Khedive, although not yet officially communicated to the foreign Representatives.

In the first place, the Khedive grants a general amnesty, from which the persons implicated in the events of the 11th June are alone excluded.

Secondly, the Government of the country is to be conducted according to the terms of the Khedivial rescript of the 28th August, 1878.

Thirdly, punishments shall be inflicted only in virtue of and in accordance with the law; and

Fourthly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs shall be the sole functionary entrusted with the transaction of business with the Consuls-General.

After the formation of the new Ministry, His Highness the Khedive received the Agents and Consuls-General of Germany, Russia, and Italy, my Austrian colleague being slightly indisposed.

The German Agent warned His Highness, in rather peremptory language, that he was expected to co-operate loyally and without *arrière-pensée* with his Ministry. He also inquired whether no remonstrances had been made by the Ministers in regard to his personal advisers (referring, it is understood, to Khairi Pasha, Keeper of the Seals, and Talaat Pasha, Turkish Private Secretary, both known to be detested by Arabi Pasha, and both men of the highest character).

The Khedive replied in the negative.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1320.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21, 8 A.M.)(No. 58.)
(Telegraphic.)*Berlin, June 21, 1882, 1.5 A.M.*

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 148 of yesterday.

I will be careful to make it clear that Her Majesty's Government have been no parties to the present arrangements in Egypt, but as regards the political settlement of the [? question*], Prince Bismarck distinctly said that it must be referred to the Conference summoned at the request of England and France.

No. 1321.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21, 12.50 P.M.)(No. 59.)
(Telegraphic.)*Berlin, June 21, 1882, 12.35 P.M.*

PRINCE BISMARCK having left Berlin for Varzin, I now propose, with your Lordship's leave, to accompany Lady Amthill to Schlaugenbad, but to return immediately myself to Berlin. I have presented Sir John Walsham, as Chargé d'Affaires, to Count Hatzfeldt, during my absence.

No. 1322

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21, 2.15 P.M.)(No. 159.)
(Telegraphic.)*Constantinople, June 21, 1882, 11.30 A.M.*

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 277 of the 20th June.

Immediately on receipt of Mr. Cartwright's No. 239 I had already made a most pressing representation to the Sultan against his insisting on the return of the Khedive into Cairo. I have made the same representations to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

No. 1323.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21, 3.45 P.M.)(No. 160.)
(Telegraphic.)*Constantinople, June 21, 1882, 1.30 P.M.*

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs has given me a formal assurance that the Khedive will be allowed to consult his own wishes and judgment as to his movements.

(Repeated to Sir E. Malet.)

No. 1324.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 21.)

(No. 478. Confidential. Ext. 159 and 160.)

My Lord,

Therapia, June 21, 1882.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 277 of the 20th ultimo, I have the honour to state that, on the receipt of Mr. Cartwright's telegram to your Lordship No. 239 of the 19th instant, I had already made a most pressing representation to the Sultan against his insisting on the return of the Khedive to Cairo. I have made similar representations to the Foreign Minister, who has given me a formal assurance that the Khedive will be allowed to consult his own wishes and judgment as to his movements.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

• Group omitted.

No. 1325.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21, 2.50 P.M.)(No. 248.)
(Telegraphic.)*Alexandria, June 21, 1882, 11 A.M.*

A KIND of demonstration was arranged in the square last evening for Arabi Pasha.

About 6 P.M. it was filled, evidently by order, by crowds of the lowest classes, the same as those who took part in the events of the 11th June. Half-an-hour later Arabi drove slowly down the square, accompanied by a strong escort, and followed by several other carriages occupied by officers. He saluted the crowd incessantly, which, however, was silent and undemonstrative. He seems to have gone afterwards into other of the main streets.

The military party are busy to-day circulating the report that the fleets are about to be withdrawn.

No. 1326.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 21.)

(No. 375. Ext. 248.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 21, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report that a sort of demonstration took place yesterday evening in honour of Arabi Pasha. About 6 o'clock the "Place Mohammed Aly" was crowded with natives of the lowest class, such as those who figured in the disturbance of last Sunday week.

They evidently came by order, and waited half-an-hour for the arrival of the Minister of War.

At about 6.30 Arabi Pasha, accompanied by a mounted escort, and followed by several carriages filled with officers, drove slowly past, and bowed incessantly to the people drawn up on either side of the street, meeting, however, with an undemonstrative reception. It appears that he drove through the principal streets of the town.

To-day a report is being busily circulated by the Military party that the fleets are about to be withdrawn from Alexandria.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1327.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21, 4.10 P.M.)(No. 249.)
(Telegraphic.)*Alexandria, June 21, 1882, noon.*

THE Khedive told Sir A. Colvin this morning that yesterday a telegram was received by Dervish Pasha from the Sultan, intimating His Majesty's wish that Arabi Pasha should proceed soon to Constantinople, while at the same time expressing the approval and satisfaction of His Majesty personally with Arabi. His Majesty is pressing Dervish urgently to some decisive step regarding Arabi, and to-morrow or next day Dervish proposes, if necessary, to invite Arabi in writing to go to Constantinople; and to give him to understand, if he refuses, it will be at his risk and peril. Meanwhile every effort is being made to induce him to go. His Highness spoke warmly of Dervish, who, he is convinced, is doing his utmost to make Sultan clearly understand the real state of affairs. Dervish has told Sultan that the idea of Halim Pasha must be abandoned, as no party or group in Egypt would listen to his name. His Highness says that Imperial Commissioner is still anxious to return for three or four days to Cairo with the Ministers, and His Highness does not wish to let him go alone, for fear it should be understood as indicating a difference between the Commissioner and himself. He is trying, however, to dissuade him.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1328.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 21.)

(No. 376. Confidential. Ext. 249.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 21, 1882.

SIR AUCKLAND COLVIN learnt from the Khedive this morning that Dervish Pasha had received a telegram yesterday from the Sultan, in which His Majesty, while expressing his personal approval of Arabi Pasha's proceedings, desires that he should come to Constantinople. Dervish Pasha has also been urgently pressed by the Sultan to take some decisive step with regard to Arabi, and his Excellency proposes to send him a formal invitation to proceed to Constantinople, giving him to understand that he must take the consequences of a refusal. In the meantime, no effort is spared to obtain this result by private pressure brought to bear on him by such of his friends as will lend themselves to the proposal.

The Khedive spoke in warm terms of Dervish Pasha's conduct, and expressed his conviction that his Excellency was doing his utmost to represent the real state of things to the Sultan. His Excellency has informed the Sultan that it is no use to think of Halim Pasha, whose name would meet with no response from any group or party in the country.

Dervish Pasha still wishes to return to Cairo for a few days with the new Ministry, and the Khedive is unwilling to allow him to go there alone, lest it should seem that any difference existed between them, but His Highness is endeavouring to induce him to abandon the idea.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1329.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21, 5 P.M.)

(No. 101.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 21, 1882, 2.14 P.M.

THE Yellow Book on Egypt is to appear the day after to-morrow. M. de Freycinet assures me that it will contain nothing whatever about the candidature of Halim Pasha or about the Organic Law.

No. 1330.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 21.)

(No. 607. Ext. 101.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 21, 1882.

M. DE FREYCINET told me this afternoon that he intended to lay the new Yellow Book on Egyptian Affairs on the tables of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies the day after to-morrow.

He said that no documents relative either to the substitution of Halim Pasha for the present Khedive or to the Egyptian Organic Law would appear in it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1331.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 288. Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 21, 1882, 7 P.M.

INSTRUCTIONS for your guidance in Conference are about to be telegraphed. The gist is that you should propose with French colleague to invite Sultan to send troops, leaving you discretion as to modifying restrictions. If he refuses, Her

Majesty's Government will invite Conference to provide or sanction a military intervention other than Turkish, under their authority. You are to intimate that Her Majesty's Government will require reparation for outrages.

No. 1332.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 289. Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 21, 1882, 6.50 P.M.

YOUR Excellency will hold the language which I have indicated in my telegram No. 290 of to-day, even although the French Ambassador may not have instructions to concur with you, though you will endeavour to obtain his concurrence on every point as far as you can.

No. 1333.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 328. Confidential. Ext. 289.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 21, 1882.

YOUR Excellency will endeavour to obtain the concurrence of the French Ambassador on every point as regards the language you are instructed by my telegram No. 290 of to-day to hold at the Conference on the affairs of Egypt. If his Excellency's instructions should not enable him to join with you in adopting the language indicated in that telegram, Her Majesty's Government desire that you should use it on their behalf, notwithstanding the abstinence of your French colleague.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1334.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21, 7 P.M.)

(No. 250.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 21, 1882, 4 P.M.

COOKSON informs me that, from careful inquiries he has made, it appears that there now remain in Alexandria about 150 Maltese, exclusive of those on board ships. Of these, all but about ten intend to go on board, with a view to leaving. The number of Englishmen in Alexandria, Cairo, and elsewhere in Egypt (Port Said excepted) does not probably exceed 100.

No. 1335.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 21.)

(No. 377. Ext. 250.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 21, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that, from careful inquiries made by Mr. Cookson, it appears that the number of Maltese now remaining at Alexandria is 150, those already on board the ships excepted. Of this number, all but ten propose to go on board, with a view to leaving. The number of Englishmen now remaining at Alexandria, Cairo, and other places in Egypt (Port Said excepted) does not probably come to 100.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 331.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 21, 1882.

THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and gave me the telegram from his Government of which I inclose a copy, repeating the objections of the Porte to a Conference in view of the improved state of affairs in Egypt.

I told Musurus Pasha that I could not share in the opinions on which the reasoning of the Porte was based. Successive military demonstrations had taken place in Egypt, which had produced a most lamentable state of affairs, and taken away all feeling of security for the due observance of international duties and engagements. So long as the person remained in power who had instigated those demonstrations there was no guarantee for the maintenance of order, nor could any reliance be placed on his assurances. Her Majesty's Government were still of opinion, therefore, that the Conference should meet without delay; but in the instructions which I was sending to Lord Dufferin I had included a recommendation, though it was superfluous to do so, that in any proposal which he might make he should consider the dignity and the wishes of the Sultan, so far as these latter were in conformity with the practical objects which we had in view.

I told his Excellency that if the Sultan, contrary to my expectations, declined to take any sufficient steps to deal with the present state of things, other measures would have to be taken.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1337.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Thornton.

(No. 200.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, June 21, 1882.

THE Russian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and said that his Government had heard from Constantinople that in consequence of the restoration of tranquillity in Egypt the Sultan considered that a Conference was unnecessary, and disapproved the statement made by Musurus Pasha. The Russian Chargé d'Affaires reported that in consequence the Conference would not meet at the date proposed.

Prince Lobanow said he was instructed to ask what were the intentions of Her Majesty's Government under these circumstances.

I said that I understood the Austrian Government had expressed some hesitation as to the expediency of the Conference taking place, but that Prince Bismarck still considered that it was desirable that it should meet, and that we were of the same opinion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1338.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.

(No. 261.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 21, 1882.

THE German Ambassador called upon me this morning and informed me that the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs had stated to the German Chargé d'Affaires that the Porte repudiated the language of Musurus Pasha as to the willingness of the Sultan to agree to a Conference on Egypt without the participation of Turkey.

His Excellency also said that in answer to the argument of the Porte, that a practical settlement had been effected in Egypt, Prince Bismarck had said that he could not take that optimistic view of the situation, and that he still thought it desirable that the Conference should meet.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 290.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 21, 1882, 8 P.M.

YOUR Excellency has already received instructions with regard to the meeting of the Conference, and you are fully informed of all that has passed between Her Majesty's Government and the other Powers.

Your Excellency is acquainted with the reasons which have made the consideration of Egyptian affairs by a Conference necessary.

The essential feature is that repeated military demonstrations have destroyed the authority of the Khedive, and removed all security for the engagements entered into, and rights assured by Firmans and Treaties. The authority of the Khedive should be supported and relieved from the dictation of the military party.

For these reasons, the temporary arrangement which exists cannot be accepted as a solution. It furnishes no guarantee that the power which has been already exerted will not be exerted again, to the destruction of the order of things established by law and of the rights guaranteed to Europeans.

His Majesty has taken upon himself the responsibility attaching to his position by sending an Imperial Commissioner to Egypt. His Majesty must feel that further measures are necessary to enforce his authority.

You will join with your French colleague in proposing, at the outset of the Conference, the signature of the Self-denying Protocol upon the terms of which the several Governments are already agreed.

You will also join with him in proposing that a request should be addressed to the Sultan to send an adequate Turkish force to Egypt for the restoration of order.

You are aware of the conditions on which it is desired that these troops should be sent. In these conditions the French Government have concurred, but some objections have been raised by other Governments as to their being too stringent, which do not appear to be wholly without foundation. Her Majesty's Government are quite ready that you should concert with your colleagues upon these conditions, always providing that they are sufficient to insure that satisfactory engagements should be entered into by the Porte to secure the due limitation of the object for which the troops are employed.

If the Sultan should decline, the Conference will be invited to concert effective means for the re-establishment of legality and security in Egypt. So far as they can at present judge, this invitation will be to ask the Powers to provide or sanction a military intervention, other than Turkish, under their authority.

Your Excellency will also take an opportunity of intimating to the Conference, but without asking for any action on their part, that Her Majesty's Government intend to require full reparation and satisfaction for the outrages on British subjects during the late disorders in Alexandria, and the insults offered to Her Majesty's Consul and to officers in Her Majesty's service.

Her Majesty's Government have full confidence in your Excellency's energy and discretion to carry out their views. They do not attach importance to particular forms, and are anxious, as much as possible, to consult the dignity and wishes of the Sultan; but their desires are concentrated on the necessity of obtaining the practical objects which they have in view.

No. 1340.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21, 11 P.M.)

(No. 52.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, June 21, 1882, 8 P.M.

MINISTER for Foreign Affairs told French Chargé d'Affaires this afternoon that, in view of the position taken up by the Sultan towards the Conference, his [? opinion was that it*] should meet [all] the same to-morrow, sign the Self-denying Protocol, transact some other business, then [? ask for two days*] to negotiate with the Porte [*] on the basis of a Conference [two groups unintelligible].

* Groups unintelligible.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 21.)

(No. 219. Ext. 52.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 22, 1882.

THE Acting French Chargé d'Affaires, M. Marchand, saw M. Mancini yesterday afternoon, and his Excellency, in speaking of the determined opposition evinced by the Porte to the Conference being held at Constantinople, stated that there appeared to be three courses open: (1) either give up the Conference altogether; (2) to hold it in some other capital; or (3) that the Conference should, notwithstanding the Porte's opposition, meet all the same to-day, sign the Self-denying Protocol, and do any other formal business, then adjourn for two days, and negotiate again with the Porte during this time upon the basis of the Conference being constituted. This latter was the course which, in M. Mancini's opinion, ought to be followed.

M. Marchand, on leaving M. Mancini, was good enough to call upon me to give me the above information.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1342.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 22.)

(No. 608.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 21, 1882.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 370 of yesterday, I have the honour to report that I said to M. de Freycinet this afternoon that I was authorized by your Lordship to inform him, in answer to the inquiry he had begged me to make of you, that Her Majesty's Government had no intention of appointing any second Plenipotentiary to the Conference on Egyptian affairs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1343.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 22, 9.45 A.M.)

(No. 251.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 22, 1882, 7 A.M.

SUM at present allowed for transport of indigent Maltese families insufficient. May I spend 300l. more?

No. 1344.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 22, 1.50 P.M.)

(No. 102.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 22, 1882, 12.15 P.M.

I HAVE this morning spoken to M. de Freycinet as follows:—

"Rumours have been for some time afloat of danger to the Suez Canal, whether from the Egyptian military party or from bands of roving Bedouins. Her Majesty's Government would be glad if the French Government would concert with them the measures which should be taken immediately for the protection of the Canal in case of necessity. They wish the interchange of ideas between the two Governments on this subject to be of an absolutely confidential character."

M. de Freycinet said that he would confer with his colleagues, and give me an answer as soon as possible.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 22.)

(No. 611. Confidential. Ext. 102.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 22, 1882.

I OBSERVED to M. de Freycinet this morning that, in some way separate from, though connected with, the Egyptian question proper, which was about to be discussed in the Conference, there was a matter of vital importance.

Rumours had been for some time afloat of danger to the Suez Canal, whether from the Military party in Egypt or from bands of roving Bedouins; and Her Majesty's Government would, I said, be glad if the French Government would concert with them the measures which should be taken immediately for the protection of the Canal in case of necessity. I added that Her Majesty's Government wished the interchange of ideas between themselves and the French Government on the subject to be of an absolutely confidential character.

M. de Freycinet said that he would confer with his colleagues, and give me an answer as soon as possible.

I have had the honour to send the substance of this despatch to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1346.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 22, 6 P.M.)

(No. 59.)

(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, June 22, 1882, 4 P.M.

AUSTRIAN Minister for Foreign Affairs continues to urge the Porte to withdraw its objections to the Conference.

M. Kallay to-day told the Turkish Ambassador to represent to his Government that Prince Bismarck had now taken the matter up, and was not a man likely to let it drop, and that if all the other Governments consented to go into the Conference, Austria would not isolate herself from them by refusing to join.

The Sultan would thus find himself in opposition to a united Europe.

He has directed Baron Calice to hold similar language at Constantinople.

No. 1347.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph June 22.)

(No. 307. Ext. 59.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 22, 1882.

WHEN I called at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to-day I met the Turkish Ambassador coming out, and Count Kálnoky told me that he had just been making another attempt to induce the Porte to withdraw its opposition to the meeting of a Conference.

He had asked Edhem Pasha to represent to his Government that, by a further resistance, the Sultan would place himself in a very bad position; that the Conference was not proposed in any spirit of hostility to him, but quite the reverse.

It would be prudent to remember that Prince Bismarck had now taken the matter up, and was ready to go into Conference without regard to the protest of the Porte, and he was not a man to go back when he had once taken a thing in hand.

He told the Ambassador to warn his Government that, if all the other Governments were willing to agree to the Conference, Austria would not isolate herself by refusing to join them, and the obstinacy of the Porte might thus array the united European Powers against it.

Baron Calice has been instructed to hold similar language at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 1348.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 22, 6.15 P.M.)

(No. 60.)

(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, June 22, 1882, 4.10 P.M.

I HAVE spoken to Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs of the language attributed to the Austrian Consul-General, as reported in Mr. Cartwright's telegram to your Lordship No. 242.

He does not believe it possible that the Consul-General should have spoken in a manner so opposed to what he knows to be the views of his Government, which wishes to support the Khedive and maintain the *status quo*.

No. 1349.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 20.)

(No. 309. Ext. 60.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 22, 1882.

I MENTIONED to-day to Count Kálnoky that the Austrian Consul-General in Egypt was reported to use language depreciatory of the Khedive and complimentary of Halim Pasha.

His Excellency said that he felt quite sure that M. Kosjek could not have spoken in the manner represented, for he knew the policy of his Government to be directed to the maintenance of the Khedive and of the *status quo*.

What M. Kosjek's opinion of Halim Pasha was he did not know, but it was also very recently asserted that he was in favour of making Tewfik's son Khedive, with Arabi as Regent, which was equally a pure invention, for M. Kosjek's estimate of Arabi's character was extremely unfavourable.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 1350.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 22.)

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, June 22, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to request that you will state to Earl Granville that, in a telegram of to-day's date, Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, at Alexandria, reports that he believes the British subjects, except the Consul and those who are determined to stay, will embark by to-morrow, and that he considers this removes the principal cause of anxiety in calculating what action should be taken.

2. He further reports that ships of Austria, Italy, Germany, and Russia are there.

I am, &c.
(Signed) G. TRYON.

No. 1351.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 743. Very Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 22, 1882.

ALTHOUGH the security of the Suez Canal is a subject in some respects distinct from what may be called the Egyptian question proper, which is about to be discussed in the Conference at Constantinople, it is one which cannot be left out of sight in the consideration of the measures to be adopted. The freedom of navigation through the Canal is a matter of vital importance to this country. Rumours have for some time been afloat of its being threatened with obstruction either by the Military party in Egypt or by bands of roving Bedouins.

This is a danger which ought carefully to be guarded against. Her Majesty's Government would be glad if the French Government would concert with them the measures which should be immediately taken for the protection of the Canal in case of necessity.

I shall be obliged by your Excellency at once communicating with M. de Freycinet on the subject, adding that, in our opinion, the interchange of views between the two Governments should be of an absolutely confidential nature.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1352.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

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(No. 168 A.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 22, 1882.

THE Austrian Ambassador called upon me this morning and told me that it appeared, from the intelligence received by his Government, that Musurus Pasha had been mistaken in supposing that the Sultan was ready to agree to a Conference meeting at Constantinople without the participation of Turkey, and that, on the contrary, His Majesty's objections to a Conference were undiminished. The Austrian Government consequently hesitated to instruct their Ambassador to take part in the Conference.

I said that I hoped their hesitation was only temporary, as I believed it would have a very unfortunate effect if the meeting were further delayed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1353.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 22, 8 P.M.)

(No. 160.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 22, 1882, 3.30 P.M.

NEITHER the German nor the Russian Chargé d'Affaires nor the Austrian Ambassador has yet received any [instructions] authorizing them to meet their colleagues in Conference.

Baron Calice told me, in the strictest confidence, that he had passed three hours in endeavouring to persuade the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs that, in his personal opinion, it would be for the advantage of the [Porte] to enter into the Conference, and he thinks he has made an impression upon them. Please consider the foregoing secret.

The French Ambassador and I have asked our colleagues to let us know if they receive any fresh instructions during the course of the day, so that the first sitting of the Conference may be held on the 22nd, no matter at how late an hour.

No. 1354.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 22, 10 P.M.)

(No. 53.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, June 22, 1882, 4.15 P.M.

TURKISH Ambassador communicated to Minister for Foreign Affairs last night a copy of the Circular objecting to the meeting of the Conference, &c. His Excellency replied that he did not exactly understand the object of this step, for, even if there were the will, there was not the time materially required for the exchange of communications between the Powers, with a view of altering the decision already taken of meeting in Conference to-day.

His Excellency then sent a telegram to Count Corti instructing him to join his colleagues in opening the Conference to-day for the purposes mentioned in my telegram No. 52 of yesterday, the only difference being that the Conference should itself decide for how long it should adjourn, instead of two days being specified.

No. 1355.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 22, 10 P.M.)

(No. 162.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 22, 1882, 7.30 P.M.

THE German and Russian Representatives have received their instructions to enter into the Conference.

No. 1356.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 23, 1 A.M.)

(No. 252.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 22, 1882, 5 P.M.

SIR A. COLVIN sends the following to your Lordship:—

"Sir E. Malet goes on board the 'Helicon' this evening for change of air. Should this move restore him, he will resume work, which he has wholly suspended since Sunday last, having kept his bed; and his duties have been discharged by me in his name. While he is on board this fiction will be more difficult to maintain, on account of the distance between us, as it would be unadvisable in every way to transfer the head-quarters of the Agency on board. For a day or so this will not matter, but if, as the doctor thinks likely, it becomes necessary to send him to sea for ten days, the need of a reply to telegrams Nos. 236 and 238 of 18th instant will be urgent. It would in that case be advisable, perhaps, to send somebody to act for him, should your Lordship disapprove of Sir E. Malet's proposal in regard to myself; and this telegram is sent in order that your Lordship may have time to prepare for such an eventuality.

"Sir E. Malet has seen and approves this telegram."

No. 1357.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 23, 1 A.M.)

(No. 253.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 22, 1882, 6 P.M.

THE Controllers-General have presented to my French colleague and myself the following observations, which we approve, and have agreed to recommend it respectively to our Governments:—

"The powers of the Control are dual, viz., to assist at the Council of Ministers, and to make such inquiries as it thinks fit into the public services. In view of the overwhelming influence exercised by Arabi Pasha, the Control cannot at present usefully exercise either of these powers. It cannot in Council prevent decisions being taken of which it wholly disapproves, while the legitimate exercise of its right of inquiry, on the other hand, would lead to fresh conflicts. In these circumstances, the presence of the Control at the meetings of the Council will give much moral strength to the military party by seeming to sanction their pretensions, the Control thus playing their game, and still further lowering its influence and prestige in the eyes of the Egyptians and the public."

For the above reasons, we think that the Controllers should certainly abstain from presenting themselves at Council, and confine themselves to such exercise of their powers of inquiry as circumstances allow and their discretion suggests.

No. 1358.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 23.)

(No. 378. Ext. 253.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 22, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship a copy of a Memorandum presented by the Controllers-General to my French colleague and me, which we approve, and have agreed to recommend to our respective Governments.

The Controllers observe that the attributions of the Control are two-fold: (1) to assist at the Council of Ministers, and (2) to institute such inquiries into the public service as it deems fit.

The Control, however, in consequence of the preponderating influence of Arabi Pasha, cannot at present with advantage exercise either of these powers. In Council it cannot prevent decisions being taken of which it disapproves; while, on the other hand, the exercise of its right of inquiry is likely to lead to fresh conflicts. The Control, therefore, consider that their presence at the meetings of the Council of Ministers will give great moral strength to the Military party, by playing that party's game, while it still further lowers the influence and prestige of the Control in the eyes of the Egyptians and the public.

For these reasons, M. Sienkiewicz and I are of opinion that the Controllers should certainly abstain from attending the meetings of the Council of Ministers, and only confine themselves to such an exercise of their powers of inquiry as circumstances may allow and their discretion may suggest.

I have, &c.

(For Sir E. Malet),

(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

Inclosure in No. 1358.

Memorandum.

LE Contrôle a deux attributions principales: d'assister au Conseil des Ministres, et de faire les investigations qu'il juge convenable dans les services publics.

Il ne peut, en ce moment, vu la situation prépondérante d'Araby Pacha, exercer aucune de ces attributions utilement. Au Conseil il n'a pas les moyens d'arrêter les décisions qui sont prises en dehors de lui; et quant au droit d'investigation il rencontrerait des résistances qui produiraient de nouveaux incidents.

Étant donnée cette situation, le Contrôle ne pourrait, en assistant au Conseil, que donner une grande autorité morale au parti militaire, dont il se trouverait faire le jeu, et s'affaiblir lui-même en montrant son impuissance.

No. 1359.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 23, 10.45 A.M.)

(No. 254.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 23, 1882, 9 A.M.

WITH reference to Lord Dufferin's telegram No. 150 of yesterday, the idea of the Khedive going to Cairo seems to be abandoned for the present.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1360.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 23.)

(No. 379. Ext. 254.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 23, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that there seems to be no longer any intention on the part of the Khedive to return to Cairo.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1361.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 23, 2 P.M.)

(No. 255.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 23, 1882, noon.

SIR A. COLVIN to your Lordship:—

"Khedive told me this morning that Dervish Pasha had yesterday received orders from the Sultan to put himself into intimate relations with Sir E. Malet, and had replied that he was unable to see Sir E. Malet at present because of the latter's indisposition, but that he would carry out his instructions as soon as Sir E. Malet returned to his duties. An Aide-de-camp of Dervish had called on me yesterday morning to inquire for Sir E. Malet, and I told him that Sir E. Malet could not see Dervish Pasha, but that if he had any communication to make to him, Sir E. Malet authorized me to receive it from him.

"Khedive further told me that Arabi was being urged by Sheikh Essad to ask for leave to go to Constantinople instead of waiting for an order; and that Arabi is losing confidence in himself. He added that, for the moment, there was no talk of the Ministry going to Cairo."

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1362.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 23.)

(No. 380. Ext. 255.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 23, 1882.

SIR AUCKLAND COLVIN had an interview with the Khedive this morning. His Highness stated that the Sultan had instructed Dervish Pasha, in a telegram received yesterday, to enter into intimate relations with Sir Edward Malet. To this Dervish Pasha had replied that Sir Edward Malet was at present indisposed, and unable to see him, but that he would fulfil his instructions as soon as circumstances might permit.

Dervish Pasha had already sent an Aide-de-camp yesterday morning to inquire for Sir Edward Malet. Sir Auckland Colvin informed him that he was authorized by Her Majesty's Minister to receive any message from Dervish Pasha in his absence.

At the interview this morning, the Khedive further stated that Sheikh Essad was urging Arabi Pasha to ask leave to proceed to Constantinople in lieu of awaiting an order from His Majesty the Sultan, and that Arabi Pasha was losing confidence in his own power and success.

The Khedive added that for the moment the Ministry had given up the intention of returning to Cairo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1363.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.

(No. 272.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 23, 1882, 2.35 P.M.

YOU are to take charge as Acting Agent and Consul-General during Sir E. Malet's absence. You should take Sir A. Colvin's advice on all matters of importance, and should also communicate freely with the Admiral and Mr. Cookson.

No. 1364.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.

(No. 186. Ext. 272.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 23, 1882.

HER Majesty's Government desire that during the absence of Sir Edward Malet from his duties you should take charge of Her Majesty's Agency as Acting Agent and Consul-General.

In all matters of importance you should take the advice of Sir Auckland Colvin, and you should also communicate freely with Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour and Her Majesty's Consul, Mr. Cookson.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1365.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 168.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 23, 1882, 2.45 P.M.

THE withdrawal of Austria will, if persevered in, create an unfortunate impression.

Her Majesty's Government trust that the Austrian Government will concur with the other Powers.

No. 1366.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 178. Ext. 168.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 23, 1882.

IT appears from telegrams received from Lord Dufferin, that by yesterday evening the Representatives of all the Powers at Constantinople, who it is proposed should take part in the Conference, had received instructions to attend with the exception of the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador. It further appears, from your Excellency's telegram of yesterday, dispatched at 4 P.M., that Count Kálnoky, though he had declared to the Turkish Ambassador that if all the other Governments consented to enter the Conference Austria would not isolate herself by refusing to join, had not sent any definite instructions. I have consequently telegraphed to you to-day that an unfavourable impression would be created if the Austro-Hungarian Government were to persevere in the idea of withdrawal, and have requested you to express the hope that they will now concur with the other Governments in authorizing their Representative to go into the Conference.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1367.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 295.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 23, 1882, 3.10 P.M.

WITH reference to Lord Ampthill's telegram No. 58 of yesterday, repeated to you, see first Protocol of Berlin Congress as to rights of minority.

If necessity should arise in the course of the proceedings of the Conference, you should make it understood that Her Majesty's Government retain their liberty of action.

No. 1368.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 332. Ext. 295.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 23, 1882.

IN his telegram No. 58 of the 21st instant, which has been communicated to your Excellency, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin states, with reference to the instructions which I had given him to make it clear that Her Majesty's Government had been no parties to the last arrangements in Egypt, that Prince Bismarck had said that, as regards the political settlement of the Egyptian question, it must be referred to the Conference summoned at the request of England and France.

With reference to this statement, I should wish to call your Excellency's atten-

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tion to the understanding arrived at at the first sitting of the Congress of Berlin, on which occasion the President said he considered the principle incontestable that the minority in the Congress should not be bound to acquiesce in the vote of the majority. Prince Bismarck left it to the discretion of his colleagues in the Congress to decide whether it might not be well, in the interest of their labours, that resolutions of the majority concerning their proceedings which did not touch vital points should be regarded as decisions of the Congress whenever the minority did not feel called upon to record a formal protest. This form of procedure was unanimously assented to by the Congress, and Her Majesty's Government consider that it should be the guide for the proceedings at the Conference on the affairs of Egypt.

Your Excellency should, if the necessity arises in the course of the proceedings of the Conference, make it clearly understood that Her Majesty's Government retain their liberty of action.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1369.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 23, 3.35 P.M.)

(No. 163.)
(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, June 23, 1882, 2 P.M.
BARON CALICE has received instructions to enter the Conference, and accordingly the Representatives of the Six Powers will meet to-day, Friday, 23rd June, under the Presidency of Count Corti.

No. 1370.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 23, 3.40 P.M.)

(No. 164.)
(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, June 23, 1882, 2.15 P.M.
THE Sultan has sent the Order of the Imtiaz to the Emperor of Austria, it may be supposed with the view of rewarding His Majesty for the hesitation of the Austrian Government in allowing Baron Calice to enter the Conference.

No. 1371.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 23.)

(No. 486. Confidential. Ext. 164.)
My Lord, Therapia, June 23, 1882.
I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Sultan has sent the Order of the "Imtiaz" to the Emperor of Austria. It may be presumed that it is with a view of rewarding His Majesty for the hesitation of the Austrian Government in allowing Baron Calice to enter the Conference on the affairs of Egypt.

His Excellency received instructions authorizing him to do so only to-day.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1372.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.

(No. 274.)
(Telegraphic.) Foreign Office, June 23, 1882, 3.45 P.M.
YOUR telegram No. 251 of to-day.
You are authorized to spend 300l. more for transport of indigent Maltese.

No. 1373.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 296.)
(Telegraphic.) Foreign Office, June 23, 1882, 3.45 P.M.
WE do not impose any hard and fast rules upon your discretion, but any prolonged adjournment of the Conference would have the worst effect.

No. 1374.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 333. Ext. 296.)
My Lord, Foreign Office, June 23, 1882.
HER Majesty's Government do not wish to place any restriction upon your Excellency with regard to the course of proceeding which the Conference may adopt with respect to its sittings; they desire to leave much to your Excellency's discretion, but they are of opinion that any prolonged adjournment of the Conference would have the worst effect on the situation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1375.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 23, 6.35 P.M.)

(No. 61. Very Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) Vienna, June 23, 1882, 4 P.M.
I LEARN from the French Ambassador that he has been directed to convey to the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs the surprise and displeasure of his Government at finding that the Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople alone had not been instructed to take part in the Conference.

The Ambassador, who had informed his Government that the acceptance of the Conference had always been conditional upon its not being objected to by the Porte, was much embarrassed at having to make a complaint for which he saw no ground, and, as he expected, the Austrian Minister answered him very stiffly, saying that his acceptance had always been stated to be conditional; that on the objection of the Porte being known he had declared that he remained inactive, and that it was not correct to pretend that he alone had adopted this attitude. M. de Giers had held precisely the same language. If at the pressing instance of Prince Bismarck he ended by consenting to the Conference when it has been accepted by all the other Powers he would do so solely out of deference to them, and contrary to his own wish, as he believed that, held under such circumstances, it can be productive of nothing but evil. He asked my colleague to state plainly to his Government that he knew them to have no wish to "ménager" the Porte, but the case was different with him, as he did wish to "ménager" the Sultan, though less in the interest of Turkey than in that of all Europe.

No. 1376.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 23.)

(No. 316. Very Confidential. Ext. 61.)
My Lord, Vienna, June 23, 1882.
THE French Ambassador tells me quite confidentially that he last night received a telegram from his Government for communication to Count Kálnoky, sent off at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, to which it was asked that the answer might be received at Paris by midnight.

He, of course, could not see the Minister till this morning, when, according to his instructions, he intimated the surprise and displeasure of the French Government at learning that, of all the Representatives at Constantinople, the Austrian Ambassador alone had not been instructed to take part in the Conference fixed for the 22nd instant.

My colleague felt some embarrassment in making a complaint, for which he saw no grounds, as he had repeatedly informed his Government, as distinctly as I had informed your Lordship, that Count Kálnoky's acceptance of the Conference had always been subject to the condition that it was not objected to by the Porte, and he therefore anticipated receiving a very stiff answer from his Excellency.

He was not mistaken, for the Minister answered, with warmth, that there was no possible ground for the insinuation that he had held back from any of his engagements; from the first his acceptance had been stated to be conditional. On the objection of the Porte being made known, he had declared that in consequence of it he must remain passive and waiting; and it was not even correct to say that he alone had adopted this attitude, as M. de Giers had held precisely the same language.

If, however, at the pressing instance of Prince Bismarck, he should end by consenting to join in the Conference after all the other Powers had accepted, he would do so solely out of deference to them, and to avoid separating himself from them, but contrary to his own inclination, as he believed that, held under such circumstances, it was likely to be productive of nothing but evil.

He further asked Count Duchatel to state plainly to his Government that, though he knew them to have no disposition to *ménager* the Porte, the case was very different with him, as he did decidedly wish to *ménager* the Sultan as much as possible, though less for the sake of Turkey than in the interest of the tranquillity of Europe.

My colleague tells me that there was a strong exhibition of ill-humour in the message his Government instructed him to transmit, and the tone adopted in it appears to me excessively ill-judged at a moment when measures may be proposed in which the cordial co-operation of Austria will be essential.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 1377.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 23, 5.30 P.M.)

(No. 62.)
(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, June 23, 1882, 4.15 P.M.

I AM informed that instructions have been sent to Baron Calice authorizing him to attend the Conference if all his colleagues are instructed to do so.

No. 1378.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 23.)

(No. 318. Ext. 62.)
My Lord,

Vienna, June 23, 1882.

INSTRUCTIONS were sent yesterday to Baron Calice authorizing him to attend the Conference if all his colleagues had received instructions to do so.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 1379.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 23, 6.10 P.M.)

(No. 103.)
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 23, 1882, 3.30 P.M.

I HAVE applied to M. de Freycinet for an answer to my communication of yesterday about the protection of the Suez Canal, but he says he cannot give one until after the Council to-morrow morning.

He asked me whether Her Majesty's Government had been already in communication with the Sultan about employing English or Turkish troops for the protection of the Canal. I answered I had no information of anything of the kind; that my instructions simply were to confer in an absolutely confidential manner with him.

No. 1380.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 23.)

(No. 614. Ext. 103.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 23, 1882.

I WENT to M. de Freycinet this afternoon, and expressed to him my hope that he would be ready to give me an answer to the proposal I made to him yesterday, to concert with Her Majesty's Government measures to be taken immediately for the protection of the Suez Canal.

His Excellency informed me that he had not been able to hold a Council of Ministers to-day, but that one would sit to-morrow, and that he would give me the answer directly it rose.

He proceeded to ask me whether Her Majesty's Government had been already in communication with the Sultan on the subject of employing English or Turkish troops for the protection of the Canal.

I replied that I had no information of anything of the kind; that your Lordship had simply directed me to enter with his Excellency into a communication of an absolutely confidential character.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1381.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.

(No. 277.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 23, 1882, 6.35 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 253 of 22nd.

I have informed French Government that Her Majesty's Government concur in suggestions respecting attitude of Controllers.

No. 1382.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.

(No. 192. Ext. 277.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 23, 1882.

I HAVE received Sir E. Malet's telegram No. 253 of yesterday as to the attitude which the Controllers should observe in view of the present state of affairs in Egypt. Her Majesty's Government concur in the suggestions made by Sir E. Malet and his French colleague, and I have directed Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris to so inform the French Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1383.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 381.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 23, 1882, 6.35 P.M.

YOUR language respecting Suez Canal, reported in your telegram No. 102, approved.

No. 1384.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 717. Ext. 381.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 23, 1882.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 102 of yesterday reporting the representation which, in obedience to the instruction conveyed to your Excellency in

my despatch No. 743 of the same date, you had made to M. de Freycinet in regard to the rumours which have been in circulation of danger to the Suez Canal, and in which your Excellency invited the French Government to concert with that of Her Majesty the measures to be taken for the protection of the Canal in case of need.

I have to express to your Excellency my approval of the language which you have used in the above communication.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1385.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 23, 7.15 P.M.)

(No. 256.)
(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 23, 1882, 4.30 P.M.

ACTING Consul at Zagazig reports that on the 21st instant a train from Cairo conveyed cannon for the Suez Canal.

No. 1386.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 23.)

(No. 381. Ext. 256.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 23, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Mr. Camillieri, the Acting British Consular Agent at Zagazig, reports that on the 21st instant a train from Cairo conveyed cannon destined for the Suez Canal.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1387.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 23, 7.30 P.M.)

(No. 165. Secret and Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 23, 1882, 3.15 P.M.

BARON CALICE told me that he had a long confidential conversation with Reschid Bey, the Sultan's Private Secretary; that Reschid Bey told him that the Sultan was still violently opposed to the Conference; that the Ministers, on the contrary, were in favour of accepting it, and that their tenure of office had consequently become doubtful.

Reschid Bey added that the plan of the Sultan was to get hold of Arabi Pasha, as there could be no settlement until this was done; but that if the Powers did not give him time, and pressed him too hardly, His Majesty would be forced to throw in his lot with the National party. With regard to the dispatch of troops, His Majesty would be unwilling to send any as long as there was a chance of their coming into collision with the Egyptian forces, but that eventually he would do so.

I presume the Sultan hopes that, after he has got Arabi Pasha into his power, Dervish Pasha will be able to supplant the Military party by an Imperial party, so as to allow of Turkish troops being sent without encountering opposition.

The Sultan's position, in presence of the growing sympathy for Arabi Pasha evinced by the Mahomedan public opinion and of the danger of a general Arab revolt, is undoubtedly difficult.

No. 1388.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 23.)

(No. 487. Very Confidential. Ext. 165.)

My Lord,

Therapia, June 23, 1882.

BARON CALICE, the Austrian Ambassador, has told me that he had a long confidential conversation yesterday with Reschid Bey, the Sultan's Private Secretary, who informed him that His Majesty was still violently opposed to the Conference; that the Ministers, on the contrary, were in favour of accepting it, and that their tenure of office had consequently become doubtful. Reschid Bey added that the plan of the Sultan was to get hold of Arabi Pasha, as there could be no settlement of the question until this was done; but that if the Powers did not give him time, and pressed him too hardly, His Majesty would be forced to throw in his lot with the Arab National party. With regard to the dispatch of troops, His Majesty would be unwilling to send any, as long as there was a chance of their coming into collision with the Egyptian forces; but that eventually he would do so.

I presume the Sultan hopes that, after he has got Arabi Pasha into his power, Dervish Pasha will be able to supplant the Military party by an Imperial party, so as to allow of Turkish troops being sent without encountering opposition.

The Sultan's position, in presence of the growing sympathy for Arabi Pasha evinced by Mahomedan public opinion, and of the danger of a general Arab revolt, is undoubtedly difficult.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1389.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 23.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, June 22, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, copy of a letter from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, dated the 14th instant, relative to the outbreak which occurred at Alexandria on the 11th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) G. TRYON.

Inclosure in No. 1389.

Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Invincible," at Alexandria, June 14, 1882.

IN continuation of former correspondence, I have the honour to acquaint you that shortly after dark on Sunday, the 11th instant, the disturbance which broke out suddenly in the city of Alexandria on that afternoon, resulting in a melancholy loss of European life, was suppressed and the streets were lined by the Egyptian troops, who preserved order during the remainder of the night.

2. I had sent the "Superb" from her anchorage off the lighthouse to that off the old Pharos Castle, as soon as I knew of the extent of the *émeute*, with orders to Captain Ward to send her boats into the new port to bring off any persons seeking refuge from the Consulate, which is within 150 yards from the beach on that side of the city, or elsewhere. Captain Molyneux, of the "Invincible," was at this time in the Consulate, and in communication with me throughout the night by means of the telephone, which fortunately had been laid to the "Helicon" some days before. From him I learnt that the Governor of Alexandria had been twice to the Consulate, and had stated to him that, as the troops were under the impression that we were about to disembark a force with hostile intentions, it was most desirable that the "Superb" should return to her former anchorage and recall her boats, the disturbance having ceased, and he guaranteeing the safety of the Europeans. I therefore dispatched an order to this effect to Captain Ward, by the hands of an Egyptian officer who had brought me a letter from Captain Molyneux, giving me an account

of the state of affairs up to 1 A.M. The "Superb" and her boats, which included the steam-cutter and dinghy of the "Condor," returned to her original anchorage shortly after daylight.

3. During Monday streams of refugees of all nationalities kept pouring off to the ships in the harbour. The Commander (Briscoe), of the Peninsular and Oriental steamer "Tanjore," and Captain Blomfield, R.M., Director of the Port of Alexandria, were of the utmost service to me in making temporary arrangements for the reception of these people, of whom a large proportion were Maltese, but by sunset that evening there were over 300 on board each of the English iron-clads in the harbour, and from 15 to 20 on board the "Condor." It was absolutely necessary to clear the men-of-war in readiness for eventualities, and I have consequently been obliged to take up a Khedivial mail-steamer, and the "Marengo," an English steamer.

4. During yesterday we obtained the bodies of the officer and men named in the margin,* which were conveyed to the "Superb" in the "Bittern," and buried at sea.

5. The custom-house remained closed all yesterday, business was suspended throughout the day, and it was impossible to say what might arise. At 2.30 P.M. the Khedive and Dervish Pasha arrived from Cairo. In the evening I sent all the Maltese to the "Marengo."

6. The state of affairs now existing here is of the most grave nature. The population, excited by the events of the 11th, is only kept in order by the presence of the troops, of whom there must be now over 10,000 in Alexandria and the forts. If they should get out of control, or if their officers should act in a hostile manner towards us, the consequences may be imagined with 30,000 Christians in the city and neighbourhood.

7. I have just learnt, through the Consulate, that the Khedive, in a private audience with Sir A. Colvin, has admitted the complete failure of the Turkish Commission, and given his opinion that nothing but an armed intervention on the part of Turkey can now restore his authority. I am further informed that a large force of Bedouins, estimated at from 1,500 to 2,000, are outside the city, waiting to sack the town should a general rising occur. In the event of such, I should be better prepared with a large landing force if the "Superb," "Temeraire," and "Inflexible" were at anchor off Pharos Castle, instead of cruising at the rendezvous, 20 miles off the port, but, acting on the advice of the Consul-General at Cairo, which has been given from time to time and again repeated in the following telegram, I feel it incumbent on my part to refrain from exhibiting any hostile intention, and I can only trust that my forbearance in the precarious situation in which I am placed may not be attended with evil results.

"Anything that would frighten native population or the soldiery of Alexandria into further excesses is inadvisable. I cannot very well form an opinion here as to what effect the anchoring of the ships would have, or the dangers which it is necessary to provide against. Viceroy and Dervish should be consulted."—MALET.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. BEAUCHAMP SEYMOUR.

No. 1390.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 23, 11.30 P.M.)

(No. 166.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 23, 1882, 8.45 P.M.

WE have agreed to send the following identic telegrams to our Governments:—

"The Conference on the affairs of Egypt was constituted to-day under the Presidency of the Italian Ambassador as Doyen.

"We have decided to address a Memorandum to Porte, notifying the constitution of the Conference, and expressing, at the same time, our regret at the non-participation of Turkey, and a hope that we may hereafter have the co-operation of the Ottoman Government."

* Mr. James Pibworth, Engineer of "Superb," George Sprackett and Albert Hern, Admiral's domestics, of the "Alexandra."

No. 1391.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 23.)

(No. 488. Confidential. Ext. 166.)
My Lord,

Therapia, June 23, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to state that the first meeting of the Conference of Ambassadors on Egyptian affairs was held this afternoon, as I have already informed your Lordship in my telegram No. 166 of this day's date.

After exhibiting our full powers, which had been conveyed to all, except myself, in a telegraphic form, we proceeded to draw up a Memorandum to the Sublime Porte notifying the constitution of the Conference, and expressing at the same time our regret at the non-participation of Turkey, and the hope that we might hereafter have the co-operation of the Ottoman Government. A copy of this document is subjoined.

I then took an opportunity of expressing to my colleagues, as the Representative of one of the Governments at whose invitation they had joined in the Conference, how sensible my Government was of the courtesy and consideration which had been exhibited by the speedy and unanimous manner in which their suggestion had been adopted. My French colleague delivered himself in the same sense.

We then entered into a mutual agreement to preserve the strictest secrecy in reference to our proceedings, which concluded by my expressing in my own name and that of all my colleagues the great satisfaction we had in finding ourselves placed under the Presidency of so able a doyen as was Count Corti, who was well qualified by the distinguished part he had taken at the Berlin Congress, by his knowledge of affairs, and by his amiable and courteous disposition, to discharge the very important duties of the Presidency.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

Inclosure in No. 1391.

Pro-Memorid.

LES Représentants d'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, de Grande-Bretagne, d'Italie, et de Russie s'étant réunis aujourd'hui en Conférence, d'ordre de leurs Gouvernements, pour délibérer sur les mesures qu'il y aurait à proposer pour amener le règlement des affaires d'Égypte, ont été tous d'accord pour regretter que leur première délibération n'ait pas eu lieu sous la Présidence du Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de Sa Majesté le Sultan, et tiennent à établir qu'ils seraient tous contents de voir le Gouvernement Ottoman participer aux travaux d'une Conférence qui se réunit à Constantinople en vue précisément de pouvoir rester dans les rapports les plus directs possibles avec la Sublime Porte.

Therapia, le 23 Juin, 1882.

No. 1392.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 23.)

(No. 488A. Confidential. Ext. 166.)
My Lord,

Therapia, June 23, 1882.

WITH reference to my preceding despatch of this day's date, I have the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a copy of the identic telegram which the Representatives of the Powers agreed to send after the first sitting of the Conference on the affairs of Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

Inclosure in No. 1392.

Identic Telegram addressed by the six Representatives to their respective Governments, after the First Meeting of the Conference.

LA Conférence sur les affaires d'Égypte s'est constituée aujourd'hui sous la Présidence de l'Ambassadeur d'Italie comme Doyen. Le secret absolu a été convenu. Nous avons décidé à adresser à la Porte un Mémoire, notifiant la constitution de la Conférence, et exprimant en même temps nos regrets de la non-participation de la Turquie, ainsi que l'espoir d'avoir ultérieurement la coopération du Gouvernement Ottoman.

Thérapia, le 23 Juin, 1882.

No. 1393.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.

(No. 187. Ext. 273.)

Sir, I HAVE to direct you to inform Sir Auckland Colvin that Her Majesty's Government think that there might be some inconvenience in his combining the duties of Acting Agent and Consul-General with those of Controller-General, and that, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, they prefer that you should be nominally in charge of Her Majesty's Agency and Consulate-General.

You will further state to him that Her Majesty's Government rely upon his continuing to give you his advice and support in all matters of importance and responsibility.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1394.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.**

(No. 288.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 23, 1882, 11.45 P.M.

FOLLOWING received by Mr. Easton, of Alexandria Water-works Company, Delahay Street, from Alexandria:—

"Cotterill threatened; Consul powerless assist put him on board. Message from Governor. Dictator threatens seize hostages; me among others. Cornish (at the Water-works) special orderly guard.

"Griffith (engineer supply Mahmoudieh Canal) comes to-night. Can do no more; go on steamer to-night. Sick with disgust; leave next Brindisi."

Are Cotterill and Cornish in real danger? If so, can you assist them; if not, can you calm their apprehensions?

(Sent to Admiral.)

No. 1395.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 382.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 23, 1882, 11.55 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 103.

There has been no communication with the Sultan.

No. 1396.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 749. Ext. 382.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 23, 1882.

IN your Excellency's telegram No. 103 of this day's date referring to your communications with M. de Freycinet respecting the protection of the Suez Canal, you state

* Also to Admiral Sir B. Seymour.

that his Excellency had inquired whether Her Majesty's Government had been already in communication with the Sultan as to employing English or Turkish troops for the protection of the Canal, and I have to state to your Excellency that there has been no communication between Her Majesty's Government and the Sultan on this subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1397.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 744.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 23, 1882.

HER Majesty's Government have received a telegram from Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt recommending, that the Controllers-General should abstain from presenting themselves at the meeting of the Egyptian Council, and that they should confine themselves to such exercise of their powers of inquiry as their discretion may suggest and circumstances may allow.

I inclose, for your Excellency's information, a copy of the telegram in question,* by which you will see that this recommendation is based upon certain observations presented by the Controllers-General to the British and French Agents, and is made by Sir E. Malet in concert with his French colleague; and I have to request that your Excellency will inform the French Government that Her Majesty's Government concur in the views expressed by the Controllers-General as to the attitude which they should assume during the present crisis.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1398.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 203 A.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 23, 1882.

THE Italian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and asked me how matters stood as regards the Conference on Egyptian affairs. His Excellency said that Count Corti had been authorized to join if the other Powers did so.

I said that I understood that all the Representatives had now received authority to take part in the Conference except the Austrian Ambassador. The Austrian Government had hesitated to join the Conference in face of the Sultan's objections, but from the tone of the observations which Count Kálnoky had made to the Turkish Ambassador at Vienna, I hoped that Baron Calice would also receive instructions to join.

General Menabrea then remarked that he had seen a report of an intended public meeting, at which some Members of Parliament were to attend, in opposition to the idea of intervention in Egypt.

I said that in England, as in Italy, individual Members of Parliament had the right of expressing their opinions on matters of public policy, but that I had no reason to suppose that the course of the Government would be affected by such a manifestation as he spoke of.

General Menabrea then asked me whether there was any truth in the report, which had been published in the newspapers, of an arrangement between England and Turkey for the protection of the Suez Canal.

I answered that it was not true; but, I added, that the maintenance of free navigation through the Canal was a matter of vital importance to England, and one to which we could not be indifferent.

His Excellency observed that it was a matter in which all Europe was interested.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 24.)

(No. 615.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 23, 1882.

A QUESTION on the affairs of Egypt was put to M. de Freycinet yesterday in the Chamber of Deputies by M. Casimir-Perier, one of the Representatives of the Department of the Aube.

I have the honour to inclose the authentic report of the proceedings given in the "Journal Officiel" this morning.

M. Casimir-Perier expounded the particulars of his question in a speech of some length. He inquired what were the instructions given to the French Plenipotentiaries in the Conference; what were the means which would be resorted to for the purpose of re-establishing in Egypt order and the authority of the Khedive; whether the action of France and England would be combined, or whether, from the day of the convocation of the Conference, France and England would act separately from one another, each providing, as she might think proper, for the defence of her countrymen.

Lastly, M. Casimir-Perier asked what measures had been taken for the safety of Frenchmen in Egypt at the present moment, and he concluded by stating that he was convinced that when, having recovered her freedom of action, France, in accord with the other Western Powers, should resume her proper part in Egypt, the Chamber would not refuse the Government the means of meeting whatever contingencies might arise.

This last statement was received with prolonged murmurs.

M. de Freycinet nearly limited his answer to the instructions given to the French Plenipotentiary and to the general policy which France would advocate in the Conference.

He read the invitation from France and England to the other Powers, in which the basis of the Conference is set forth: he stated that the Powers had agreed to exclude every subject foreign to the affairs of Egypt properly so-called; he mentioned the Self-denying Protocol, and he declared that the instructions to the French Plenipotentiary were simple and distinct. The Plenipotentiary was, he said, directed to discuss any measures which appeared suited to attain the object of maintaining, as regarded Egypt, the normal *status quo*, in which was included the situation guaranteed to the several Powers by their Treaties, and notably that so guaranteed to France and England.

M. de Freycinet proceeded to explain that, by entering the Conference, France did not part with any portion of her independence, inasmuch as it was a principle of international law that questions were not decided by the majority in a Conference, and that decisions to be binding must be unanimous.

Finally, M. de Freycinet begged the Deputies to be assured that the conduct and language of the Government would be in all respects in conformity with what the Chamber had a right to expect from those in whose hands were deposited the representation and the power of a great country like France.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 1399.

Extract from the "Journal Officiel" of June 23, 1882.

Question adressée par M. Casimir-Perier (Aube) à M. le Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères.

M. le Président.—La parole est à M. Casimir-Perier, pour une question qu'il désire adresser à M. le Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, et que M. le Ministre a acceptée.

M. Casimir-Perier (Aube).—Messieurs, au moment où va s'ouvrir la Conférence de Constantinople, il m'a paru tout à fait opportun de demander à M. le Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, quelles étaient, d'une façon générale, les instructions qu'il a données à notre Représentant. Je crois, en le faisant, répondre au

sentiment de cette Chambre, aux préoccupations de l'opinion publique, et donner à M. le Président du Conseil lui-même l'occasion de s'expliquer sur la politique que la France recommandera et pratiquera dans les affaires Égyptiennes.

Cette question me semble d'autant plus motivée que, récemment, à la suite d'échanges d'opinions dans cette Chambre, il est resté assez difficile d'apercevoir la ligne de conduite qu'a suivie le Gouvernement Français, et de prévoir quelle sera son attitude.

Je n'en fais pas un grief à M. le Président du Conseil, car c'est peut-être aux circonstances qu'il a dû obéir, mais c'est précisément sur ces circonstances que nous voudrions être éclairés.

En effet, à une date très rapprochée de nous, le 11 Mai, 1882, M. le Président du Conseil, parlant pour la première fois sur l'éventualité d'un concert Européen se substituant à une action commune de la France et de l'Angleterre, s'exprimait ainsi :—

"Nous sommes préoccupés, et nous l'avons toujours été, de deux choses : en premier lieu, conserver à la France la situation particulière, la situation privilégiée, justement privilégiée qu'elle a en Égypte, l'influence prépondérante que lui ont acquise les concours de toute nature qu'elle a prodigués à ce pays.

"N'ayez nul souci, Messieurs, des conséquences que peut avoir cette consultation Européenne. Les Grandes Puissances sont unanimes à reconnaître que la situation de la France et de l'Angleterre est prépondérante en Égypte; elles le reconnaissent, elles le proclament, et elles ne font aucune difficulté d'abandonner aux deux Cabinets de Londres et de Paris la direction de cette politique.

"C'est donc un fait qui est aujourd'hui acquis que, dans la solution de la question Égyptienne, l'avis de la France et de l'Angleterre, d'accord entre elles, devra prévaloir."

Il me semble que, dans ces conditions, il est d'autant plus facile à M. le Président du Conseil de s'expliquer, et d'autant plus intéressant pour la Chambre de connaître à quelles résolutions il s'est arrêté. Malgré la déclaration du 11 Mai, 1882, il y a eu dans le pays un certain étonnement à voir le concert Européen substitué à l'action commune des Puissances Occidentales dans une question qui, depuis un grand nombre d'années, a été réglée par leur accord et leur intervention. C'est ce qui s'était passé sous le Ministère de M. Waddington; c'est ce qui avait été reconnu et proclamé au Congrès de Berlin, où la question Égyptienne avait été expressément mise à l'écart. C'était un langage conforme à ces antécédents que tenait M. de Freycinet en 1880, et que tenait en termes très nets, en 1881, M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, et à une époque où se produisaient des faits d'une gravité évidemment moindre que ceux auxquels nous sommes condamnés à assister aujourd'hui; à une époque où les Colonels avaient déjà obtenu le renvoi de Riaz Pacha et la nomination de Chérif Pacha; à un moment où notre Consul-Général faisait déjà pressentir que l'envoi de navires de guerre pourrait être nécessaire, et insistait sur l'urgence d'avoir une escadre au Pirée; à une époque où l'ordre était matériellement troublé, M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire écrivait la dépêche que voici :—

"Vous verrez qu'en prenant acte avec empressement du désir, manifesté par le Cabinet de Londres, d'exercer, de concert avec nous, une action pacificatrice en Égypte, j'ai exprimé à Mr. Adams l'opinion que l'entente de la France et de l'Angleterre devait suffire à la tâche de rétablir un état de choses normal dans les États du Khédive, et que de même que nous avions mis l'ordre dans les finances Égyptiennes, nous saurions certainement, en unissant nos efforts, assurer la tranquillité du pays, et ramener le calme dans les esprits aujourd'hui troublés.

"Partant de cette donnée, j'ai indiqué que toute intervention de la Porte, sous quelque forme et quelque prétexte qu'elle se produisit, dans les circonstances actuelles, serait désastreuse pour l'Égypte."

Le souvenir de ces faits a dû causer—M. le Président du Conseil le comprendra—un certain étonnement dans l'opinion publique, lorsqu'on a vu se substituer à l'action commune et à l'accord des deux Puissances l'action du concert Européen.

Mais la préoccupation n'a pas été moindre lorsqu'à la suite de circonstances que j'ignore, et que la Chambre n'a pas été mise à même de connaître, à la date du 31 Juin, M. le Président du Conseil, modifiant le langage qu'il tenait en Mai, disait :—

"Nous entrons dans le concert Européen, nous acceptons dès lors notre part dans les charges, les responsabilités, les décisions, et les moyens d'action qui pourront sortir du concert Européen."

C'est-à-dire qu'au lieu d'être appelé à régler d'une façon privilégiée les affaires d'Égypte, la France est réduite à l'état d'unité dans le concert Européen, acceptant en quelque sorte, par avance, les décisions qui pourront en sortir.

Et M. le Président du Conseil ajoutait :—

“ Parmi tous les moyens auxquels il pourrait être nécessaire de recourir, il y a un moyen que j'exclus, c'est une intervention militaire Française en Égypte.”

Les déclarations Ministérielles du mois de Mai me paraissent d'accord, dans une certaine mesure, avec la politique que la France et l'Angleterre avaient jusqu'ici suivie dans la question Égyptienne. J'avoue qu'il m'est plus difficile de concilier le langage plus récent de M. le Président du Conseil, avec cette politique traditionnelle de la France. Mais puisque M. le Président du Conseil a pris, nous a-t-il dit, l'initiative de cette Conférence, il n'éprouvera, j'en suis convaincu, aucun embarras à nous dire quelles instructions il a données à notre Représentant à Constantinople. Puisque c'est lui qui a pris l'initiative de cette Conférence, du jour où il l'a provoquée, il a dû être fixé, et fixé irrévocablement, sur le rôle que la France doit y jouer, sur le langage qu'elle doit y tenir, sur les moyens d'action qu'elle doit chercher à faire prévaloir.

En répondant à l'honorable M. Ribot, M. le Président du Conseil a affirmé que ce que veut la France, c'est le maintien du *statu quo*, l'observation des Firmans de 1873 et 1879. Mais il me semble que ce n'est pas là le but unique de la réunion de la Conférence, car, à l'heure présente, quoiqu'il y ait en Égypte une situation troublée, quoique, si certains faits s'aggravaient, on puisse prévoir l'éventualité d'une violation des Firmans précités, à l'heure présente, aucun de ces Firmans ne se trouve déchiré, il n'a été porté en rien atteinte aux conditions générales qui règlent la situation de l'Égypte vis-à-vis de l'Europe et des Puissances Occidentales en particulier.

Il me semble que l'objet de la Conférence est surtout de mettre ordre, non pas à l'état de droit, mais à l'état de fait qui existe en Égypte, à une anarchie très caractérisée et qui est à peu près, après la mission de Dervish Pacha, ce qu'elle était avant, car c'est assurément assister à la consécration d'un état de choses anarchique que de voir celui qui est connu pour être le chef du parti insurrectionnel compris dans le Ministère nouveau que le Khédive a été obligé de constituer.

À quels moyens devra-t-on on recourir pour rétablir l'ordre et l'autorité du Khédive, pour faire cesser une panique qui est très préjudiciable aux intérêts de la France et qui, je n'hésite pas à le dire, avec un sentiment douloureux, est aussi très préjudiciable, selon moi, à l'autorité morale que doit exercer dans ce pays la France, qui est la plus grande et à peu près la seule Puissance Africaine? Jusqu'ici l'entente avec l'Angleterre avait fait face à presque toutes les difficultés. Cette entente est-elle maintenue? Allons-nous au Congrès d'accord avec l'Angleterre sur les principes généraux que nous devons faire prévaloir? Sommes-nous d'accord pour combiner notre action, ou bien, à partir du jour où la Conférence a été convoquée, la France et l'Angleterre rentrant dans le concert Européen ont-elles agi isolément, séparément l'une de l'autre, chacune prenant comme elle l'entendait la défense de ses nationaux? C'est là un point sur lequel la Chambre serait heureuse, je crois, d'avoir des éclaircissements.

Je crois pouvoir parler d'une dépêche qui vient d'être affichée dans l'enceinte même de la Chambre; d'après cette dépêche il n'y aurait aujourd'hui qu'une simple réunion et il faudrait d'abord éclaircir une sorte de malentendu avec la Porte. Je demande dans quelles conditions nous nous trouvons, et quelle est l'attitude de la Porte Ottomane? Si la Conférence ne doit pas avoir de résultats, la France entend-elle, d'accord avec l'Angleterre, reprendre la direction des affaires Égyptiennes? Enfin, en attendant la solution que peut dicter la Conférence, quelles mesures ont été prises pour sauvegarder la sécurité de nos nationaux en Égypte?

M. le Président du Conseil le sait, et il l'a affirmé à différentes reprises, le pays, incontestablement, veut la paix. Mais la France, non seulement par ses traditions, mais par nécessité, doit tenir haut le drapeau national aux yeux des populations Musulmanes. M. Barthélemy St-Hilaire, le 17 Octobre, 1881, déclarait que ni la France ni l'Angleterre, pas plus au point de vue de leurs intérêts qu'au point de vue de l'humanité, ne pouvaient abandonner la défense des intérêts qu'elles avaient en Égypte.

M. le Président du Conseil répondait à M. Ténot, le 12 Juin, au lendemain même des événements qui s'étaient passés en Égypte, qu'il lui était impossible de faire connaître les mesures qui avaient été prises pour assurer la sécurité des nationaux Français, et il disait :—

“ Dans l'incertitude où nous sommes, à l'heure actuelle, sur les faits qui se sont passés, sur les dangers qui peuvent menacer encore nos nationaux, il n'est pas possible de faire connaître quelles mesures seront prises.”

“ Ce que je peux dire, c'est que, dans les questions qui intéressent nos nationaux,

nous n'avons à prendre conseil que de nous-mêmes, et, par conséquent, la Chambre peut être assurée que toutes les mesures qui seront nécessaires pour sauvegarder la vie de nos nationaux et l'honneur de la France seront prises par le Gouvernement.”

La Chambre se rend parfaitement compte que, dans des questions de cette nature, il y a certaines explications qu'à certaines heures il est difficile de donner. Je serais, cependant, très heureux, et la Chambre, j'en suis convaincu, s'associerait à ce sentiment, si M. le Président du Conseil, en présence de la panique qui subsiste, de désordres qui menacent la vie des personnes, pouvait indiquer à la Chambre quelles mesures ont été prises pour rassurer nos nationaux, pour sauvegarder leurs intérêts et leurs personnes. (Très bien!)

En un mot, ce que nous souhaitons, c'est que cette Conférence—dans laquelle on s'est engagé à tort, selon moi, et selon beaucoup de personnes qui connaissent mieux cette question que je ne la connais moi-même—ce que nous devons souhaiter, dis-je, c'est que l'on triomphe enfin des hésitations et des lenteurs calculées de la Porte Ottomane; c'est que, si la Conférence n'arrête pas de résolutions, ou si ces résolutions ne sont pas mises à l'exécution, la France puisse enfin reprendre en Égypte, d'accord avec l'Angleterre, cette situation que M. le Président du Conseil proclamait prépondérante et privilégiée.

Le jour où, remise en possession de sa liberté, la France pourrait, d'accord avec l'autre Puissance Occidentale, reprendre son rôle en Égypte, je suis convaincu que cette Chambre ne refuserait pas les moyens de faire face aux éventualités qui pourraient se produire. (Rumeurs prolongées.)

M. le Comte de Douville-Maillefeu. Nous ne voulons pas de croisade!

M. Casimir-Perier (Aube).—Ce que je demande surtout à M. le Président du Conseil, c'est de faire cesser une situation fâcheuse pour nos intérêts, pénible pour l'amour-propre national; c'est de mettre fin à un état de choses qui condamne nos nationaux menacés ou pillés à fuir l'Égypte, et s'embarquer sur des bâtiments de toute nationalité en vue d'une escadre Française. (Mouvements divers.)

M. le Président.—La parole est à M. le Président du Conseil.

M. de Freycinet (Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères).—Messieurs, l'honorable M. Casimir-Perier m'avait annoncé l'intention de me poser une question sur les instructions que nous comptons donner, ou que nous avons données à notre Ambassadeur à Constantinople, et sur les idées générales que nous désirions faire prévaloir dans la Conférence. C'est dans ces termes que je m'empresse de lui répondre.

La Chambre ignore pas—et on le lui a rappelé tout-à-l'heure—qu'au commencement de ce mois la France et l'Angleterre, d'accord entre elles, d'accord comme elles l'ont été depuis l'origine de ces événements, et comme elles le sont à l'heure où je parle, la France et l'Angleterre ont proposé aux Grandes Puissances ainsi qu'à la Turquie de se réunir en Conférence pour délibérer sur les affaires d'Égypte.

Les Grandes Puissances—à l'exception de la Turquie, qui a désiré rester à l'écart—les Grandes Puissances ont adhéré à notre proposition; et j'ai tout lieu de croire, d'après les avis qui me sont parvenus, que la Conférence tient actuellement à Constantinople sa première séance. (Très bien! très bien!)

Je puis communiquer à la Chambre le texte officiel de la convocation qui a été adressée aux Puissances, et qui lui montrera, mieux que tous les discours que je pourrais faire, dans quel esprit cette Conférence a été préparée.

Voici ce que nous avons télégraphié à nos Ambassadeurs—le Cabinet de Londres de son côté, et nous du nôtre—à la date du 19 de ce mois :

“ À la suite de l'échange de vues qui vient d'avoir lieu entre elles, les Grandes Puissances ont reconnu, sur l'initiative de la France et de l'Angleterre, qu'il y avait lieu de délibérer en commun sur la situation actuelle de l'Égypte et sur les mesures que cette situation comporte.”

“ En conséquence, le Gouvernement de la République Française et le Gouvernement de la Reine proposent que les Représentants des Six Grandes Puissances se réunissent en Conférence à Constantinople, le 22 de ce mois.”

“ Les délibérations de la Conférence auront pour objet exclusif de régler les questions posées en Égypte par les derniers événements, sur les bases indiquées dans les communications identiques adressées le 12 Février et le 2 Juin dernier par la France et l'Angleterre aux quatre autres Puissances.”

Les bases auxquelles il est fait allusion à la fin de ce télégramme se résument dans le maintien du *statu quo* antérieur aux derniers événements, c'est-à-dire le rétablissement de l'autorité du Sultan et du Khédive avec leurs droits respectifs tels qu'ils sont consacrés par le droit Européen, le respect des libertés et de l'indépendance de

l'Égypte telles qu'elles ont été reconnues par les Firmans constitutifs, ainsi que le respect des arrangements et des engagements internationaux conclus sous le régime créé par ces Firmans, engagements parmi lesquels figurent ceux qui ont été spécialement conclus par le Khédive avec la France et l'Angleterre. (Très bien! très bien!)

Ce sont là les bases sur lesquelles les Puissances sont convenues de délibérer; elles sont, vous le voyez, la confirmation, la consécration du langage que j'ai toujours tenu à cette tribune, car, dans les différentes occasions où j'ai eu l'honneur de m'expliquer devant vous j'ai toujours déclaré que, dans notre politique, nous entendions et nous saurions maintenir le régime institué en Égypte et que nous ne participerions à aucune mesure qui tendrait à diminuer, en quoi que ce soit, l'autonomie de la Vice-Royaume. (Très bien! très bien!)

Vous remarquez également, Messieurs, que les Puissances sont tombées d'accord pour exclure de leurs délibérations tout sujet étranger aux affaires d'Égypte proprement dites.

Ainsi s'évanouissent les bruits mis en circulation sur l'évocation éventuelle de telle ou telle question, qui devait, disait-on, être examinée par la Conférence. Parmi ces questions, on en a cité que, quant à nous, nous n'aurions jamais permis qu'on évoquât devant une Conférence quelconque, car elles sont et resteront exclusivement Françaises. (Très bien! très bien! et applaudissements.)

Enfin, avant de se réunir, les Puissances ont adhéré à un Protocole de Désintéressement, c'est-à-dire à un acte en vertu duquel chacune d'elles s'interdit de chercher dans le règlement des affaires d'Égypte aucun avantage, territorial ou autre, en dehors des autres Puissances. (Vifs applaudissements.)

Je crois donc avoir le droit de dire qu'il est peu de discussions qui s'ouvrent dans des conditions plus claires, plus loyales, et plus rassurantes pour la paix générale que celle qui, j'en ai l'espoir, s'inaugure en ce moment à Constantinople. (Marques d'assentiment.)

Quant aux instructions données à notre Ambassadeur, elles sont aussi simples que nettes.

Il lui est enjoint d'accepter la discussion sur toutes les mesures qui paraîtraient propres à atteindre le but que je viens d'indiquer, et qui se résume dans le maintien du *statu quo* normal, y compris la situation qui est assurée à diverses Puissances en vertu de leurs Traités, et notamment à la France et à l'Angleterre. (Marques d'approbation.)

Il lui est interdit de s'associer de près ou de loin à aucune combinaison qui serait de nature à ne pas réaliser pleinement cet objectif. (Nouvelles marques d'approbation.)

En entrant dans la Conférence, il est à peine besoin de le rappeler, comme en entrant dans une Conférence quelconque, nous n'avons aliéné aucune part de notre indépendance. J'ai le ferme espoir que nous pourrions accepter jusqu'au bout la solidarité des décisions qui seront prises et des moyens d'action qui seront combinés. Mais si, contre mon attente, une divergence venait à se produire, si nous nous trouvions en présence de solutions jugées par nous incompatibles avec nos intérêts ou notre dignité, nous reprendrions toute notre liberté. (Vifs applaudissements.)

M. Gambetta.—Ah! Enfin!

M. le Président du Conseil Nous reprendrions, dis-je, toute notre liberté, comme nous la reprendrions toujours au sortir d'une Conférence quelconque; car il est de droit public que, en entrant dans une Conférence, aucune nation n'aliène sa souveraineté. Les questions ne se décident pas dans une Conférence, et ne s'imposent pas par la majorité, mais par l'unanimité. (Très bien! très bien!) Nous conserverons donc le droit, je le répète, de reprendre notre liberté, mais j'écarte cette éventualité, car j'ai le ferme espoir et l'entière confiance—les dispositions bien connues des Puissances me permettent de l'augurer—que l'accord persistera jusqu'à la fin.

Quant au langage que tiendra notre Ambassadeur, quant à notre propre conduite, soyez assurés que ce langage et cette conduite seront conformes de tous points à ceux que vous êtes en droit d'attendre des Représentants et des dépositaires du pouvoir d'un grand pays comme la France. (Applaudissements prolongés à gauche et au centre.)

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 24.)

(No. 616. Very Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 23, 1882.

I AM informed that when the question on Egyptian affairs was asked yesterday in the Chamber of Deputies by M. Casimir-Perier, and answered by M. de Freycinet, the feeling manifested by the great majority of the House was adverse to the Conference, but still more adverse to any dispatch of French troops to Egypt.

M. Casimir-Perier's suggestion, that the Chamber would not refuse in certain contingencies the means of enabling France to play her proper part in Egypt, provoked long-continued murmurs; and M. de Freycinet, in order to obtain applause for the conventional, patriotic winding-up of his speech, was obliged to make it so vague and commonplace as to seem hardly serious.

The present feeling in France is not inaptly described by M. John Lemoine, in an article inserted by him some days ago in the "*Journal des Débats*:"—

"Ce que nous déplorons avec amertume (he said) ce n'est pas tant l'affaiblissement de la France dans le monde que l'aplatissement spontané et satisfait avec lequel l'esprit public du pays accepte cette situation nouvelle dans notre histoire. Le chef de notre Gouvernement a pu être imprudent en déclarant à l'avance qu'aucune force militaire ne serait débarquée en Égypte et que nous étions décidés à accepter les décisions inconnues d'une Conférence Européenne; ces aveux dépourvus d'artifice étaient peut-être superflus. Mais nous, qui ne parlons que comme des écrivains libres, nous pouvons avouer notre humiliation et reconnaître que ce langage est parfaitement conforme à l'esprit de la Chambre et du pays."

Such being the spirit of the country at this moment, it is perhaps not surprising that it should be confidently asserted in some quarters that there would be actually serious military and financial difficulties in the way of sending French troops to Egypt at this time; that Tunis absorbs all the disposable forces.

It must be remembered, however, that M. Gambetta was preparing a force for Egypt when he went out of office, and that it is probably the will more than the means that is really wanting now.

How long this apathy on the part of the French people may last I do not pretend to say, nor am I at all prepared to affirm that it would continue if events should stir up the feeling of jealousy and suspicion towards England with regard to Egypt which seems never to be entirely appeased.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 24.)

(No. 617.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 23, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a despatch from Captain Rice relating to reported French naval preparations at Toulon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1401.

Captain Rice, R.N., to Viscount Lyons.

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 23, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose an extract from a French newspaper, "*Le Soir*," of this day's date, stating that certain iron-clads are ordered to be brought forward for commission, and that 1,300 sailors have been sent from the northern ports to Toulon.

There is probably a certain amount of truth in the two last paragraphs as to the officers and men sent to Toulon, as that port had become rather short of men, owing

to the 300 men sent to the fleet at Alexandria, besides supernumeraries for the "Escadre d'Évolutions" now at Toulon; but with regard to the vessels mentioned, it is not likely the "Valeureuse" will be commissioned again except on a real emergency. She is in the second part of the fleet, and is at Landevennec.

The "Surveillante," "Reine-Blanche," and "Jeanne-d'Arc" are in the second section of the first part of the fleet, and might be got ready for short service. The "Flandre" is also dismantled, and in the second section of the first part, and could not be got ready at short notice.

I will take further steps to ascertain what truth there is in this report.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ERNEST RICE, Naval Attaché.

Inclosure 2 in No. 1401.

Extract from "Le Soir" of June 23, 1882.

ON annonce qu'en prévision des affaires d'Égypte les ports de Brest et de Cherbourg ont reçu l'ordre d'armer, ou de tenir prêts à armer, les cuirassés la "Surveillante," la "Valeureuse," la "Jeanne-d'Arc," la "Flandre," et la "Reine-Blanche."

En outre, les ports du nord ont dirigé sur Toulon, par les voies ferrées, 1,300 marins.

Enfin un grand nombre d'officiers marins qui étaient en disponibilité ont reçu également l'ordre de rallier sans délai le port de Toulon.

No. 1402.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 24.)

THE Secretary of the Admiralty begs to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State, the following decypher of a telegram received this evening from Sir Beauchamp Seymour, dated Alexandria, 23rd June, 7 P.M.:—

"Major Tulloch reports—Egyptians have three small vessels filled, for explosion in the Canal, between Port Saïd and Ismaïlia; they have been in position one week. They also intend operations on the Canal from Damietta, as mentioned in his Report.

"Please communicate Military Secretary, War Office.

"May I send 'Superb' Port Saïd to coal?"

Admiralty, June 23, 1882.

No. 1403.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 24, 12.55 P.M.)

(No. 167.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 24, 1882, 11 A.M.

YOUR telegram No. 296.

When we separated yesterday we only adjourned till to-morrow.

No. 1404.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 24, 12.55 P.M.)

(No. 257.)
(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 24, 1882, 11 A.M.

I GATHER from my French colleague that his instructions in regard to his attitude towards the new Ministry are not so explicit as mine. The tenour seems to be something of the effect, but the wording is more ambiguous. He is, however, observing great reserve in his relations with them.

No. 1405.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 24.)

(No. 383. Ext. 257.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 24, 1882.

WITH reference to your Lordship's instructions, in reply to my telegram No. 244 of the 20th instant, I gather from M. Sienkiewicz that the instructions which he has received from M. de Freycinet in regard to his attitude towards the new Ministry are not so explicit as mine. Although their tenour is to the same effect, there seems to be a certain ambiguity of language about them, but my French colleague continues to maintain the greatest reserve in his relations with the Ministry.

I have, &c.

(For Sir E. Malet),

(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1406.

Admiral Sir B. Seymour to Earl Granville.—(Received June 24, 1 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 24, 1882, 12.12 P.M.

IN reply to your Lordship's telegram:—

Cotterill gone to Naples.

Griffiths now aboard Peninsular and Oriental steam-packet.

Cornish at waterworks, two miles off; contemplates remaining.

Neither Consul nor I aware of threat of hostages.

No. 1407.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.

(No. 279.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 24, 1882, 2 P.M.

NEWSPAPER telegrams state that Ragheb Pasha has ordered inquiry into Alexandria riots. If this is true, you should hold yourself aloof, and inform Consul of this instruction.

No. 1408.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.

(No. 193. Ext. 279.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 24, 1882.

IT is stated in the public press that Ragheb Pasha has ordered an inquiry to be instituted into the riots which took place at Alexandria on the 11th instant. If this is the case, Her Majesty's Government desire that you should hold yourself aloof from it.

You will inform Her Majesty's Consul of the directions you have received in this matter.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1409.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.

(No. 280.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 24, 1882, 3.10 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 256 of 23rd instant.

Telegraph all the particulars you can obtain as to cannon for Suez Canal.

No. 1410.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.(No. 194. Ext. 280.)
Sir,

I HAVE to instruct you to furnish me, by telegraph, with all the information you may be able to obtain with regard to the cannon which the British Acting Consul reported as having been sent from Cairo for the Suez Canal on the 21st instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1411.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 24, 4.15 P.M.)(No. 104.)
(Telegraphic.)*Paris, June 24, 1882, 2.30 P.M.*

PROTECTION of the Suez Canal.

After discussing the matter in the Council of Ministers, M. de Freycinet makes the following answer:—

"The Suez Canal is in no danger, and the Council maintain that the only thing which could put it in peril would be an attempt to protect it by foreign forces.

"The occupation of the Canal would necessarily lead to the occupation of Cairo, and indeed of all Lower Egypt. This is a step which the French Government, especially after having just called together the Conference, is not prepared to take."

I reminded M. de Freycinet that your Lordship had not mentioned the occupation of the Canal, but had simply proposed that the two Governments should concert measures to be taken immediately for the protection of it in case of necessity.

He answered that if Her Majesty's Government merely contemplated some such measure as ordering French and English ships to cruise off each end of the Canal, that would be a different matter.

I told him that there had been no communication between Her Majesty's Government and the Sultan on the subject, and I reminded him of your Lordship's request that the interchange of ideas between France and England should be absolutely confidential.

He replied that his colleagues had pledged themselves to secrecy.

No. 1412.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 24.)(No. 620. Ext. 104.)
My Lord,*Paris, June 24, 1882.*

IN compliance with a request from M. de Freycinet I went to him this morning, after the sitting of the Council of Ministers, to receive the answer of the French Government to the invitation I had conveyed to them to concert with Her Majesty's Government the measures to be taken immediately for the protection of the Suez Canal in case of necessity.

M. de Freycinet told me that the matter had been fully discussed in the Council, which had just separated.

He would, he said, observe to me, in the first place, that the Suez Canal did not appear to him to be in any danger. He had communicated with the Directors of the Company, and found that they had no fears for the safety of the Canal, or the regular maintenance of the traffic on it, as matters stood; but that they did think it would be brought into serious danger if an attempt were made to protect it by foreign forces.

M. de Freycinet proceeded to observe that the occupation of the Canal must necessarily lead to the occupation of Cairo also, and, indeed, to that of all Lower Egypt. Such an occupation the French Government, which had just called together the Conference of the Powers, was, his Excellency added, not prepared to undertake.

I reminded his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government had not specified any particular measures, but had simply asked the French Government to concert with them the measures which it would be proper to take.

M. de Freycinet answered that if Her Majesty's Government merely contemplated some such step as sending English and French ships to cruise off each end of the Canal, that would be a different matter.

I proceeded, with reference to the question which he had put to me the day before, to say positively to M. de Freycinet that there had been no communication on the subject between Her Majesty's Government and the Sultan; and I reminded him of your Lordship's request, that the interchange of ideas between England and France regarding it should be absolutely confidential.

His Excellency said, in reply, that his colleagues in the Council of Ministers had pledged themselves to secrecy.

I have had the honour to forward the substance of this despatch to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1413.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.(No. 301. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 24, 1882, 6.15 P.M.*

TURKISH Ambassador called to-day, and said Sultan could not give up objections to a Conference. He begged that I would abandon the project, which could only be sterile in its results.

He then asked me whether I thought there would be any objection to his advising the Porte, from himself and not from me, to issue a Circular stating that the Sultan proposed at once to send a force to Egypt to restore his authority; that this force would be employed solely for the restoration of the *status quo*, for the maintenance of order, and to make due provision for the observance of international engagements.

I said that it was impossible for us to separate ourselves from other Powers, and that I could give him no advice; but that it seemed to me personally that, if the Porte were to take this step at once, the Ambassadors would naturally refer to their Governments, and that I thought it very probable the proposal would be favourably viewed.

Musurus Pasha begged that he might not be committed.

No. 1414.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.(No. 314. Secret. Ext. 301.)
My Lord,*Foreign Office, June 24, 1882.*

I HAD an interview to-day with the Ottoman Ambassador. His Excellency stated that the Sultan was unable to give up the objections he entertained to a Conference on the affairs of Egypt, and his Excellency begged that Her Majesty's Government would abandon the project, as it could only be sterile in its results.

Musurus Pasha then proceeded to ask me whether I thought that there would be any objection to his advising the Porte from himself and not from me to issue a Circular stating that the Sultan proposed at once to dispatch a force to Egypt in order to restore his authority; that such force would be employed solely for the restoration of the *status quo*, for the maintenance of order, and to make due provision for the observance of international engagements.

I told his Excellency that it was impossible for Her Majesty's Government to separate themselves from the other Powers, and that I was unable to give him any advice; but that it appeared to me personally that if the Porte were to take such a step as he suggested at once, the Representatives of the Powers at Constantinople would, in the usual course, refer to their respective Governments, and I thought it very probable that the proposal would be favourably viewed.

Musurus Pasha begged that his name might not appear in connection with this idea.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1415.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 343.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 24, 1882.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 438 of the 12th instant, inclosing a copy of a Circular which, on the receipt of the telegrams announcing the riots at Alexandria, your Excellency addressed to your colleagues, begging them to use their good offices at the Porte in support of the invitation to it to assent to the Conference; and I have to acquaint your Excellency that your communication is approved by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1416.

Earl Granville to the British Suez Canal Directors.

(No. 4.)

Gentlemen,

Foreign Office, June 24, 1882.

INFORMATION has reached Her Majesty's Government which leads them to believe that it is not impossible that circumstances may arise in Egypt which may jeopardize the free passage of the Suez Canal, and that, among other measures of interference, the head supply of the water of the Nile, which flows into the Suez Canal by the Ismaïlia Canal, might be cut off.

I have accordingly to instruct you to communicate without delay with your French colleagues, with the view of pressing upon their consideration the necessity of being prepared, in case of emergency, which may arise at any moment from various causes, with the means of ensuring a sufficiency of water.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1417.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 750. Ext. 384.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 24, 1882.

I HAVE already caused to be repeated to your Excellency Mr. Cartwright's telegram No. 256 of yesterday, stating that the Acting Consul at Zagazig had reported that on the 21st instant a train from Cairo conveyed cannon for the Suez Canal.

Your Excellency will have the goodness to call the attention of the French Government to the above report.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1418.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 757. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 24, 1882.

I INCLOSE copy of a despatch which I have addressed to the Suez Canal Directors,* calling their serious attention to the prospect of an interference with the supply of fresh water which flows from the Nile into the Ismaïlia Canal.

I have to request your Excellency to inform M. de Freycinet that besides the possible danger in regard to the water, Her Majesty's Government have received alarming intelligence which they have good reason to believe is well-founded, that plans have been prepared against the Canal itself.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

* No. 1416.

No. 1419.

Lord Tenterden to the Law Officers of the Crown and Dr. Deane.

Gentlemen,

Foreign Office, June 24, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a letter from Mr. Joseph Richardson, and one from Mr. Robert Dobson, each of them claiming 10,000*l.* from the Egyptian Government on account of the murder of his son during the recent disorders at Alexandria.

Earl Granville informed the Turkish Ambassador on the 17th instant that Her Majesty's Government considered that the Porte, as the sovereign Power, was responsible in ultimate resort for the serious outrages and the loss of English life and property which had resulted from the riots, and that, considering the presence of Dervish Pasha in Egypt at the time as the Sultan's Special Commissioner, Her Majesty's Government must hold the Porte to be bound to see that proper redress was made, and on the same day Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt was instructed by telegraph to let it be clearly understood that the British Government would require full reparation and satisfaction for the outrages committed during the recent disorders.

On the 20th instant Lord Granville stated in the House of Lords that, with regard to outrages on British subjects and loss of their lives or property, Her Majesty's Government had not to address other countries, but had a right to judge themselves what satisfaction or reparation they wanted; that Sir E. Malet had been instructed to make it clearly understood that Her Majesty's Government would require full reparation and satisfaction for the outrages committed during the late disorders at Alexandria; that notice would be given to all British subjects in Egypt to register at the Consulate the claims they might have to put forward, and a similar notice would be given to the relatives of those who had unfortunately been killed.

The instructions which were, as thus stated by Lord Granville, addressed to Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General, were as follows:—

"Her Majesty's Government intend, when the proper moment arrives, to prefer a claim upon the Egyptian Government for damages and losses sustained by British subjects at Alexandria.

"Take such steps as may be necessary to call upon them to register their claims at the British Consulate, giving notice also to relatives of the killed of intention of Her Majesty's Government."

Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople has also been instructed to make an announcement to the Conference of the determination of Her Majesty's Government in this matter.

It is probable that numerous applications of the nature of the inclosed letters from Mr. J. Richardson and Mr. R. Dobson will be addressed to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and his Lordship directs me to state that he proposes to reply to such communications in the terms of the first paragraph of the above-quoted instructions to Sir E. Malet, viz., that "Her Majesty's Government intend, when the proper moment arrives, to prefer a claim upon the Egyptian Government for damages and losses sustained by British subjects at Alexandria during the recent disorders."

His Lordship proposes to insist on payment of money to the relatives of the eight British subjects who were killed and to those who were hurt, and of damages for the destruction of property, also on the execution of the guilty parties, and on a salute to the British flag at Alexandria and Cairo.

Lord Granville is also disposed to demand compensation for loss to those who fled from Egypt to avoid violence; but before taking any further action, his Lordship would be glad to be favoured with your opinion at your earliest convenience as to the terms of the proposed reply to the letters of Mr. Richardson and Mr. Dobson, and also with any observations you may desire to offer generally on this letter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 25, 8 A.M.)

(No. 168. Secret and Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 24, 1882, 2.15 P.M.

RESHID BEY was sent yesterday by the Sultan to inform the Ambassadors that the Egyptian army and its officers had taken an oath to obey the Sultan and Khedive.

Reshid Bey further made me the following confidential communication, which he prefaced by observing that the Sultan's great intelligence and many excellent qualities were accompanied by one peculiarity, namely, a tendency to intense suspicion. He described His Majesty as eager to continue the overtures he had already made to us, having been most favourably impressed by the language your Lordship authorized me to hold to him at my last audience. With this view, the Sultan had requested him to put to me the following precise and categorical questions:—

What are the intentions of England towards Egypt in regard to the present, and what are the views entertained by Her Majesty's Government with respect to Egypt as regards the future? If the English Government would frankly answer these two questions, the Sultan would then state whether his views coincided with those of Her Majesty's Government, and the most intimate alliance might be the result.

I replied that I would put the question in the categorical form required, because I should be very unwilling to give His Majesty a false impression as to the extent to which England might be prepared to meet his advances. In the meantime, however, I could assure him that, both as regarded the present and future of Egypt, the English Government had but one answer, namely, the preservation of the full integrity of the Sultan's actual sovereign rights, as defined by the Firmans; that we not only accepted the Sultan's sovereignty in Egypt as a fact, but that we regarded it with benevolence; and that we had but two interests in Egypt—the freedom of the Suez Canal, and such a satisfactory administration of Egyptian internal affairs as would preclude any Power from finding an excuse to meddle with them.

Reshid Bey then made me the following extraordinary proposal:—

He said that His Majesty was possessed by the greatest fear and hatred of the French; that what he desired was to come to an understanding with England about Egypt, to the exclusion of France; and that, if we would agree to this, he would be quite prepared to hand over to us the exclusive control and administration of the country, reserving to himself only those rights of suzerainty which he now possessed. In fact, what he offered was an Egyptian Convention on the lines of the Cyprus Convention.

I replied that if the Sultan were to make over Egypt to us as a gift, with all Europe consenting, I doubted whether the British Government would accept such a burden and responsibility; that, with regard to the French, the Sultan must remember that an alliance with them was a circumstance outside of the Eastern question; and that inasmuch as the Egyptian programme, to which the French had consented to conform, had been cheerfully acquiesced in by the Sultan, he must not consider England as less his friend because she joined with France in carrying it out.

Reshid Bey then referred to the unceasing endeavours of France to obtain a permanent ascendancy in Egypt. I replied that that was a tendency of most nations similarly situated; but that, as it was as little compatible either with the interests of England as of Turkey that her ascendancy in Egypt should be illegitimately extended, Turkey might always count on the assistance of England to baffle the indiscreet designs of over-ambitious French Agents. More than this I could not say. French policy in Egypt, I admitted, was probably unduly influenced by the necessities of the position unfortunately assumed by France in Tunis, but with her wishes in that respect, we had no concern, nor should we defer to them for a moment if they tended to contravene the programme agreed to, the principal points of which were the maintenance of the Sultan's existing rights and of the *status quo*.

Reshid Bey added that the Sultan begged me to come myself to the Palace with your answer to his two questions.

(Sent to Alexandria.)

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 25.)

(No. 490. Secret. Ext. 168.)

My Lord,

Therapia, June 24, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Reshid Bey, the Sultan's private Secretary, was sent yesterday by His Majesty to inform the Ambassadors that the Egyptian army and its officers had taken an oath to obey the Sultan and the Khedive.

Reshid Bey further made the following confidential communication to me, which he prefaced by observing that the Sultan's great intelligence and many excellent qualities were accompanied by one peculiarity, namely, a tendency to intense suspicion. He described His Majesty as eager to continue the overtures he had already made to us, having been most favourably impressed by the language your Lordship authorized me to hold to him at my last audience. With this view the Sultan had requested him to put to me the following precise and categorical questions:—

"What are the intentions of England towards Egypt in regard to the present?"

And—

"What are the views entertained by Her Majesty's Government with respect to Egypt as regards the future?"

If the English Government would frankly answer these two questions the Sultan would then state whether his views coincided with those of Her Majesty's Government, and the most intimate alliance might be the result.

I replied that I would put the questions in the categorical form required, because I should be very unwilling to give His Majesty a false impression as to the extent to which England might be prepared to meet his advances. In the meantime, however, I could assure him that, both as regarded the present and future of Egypt, the English Government had but one aim and desire, namely, the preservation of the full integrity of the Sultan's actual sovereign rights as defined by the Firmans; that we not only accepted the Sultan's sovereignty in Egypt as a fact, but that we regarded it with benevolence, and that we recognized that the Egyptians, being a Mussulman people, it was just and desirable that they should be ruled by a Mahomedan Power. As for ourselves, we had but two interests in Egypt: the freedom of the Suez Canal, and such a satisfactory administration of Egyptian internal affairs as would preclude any foreign Power from finding an excuse to meddle with them.

Reshid Bey then made me the following extraordinary proposal:—

He said that His Majesty was possessed with the greatest fear and hatred of the French, that what he desired was to come to an understanding with England about Egypt, to the exclusion of France, and that if we would agree to this he would be quite prepared to hand over to us the exclusive control and administration of the country, reserving to himself only those rights of suzerainty which he now possessed. In fact, what he offered was an Egyptian Convention on the lines of the Cyprus Convention.

I replied that if the Sultan were to make over Egypt to us as a gift, with all Europe consenting, I doubted whether the British Government would accept such a burthen and responsibility; that with regard to the French, the Sultan must remember that our alliance with them was a circumstance outside of the Egyptian question, and that inasmuch as the Egyptian programme to which the French had consented to conform had been cheerfully acquiesced in by the Sultan, he must not consider England as less his friend because she joined with France in carrying it out.

Reshid Bey then referred to the unceasing endeavours of France to obtain a permanent ascendancy in Egypt.

I replied that that was a tendency of most nations similarly situated, but that, as it was as little compatible either with the interests of England as of Turkey that her ascendancy in Egypt should be illegitimately extended, Turkey might always count upon the assistance of England to baffle the indiscreet designs of over-ambitious French Agents. More than this I could not say. French policy in Egypt, I admitted, was probably unduly influenced by the necessities of the position assumed by France in Tunis, but with her wishes in that respect we had no concern, nor should we defer to them for a moment if they tended to contravene the programme agreed upon, the principal points of which were the maintenance of the Sultan's existing rights and of the *status quo*.

Reschid added that the Sultan begged me to come myself to the Palace with your Lordship's answer to His Majesty's questions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1422.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 25, 8 A.M.)

(No. 169.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 24, 1882, 4 P.M.

IN continuation of my telegram No. 168 of to-day.

Having touched with Reshid Bey upon the question of sending Turkish troops to Egypt, he told me that all the Ministers had been in favour of the dispatch of troops, and that a "Mazbata" to that effect had been sent to the Sultan some time ago; that the Sultan had become most adverse, but he had been greatly shaken in his opinion by the language I had used at my recent audience; and that His Majesty's view now [is that] troops should be sent as soon as Dervish Pasha had prepared the way for their arrival, so that they might be [?] into the country without provoking a collision. He said that the Sultan was most anxious that the Conference should not make a demand upon him for troops, as he would then have the appearance of sending them to Egypt at the dictation of Europe, which would render him hateful in the eyes of the Mussulmans.

Reshid Bey then besought me most earnestly not to force the Sultan's hand. His Majesty was acting loyally towards us through Dervish Pasha in Egypt. Dervish Pasha had, indeed, been compelled to temporize with Arabi Pasha, but in the end he would acquire the necessary ascendancy, and would then make short work of him and his associates. Already Arabi's prestige was diminishing, and the adherents of the Khedive and the Sultan, both in the army and among the public, were acquiring strength. An endeavour on the part of the Powers prematurely to coerce the Sultan to fulfil their bidding would be sure to check this growing reaction against the military faction, and His Majesty, thus suddenly forced to choose between Islam and subserviency to the Western Powers, might be compelled to abandon his present endeavour to work, though in his own way, for the ends desired by England, and to throw in his lot with Arabi and the National party.

I replied that I quite appreciated the difficulties of the Sultan's position. On the other hand, 30,000 Europeans had been suddenly driven out of the country, to the ruin of many of them; the military faction could not be allowed to dominate the situation, and that it would be impossible to persuade public opinion in France and England, which had been irritated in so many ways, to allow weeks and months to slip by while the Sultan was executing his occult devices.

I then hinted to Reshid Bey, in a way he could not misunderstand, that if the Sultan hesitated to send troops, the intention had been formed of resorting to an armed occupation of Egypt other than that of Turkey. This announcement made a great impression on him; and I have no doubt that he will do his best to induce the Sultan to render unnecessary such an unwelcome plan.

(Sent to Egypt.)

No. 1423.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 25.)

(No. 491. Very Confidential. Ext. 169.)
My Lord,

Therapia, June 24, 1882.

IN continuation of my previous despatch of this day's date I have the honour to state that, having touched with Reshid Bey upon the question of sending Turkish troops to Egypt, he told me that all the Ministers had been in favour of the dispatch of troops, and that a "Mazbata" to that effect had been sent to the Sultan some time ago, that the Sultan had become most adverse, but he had been greatly shaken in his opinion by the language I had used at my recent audience; and that His Majesty's view now was that troops should be sent as soon as Dervish Pasha had prepared the way for their arrival, so that they might be insinuated into the country without pro-

voking a collision. He said that the Sultan was most anxious that the Conference should not make a demand upon him for troops, as he would then have the appearance of sending them to Egypt at the dictation of Europe, which would render him hateful in the eyes of the Mussulmans.

Reshid Bey then besought me most earnestly not to force the Sultan's hand. His Majesty was acting loyally towards us through Dervish Pasha in Egypt. Dervish had indeed been compelled to temporize with Arabi Pasha, but in the end he would acquire the necessary ascendancy, and would then make short work of him and of his associates. Already Arabi's prestige was diminishing, and the adherents of the Khedive and the Sultan, both in the army and amongst the public, were acquiring strength. An endeavour upon the part of the Powers prematurely to coerce the Sultan to fulfil their bidding would be sure to check this growing reaction against the military faction, and His Majesty, thus suddenly forced to choose between Islam and subserviency to the Western Powers, might be compelled to abandon his present endeavour to work, although in his own way, for the ends desired by England, and to throw in his lot with Arabi and the National party.

I replied that I quite appreciated the difficulties of the Sultan's position. On the other hand nearly 100 persons had been massacred, and some 20,000 Europeans had been driven suddenly out of the country, to the ruin of many of them; that the military faction could not be allowed to dominate the situation, and that it would be impossible to persuade public opinion in France and England, which had been irritated in so many ways, to allow weeks and months to slip by while the Sultan was executing his occult designs.

I then hinted to Reshid Bey, in a way he could not misapprehend, that if the Sultan hesitated to send troops, the intention had been framed of resorting to an armed occupation of Egypt other than that of Turkey.

This announcement made a great impression upon him, and I have no doubt he will do his best to induce the Sultan to render unnecessary such an unwelcome alternative.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1424.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 25.)

(No. 496. Very Confidential. Ext. 168 and 169.)

My Lord,

Therapia, June 24, 1882.

JUST as our first Conference was breaking up, Reshid Bey, the Secretary of the Sultan, was announced, as wishing to see Count Corti. The object of his visit was to communicate to Count Corti and to the other Ambassadors the fact that the Egyptian army and its officers had taken a solemn oath of obedience to the Sultan and to the Khedive.

After having acquainted all my colleagues in turn with this intelligence, Reshid Bey called upon me and intimated that he was charged with a confidential communication from His Majesty.

Reshid Bey prefaced the delivery of his message by observing that, notwithstanding his great intelligence and his many excellent and amiable qualities, the Sultan was possessed by a morbid tendency to suspicion. This tendency would in a great measure explain the meaning of two questions he had been commissioned to address to me. He described His Majesty as eager to persevere in the advances he had already made to England, having been most favourably impressed by the language your Lordship had authorized me to hold to him at my last audience. But notwithstanding the assurances I had then given, His Majesty was still haunted by misgivings in our regard, and would often exclaim, in an audible soliloquy, "If only I knew what England really intended." Impelled by this passion of distrust, His Majesty had at last made up his mind to address to Her Majesty's Government two precise and categorical questions, which he begged me to transmit, without delay, to your Lordship. The first was: "What are the intentions of England towards Egypt in regard to the present?" and the second: "What are the views entertained by Her Majesty's Government with respect to Egypt as regards the future?" If your Lordship would answer these two questions the Sultan would then be in a position to

examine how far his own interests and views coincided with those of Her Majesty's Government. If they should not prove reconcilable he would frankly acquaint your Lordship with the fact; but if, on the contrary, they appeared coincident, it would be his desire to enter into the most intimate and cordial alliance with England.

I replied that I would certainly put the questions in the categorical form required, because I should be most unwilling to give His Majesty a false impression as to the extent to which England might be prepared to meet his advances. In the meantime, however, I could assure him that both as regarded the present and the future of Egypt the British Government had but one desire, namely, the preservation, in their full integrity, of the Sultan's actual sovereign rights as defined by the Firmans, and the maintenance of the order of things established under them. We not only accepted the Sultan's sovereignty in Egypt as a fact, but we regarded it with benevolence. We recognized that the Egyptians, being a Mussulman people, it was desirable that they should be ruled by a Mahomedan Power. As for ourselves, we had but two interests in Egypt: the freedom of the Suez Canal, and such a satisfactory administration of its internal affairs as would preclude any foreign Power from finding an excuse for meddling with them.

Reschid Bey then proceeded to make me the following extraordinary proposal. He said that His Majesty was possessed by the greatest fear and hatred of the French; that he would never be reconciled to them, nor would he cease to oppose them by every means in his power; that what he desired, above all things, was to come to an understanding with England about Egypt, to the exclusion of France. Of course, he would not conceal from me that, if it were possible, the Sultan would gladly acquire the same direct and unlimited control over Egypt as he possesses over Syria or any other part of his Empire; but he knew that this was impossible. Nay, if only rid of the French, he would be quite prepared to hand over to us the exclusive control and administration of the whole of Egypt, reserving to himself only those modified rights of sovereignty which he now possesses. In fact, what he offered was an Egyptian Convention, on the lines of the Cyprus Convention.

I replied that if the Sultan were to make over Egypt to us as a gift in fee-simple with the approbation of all Europe, I doubted whether the British Government would accept such a burden of responsibility. We were already overweighed by the cares of our Empire, and there was nothing to be gained by increasing them in the manner suggested, which had not been attained in a sufficiently satisfactory manner under the *status quo*. With regard to the French, the Sultan, I said, must remember what I had already told His Majesty, that our alliance with the French was a circumstance outside of the Egyptian question, and in no way depended upon it; that inasmuch as the Egyptian programme, to which the French had consented to conform, had been cheerfully acquiesced in by the Sultan, he must not consider England as less his friend because she joined with France in carrying it out. Moreover, I added, what faith or satisfaction would His Majesty find in the renewed alliance he was now inclined to enter upon with us if he learned that we were disposed to palter with our engagements to another Power.

Reschid Bey then referred to the increasing endeavours of France to obtain a permanent ascendancy in Egypt. I replied that that was a tendency of most nations similarly situated, that everyone knew that French Agents were always disposed to be "renuants;" but that the kind of prestige they were so anxious to acquire was generally a very unsubstantial advantage. Moreover, the most scrupulous loyalty upon our part towards France did not in the least imply that we were prepared to countenance the undue ascendancy of the French or of any other nation in Egypt. On the contrary, in that respect the interests of Turkey and of England were identical, and the Ottoman Government might always count upon our co-operation to baffle the illegitimate intrigues of every foreign Government, whether of France, of Italy, or of Austria, to acquire an undue "ingérence," or an illegitimate footing in Egypt or Tripoli, or anywhere else in Turkey. More than this, however, I could not say. French policy in Egypt might probably be unduly influenced by the necessities of the position unfortunately assumed by France in Tunis, but with her interests or wishes in this respect we had no concern, nor should we defer to them for a moment if they tended to contravene the programme agreed upon between us, the chief points of which were the maintenance of the Sultan's existing rights, and the firm and permanent establishment of the *status quo*.

In reviewing the foregoing conversation, I think we must not take in a very serious light the suggestion made by the Sultan's emissary, that England should undertake the occupation and administration of Egypt. It must be accepted rather as an

evidence of the Sultan's intense jealousy of French influence in that part of the world than of his benevolence towards us.

On the other hand, it is not to be dismissed as altogether destitute of a serious character. Recent events have made the Sultan feel that he will never be able to shake off France's hold on Egypt, and that France even incompletely and partially established there jeopardizes the whole of his African possessions, whereas if France were got rid of, the ascendancy of England in the province, though in many respects undesirable, would not be so dangerous either to his temporal sovereignty or to his spiritual pretensions.

Moreover, he probably imagines that if once, through the instrumentality of England, he could expel France, subsequent opportunities might present themselves of minimizing or partially repudiating his present offer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1425.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 26.)

(No. 497. Very Confidential. Ext. 168 and 169.)

My Lord,

June
Constantinople 26, 1882.

HAVING touched, during my recent conversation with Reschid Bey, on the question of the Sultan's sending Turkish troops to Egypt, he told me that all the Ministers had been unanimously in favour of that measure; that a "masbata" recommending it had been sent to the Sultan some time ago; but that the Sultan himself had lately been most averse to the idea, as, indeed, Reschid Bey very frankly added, he was himself. Notwithstanding this, at my recent audience Reschid Bey went on to say His Majesty had been greatly shaken in his opinion by the arguments I had submitted to him. Indeed, His Majesty's view now was that troops should be sent as soon as Dervish Pasha had prepared the way for their arrival, so that they might be insinuated into the country without provoking a collision. It was this change of opinion which had induced His Majesty to ask me whether, in the event of troops being sent, England would lend him transports. But, though now more inclined to an armed intervention in Egypt than he had been a fortnight ago, provided it could be effected without bloodshed, the Sultan was extremely anxious that the Conference should not make any demand upon him in that sense, as he would then have the appearance of having set on foot a military expedition for the subjection of Egypt at the dictation of Europe, which would render him hateful in the eyes of the Mussulman population.

Under these circumstances Reschid Bey besought me most earnestly not to force the Sultan's hand. His Majesty was acting loyally towards us through Dervish Pasha. Dervish Pasha had, indeed, been compelled at last to temporize with Arabi Pasha, because, in the present state of excitement in which he found the Egyptian people it was impossible to do otherwise; but in the end he would acquire the necessary ascendancy, and would then make short work of him and of his colleagues. Arabi Pasha's prestige was diminishing, and the adherents of the Khedive and the Sultan, both in the army and amongst the Notables, were acquiring strength. Any endeavour on the part of the Powers prematurely to coerce the Sultan to fulfil their bidding would check this growing reaction against the military faction, and His Majesty, thus forced to choose between Islam and subserviency to the Western Powers, might be compelled to abandon his present endeavour to work, though in his own way, for the ends desired by England, and to throw in his lot with Arabi Pasha and the National party.

I replied that I quite appreciated the difficulties of the Sultan's position, and that I was convinced that Dervish Pasha had been doing his best to obtain the mastery in Egypt. On the other hand, after a month's trial, it was evident that his mission had totally failed, and, in the meantime, thousands of Europeans had been suddenly driven out of the country, to the ruin of many of them and to the loss of all; and a horrible massacre had been perpetrated, from the midst of which many of the Consuls had barely escaped with their lives; that the military faction, who were responsible for these deplorable results, could not be allowed to dominate the situation; and that it would be impossible to persuade public opinion in France and England, which had been irritated in so many ways, to allow weeks and months to pass by while the Sultan

was endeavouring to obtain his end by his present well-meaning but tortuous and occult devices.

I concluded by hinting to Reschid Bey, in a way which he could not misapprehend, that if the Sultan refused to help us to attain the objects proposed, and still hesitated to take the only effective step to vindicate the authority of his Representative, the intention had been already formed of securing our interests by resorting to an armed occupation of Egypt other than through the instrumentality of Turkey. This announcement made a great impression upon my interlocutor, and I have no doubt he will do his best to induce the Sultan to render unnecessary such an unwelcome alternative, unless, indeed, as perhaps there is reason to fear, His Majesty is encouraged by some other Powers to persist in declaring that the formation of Reghib Pasha's Ministry has resolved the Egyptian question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1426.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 25, 5 P.M.)

(No. 105.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 25, 1882, 1.45 P.M.

M. DE FREYCINET sent last evening to tell me that he had given Sienkiewicz leave to come to France for a week or ten days, and that probably some one with a knowledge of the East would be sent specially to act as Consul-General during his absence, but that it had not yet been decided who it would be.

No. 1427.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 25, 5.15 P.M.)

(No. 106. Secret.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 25, 1882, 2.10 P.M.

MY telegram No. 105.

It would be strangely significant if M. Ring, who is said to be on his way to the East, were the man appointed to act in Egypt. As your Lordship is aware, he was in intimate relations with Arabi when he was recalled by M. B. St. Hilaire.

The confidence of the Suez Canal Company in the safety of the Suez Canal is probably founded upon an understanding between M. Lesseps and Arabi.

No. 1428.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 25.)

(No. 625. Secret. Ext. 106.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 25, 1882.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 105 and my despatch No. 623, both of to-day, it may, perhaps, be well that I should mention to your Lordship that it is rumoured that M. de Ring, who is now French Minister at Bucharest, will be the person selected to act as French Representative in Egypt *ad interim*.

Considering the antecedents of M. de Ring when he was himself Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, such a selection, if it were actually made, would have a strange significance.

It would confirm insinuations that have been made, to the effect that M. de Freycinet is not altogether uninfluenced by important Frenchmen who desire to make terms with Arabi Bey, and especially by M. de Lesseps, whose confidence in the safety of the Suez Canal is very probably founded upon an understanding with Arabi Pasha.

It is thought, moreover, that M. de Lesseps may hope to obtain, through Arabi Pasha, the terms he demands from the Egyptian Government with regard to his scheme for a fresh-water canal to Port Saïd.

I have sent your Lordship the substance of this despatch by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1429.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 25, 11 P.M.)

(No. 259.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 25, 1882, 5 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 278 of yesterday.

Cotterill left Egypt; Cornish safe here. The panic at waterworks at Atfeh apparently caused by arrival of soldiers sent to protect them. Only three Europeans now remain; not English.

I will telegraph again should there be any danger to water supply of Alexandria, which depends chiefly, for the next month, on presence of Europeans at Atfeh pumps, and of Cornish at the pumps here.

No. 1430.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 25, 5.30 P.M.)

(No. 260.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 25, 1882, 11 A.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 279 of yesterday.

Newspaper reports premature.

Ragheb contemplated a Government and Consular Commission, and my French colleague and I were sounded by our Austrian colleague, the day before yesterday, on the point. We declined to join in any Commission, and replied that the Government was bound to take immediate and effectual measures to inquire into or punish those responsible for the events of the 11th June, but that we could not be parties to any such inquiry.

We reserved to ourselves the right to make any such inquiries as we thought fit on our own account, and through the medium of our several Agencies. If hereafter the punishment accorded to those who had planned and carried out the disturbances gave earnest of the sincerity of the Government, some modification of our views might, perhaps, be possible. Since then we have heard no more of the matter. I believe that, rumours to the contrary notwithstanding, no police official, superior or otherwise, has been removed, or even suspended, since the 11th June.

No. 1431.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 25.)

(No. 384. Ext. 260.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 25, 1882.

IN reply to your Lordship's inquiry whether it was true, as stated in the newspapers, that a Commission was to be appointed to inquire into the events of the 11th June, I have the honour to state that Ragheb Pasha, on the formation of the new Ministry, contemplated a joint Commission, composed of nine native members and nine Commissioners nominated by the Consuls of the European Powers, the Commission to be presided over by an Egyptian official. The Austrian Agent and Consul-General adverted to the matter the day before yesterday, but my French colleague and I declined to take any part in the Commission. We stated that the Ministry were bound to take steps at once to discover and punish those who were responsible for what had happened, but that we should hold ourselves aloof from any inquiry instituted by the present Government. We at the same time reserved to ourselves the right to make inquiries for our own information. The views we at present held might perhaps be modified hereafter if the Government showed its sincerity by punishing those who had planned and promoted the disturbances. No further allusion has been made to the subject.

Notwithstanding the persistent rumours that some of the police officials have been arrested, I believe that not a single police officer or subordinate has been removed from his post, or even suspended from his functions since the date of the disturbance.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1432.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 25, 10.55 P.M.)(No. 263.)
(Telegraphic.)*Alexandria, June 25, 1882, 6.30 P.M.*

THE Khedive tells Sir A. Colvin that the Sultan has conferred on him a present (the nature of which was not very clear to me) as a mark of favour and distinction; that he has also conferred on Arabi Pasha the Grand Cordon of the Medjidie, and on Sultan Pasha the rank of Roumeli Begler Bey. The Khedive added that Dervish Pasha has completely failed in his attempts to cajole or coerce Arabi, who replies that the amnesty recently decreed renders it unnecessary to take any further steps to clear his conduct. Dervish Pasha, he added, seems to have given up serious efforts to make further impression on Arabi.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1433.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 25.)

(No. 385. Ext. 263.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 25, 1882.

THE Khedive informed Sir Auckland Colvin to-day that the Sultan had conferred on His Highness a present set in brilliants, which was meant to be understood as a mark of distinction and favour.

The Sultan, His Highness added, with regret, has also decorated Arabi Pasha with the Grand Cordon of the Medjidieh; and he has invested Sultan Pasha with the rank of Roumeli Begler Bey. But the Khedive stated that all Dervish Pasha's efforts to cajole or coerce Arabi Pasha have failed completely, and that Dervish himself now treated the subject as a matter for pleasantry and jokes.

Arabi now maintains that the amnesty granted by the recent Decree renders it unnecessary for him to take any further steps to justify his conduct, and Dervish Pasha apparently desists from any further endeavours to exercise influence over him.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1434.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 25, 10.55 P.M.)(No. 264.)
(Telegraphic.)*Alexandria, June 25, 1882, 6.10 P.M.*

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 280 of yesterday.

A later report states that the guns referred to were sent to Suez and shipped to the Soudan; Consul at Suez says that rifles and ammunition were dispatched thither on the 23rd, but no guns were seen.

Further inquiries are being made.

No. 1435.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 25, 10.55 P.M.)(No. 265.)
(Telegraphic.)*Alexandria, June 25, 1882, 7 P.M.*

THE Khedive has asked Sir A. Colvin to explain to the Admiral that, in view of the delicate situation, he judges it best to forego the pleasure of seeing him at the reception to be held to-morrow to commemorate his accession. The Admiral quite understands the difficulty felt by the Khedive, and has charged Sir A. Colvin to say so to His Highness.

The fleet will be dressed to-morrow, but, in accordance with His Highness' wishes, a salute will not be fired.

No. 1436.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 25.)

(No. 386. Ext. 265.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 25, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report that to-morrow, being the anniversary of the Khedive's accession, an official reception will be held at the Palace. In an interview which Sir Auckland Colvin had to-day with the Khedive, His Highness requested him to explain to Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour that, in view of the critical situation of affairs, His Highness considers it advisable to forego the pleasure of seeing him to-morrow.

Sir Beauchamp Seymour, on receiving this message, requested Sir A. Colvin to inform the Khedive that he fully appreciated the difficulty felt by His Highness. A similar communication was made to the French Admiral.

The Khedive has also expressed a wish that the fleet should not fire salutes, and it has accordingly been arranged that the ships should be dressed, but that no further steps should be taken to commemorate the occasion.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1437.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 25, 10.55 P.M.)(No. 170.)
(Telegraphic.)*Constantinople, June 25, 1882, 6.45 P.M.*

AT the meeting of Ambassadors to-day we signed the Self-denying Protocol.

We then exchanged views on the general situation in Egypt. This discussion will be continued at our next meeting, which is fixed for Tuesday.

No. 1438.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 25.)

(No. 493. Confidential. Ext. 170.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 25, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a copy of an identic telegram which the Representatives of the Six Powers agreed to-day to send to their respective Governments reporting the signature of the Self-denying Agreement and the proceedings of the second meeting of the Conference on the affairs of Egypt.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN.

Inclosure in No. 1438.

Identic Telegram addressed by the Representatives of the Six Powers after the Second Sitting of the Egyptian Conference, June 25, 1882.

À LA séance aujourd'hui, nous avons signé le Protocole de Désintéressement. Nous avons ensuite procédé à un échange de vues général sur la situation d'Égypte. Cette discussion sera continuée à la prochaine séance, qui aura lieu Mardi prochain.

No. 1439.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 25.)(No. 194. Secret. Ext. 171.)
My Lord,*Therapia, June 25, 1882.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 300 of yesterday's date, I have taken an opportunity of asking my French colleague whether it was true that the Sultan had told him all sorts of stories against England and myself. The Marquis de Noailles has written me a formal contradiction of the report in a private letter, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose herewith. He has only seen the Sultan twice, and on neither of those occasions was the slightest allusion made by His Majesty either to England or her policy. There was a very slight reference made to myself, but it was of a complimentary character.

I was surprised at the statement, as it did not accord with the character of the Sultan, who is extremely cautious in his language, and possesses great tact and delicacy of feeling. Moreover, I am certain that of late he has held very friendly language about England, and I have learned from several sources that he is always remarkably civil in his allusions to myself.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

Inclosure in No. 1439.

The Marquis de Noailles to the Earl of Dufferin.

(Particulière.)

Mon cher Collègue,

Thérapia, le 25 Juin, 1882.

JE m'empresse de répondre à votre petit mot de ce matin. Je m'étonnerais que Lord Lyons ait pu attacher quelque crédit des histoires qui n'ont pas le sens commun. Malgré les égards dus à la souveraineté, je n'aurais jamais admis que le Sultan, sachant que nous agissons d'accord, parlât de l'Angleterre en termes qui n'auraient pas été mesurés, ou de son Ambassadeur autrement qu'il ne l'eût fait en votre présence.

Lord Lyons peut donc donner le démenti le plus formel aux histoires qu'on lui a racontées.

J'ajouterai que dans les deux conversations que j'ai eues avec le Sultan, il n'a pas été question de l'Angleterre ni de la politique Anglaise. C'était toujours de l'état de l'Égypte qu'il me parlait. Je ne me rappelle pas que votre nom ait été prononcé. S'il y a eu une allusion très-lointaine, elle était aimable. À cet égard il faut rendre au Sultan la justice qu'il mérite, il a toujours été parfaitement gentleman.

Quant à Tunis, voici de mon côté ce qui s'est passé. Le Sultan m'a fait dire par un intermédiaire officieux, au commencement de la crise, que si j'arrêtais l'escadre, la question de Tunis serait aussitôt arrangée. J'ai répondu qu'entre la France et la Turquie, il n'y avait pas de question de Tunis; que l'Angleterre et la France agissaient d'accord, que, par conséquent, une question si intéressante que [?] l'un des deux pays ne pourrait, en aucun cas, être introduite.

Depuis ce jour-là les visites de l'intermédiaire ont cessé.

Mille affectueux sentiments,
(Signé) M^r. DE NOAILLES.

No. 1440.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.(No. 302. Secret and Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 25, 1882, 11.30 P.M.*

YOUR No. 168.

Your language entirely approved. Express warm thanks for the proof of the confidence which the Sultan has shown in England by the offer he has made. We trust that that confidence will induce him to believe in the absolute sincerity of the answer. We have no wish for any policy further than that which has been described

in the Circular of the 11th February as the basis proposed for discussion. We wish to see the Sultan's sovereignty maintained without any limitations, excepting those which have been conceded by the Firmans.

Our policy is wholly opposed to the preponderating influence of any single Power. The answer to the two questions would therefore be:—

That our wish for the present is that the Sultan should, by sending troops, support the authority of the Khedive, free His Highness from the risk of the continuance or renewal of the military pressure which has been exercised against him, and restore the normal *status quo*.

Our desire for the future is that this state of things should continue, without excluding safe improvement of internal administration, but with the entire exclusion of the preponderating influence of any single Power.

No. 1441.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 345. Secret and Confidential. Ext. 302.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 25, 1882.

HER Majesty's Government have had under their consideration your Excellency's telegram No. 168, Secret and Confidential, of yesterday, forwarding the message which His Majesty had ordered Reschid Bey to request you to transmit to them with regard to their views and intentions on the Egyptian question. Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the language you held to Reschid Bey when he made the communication to your Excellency on behalf of the Sultan. They desire that you should express in warm terms their thanks for the proof of the confidence which the Sultan has shown in this country by the offer he has made to hand over to England the exclusive control and administration of Egypt, reserving only those rights of suzerainty he now possesses, on condition that Her Majesty's Government should come to an understanding with Turkey on the Egyptian question to the exclusion of France. Her Majesty's Government trust that the confidence which the Sultan has thus evinced in the good faith of England will induce His Majesty to credit the absolute sincerity of the reply which they instruct your Excellency to make to his proposal.

Her Majesty's Government have no wish for any policy further than that which has been described in the Circular to the Powers of the 11th February last as the basis proposed for discussion. They desire to see the Sultan's sovereignty maintained without any limitation excepting those which have been conceded by the Imperial Firmans.

Their policy is wholly opposed to the preponderating influence of any single Power.

Their answer to the Sultan's question as to what are the intentions of England towards Egypt in regard to the present is that the wish of Her Majesty's Government for the present is that His Majesty should, by dispatching troops to Egypt, support the authority of the Khedive, free His Highness from the risk of the continuance or renewal of the military pressure which has been exercised against him, and restore the normal *status quo*.

Their reply to the question of the Sultan as to what are the views entertained by Her Majesty's Government with respect to Egypt as regards the future is that they desire that this state of things should continue without excluding the safe improvement of the internal administration of the country, but with the entire exclusion of the preponderating influence of any single Power.

Your Excellency will make a communication to the Sultan in the sense of this despatch.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26.)

(No. 204.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, June 14, 1882.

AS M. de Giers had been at Peterhoff all to-day as well as yesterday, it was only this evening, on his return here, that I was able to communicate to him the contents of your Lordship's telegrams Nos. 103, 105, and 106. His Excellency seemed to be much gratified at being able to inform me that, having heard of the very serious events which had occurred at Alexandria, he had this morning, before seeing me, and before he had taken the orders of His Imperial Majesty, telegraphed to the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, instructing him to join the Representatives of the other three Powers in urging the Sultan to meet their wishes, and to accept the proposal made by England and France, that the Conference should be at once constituted, and should assemble without delay. His Excellency had also instructed M. Onou that if any additional measure of energy should be proposed with a view to restoring order in Egypt and maintaining the *status quo*, he should not fail to support it.

His Excellency stated that he had thought it expedient not to lose time in sending this instruction, though he had not spoken to the Emperor about it; but he knew that it was in entire accordance with His Majesty's views, and it had since been approved by him.

M. de Giers made but few remarks with regard to the above-mentioned telegrams, except the expression of a hope that the mission of Dervish Pasha might still be successful, and that it would be unnecessary to resort to sending troops to Egypt. If, however, the Powers should agree that this measure should be taken, he hoped that it might be found possible to limit the duration of its occupation by Turkish troops to a short term, one of the reasons being that the expenses of the occupation would be a heavy burthen upon Egyptian finances.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

Mr. Ford to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26.)

(No. 104.)

My Lord,

Athens, June 16, 1882.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 77 of the 24th ultimo, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that M. Tricoupi has stated to me that the Greek Government would shape their course of action in the crisis at present taking place in Egypt in accordance with the advice they might receive from the English and French Representatives in that country.

When the news of the late riot at Alexandria reached Athens, and it was learnt that there had been great loss of life, and that M. Rangabé, the Greek Agent, had been wounded, the idea occurred to the Greek Government that it would be expedient to dispatch an expeditionary force to Alexandria; but at the instance of M. Rangabé the idea was abandoned, although the ships and troops are held in readiness in case of need.

In course of conversation with M. Tricoupi, I informed his Excellency that I felt certain that the proper steps would be taken by the British and French Governments in order to insure a restoration of order at Alexandria and to prevent a recurrence of the late disturbances, and that should it be found expedient by those Powers to land any forces at Alexandria for the protection of the lives and property of Europeans residing there, all foreigners, without distinction as to nationality, would receive equal protection, and that consequently the presence of Greek troops, without special application was to be made for them, would be rendered unnecessary. My telegram of yesterday will have informed your Lordship that M. Tricoupi will do nothing which might appear objectionable in the present circumstances to Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS CLARE FORD.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26.)

(No. 366.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 19, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copies of despatches, with inclosures, which I have received from Mr. Vice-Consul Borg, reporting upon the panic and insecurity among the European residents of Cairo caused by the deplorable events of the 11th instant at Alexandria.

I have, &c.
(For Sir E. Malet),
(Signed) A. COLVIN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1444.

Vice-Consul Borg to Sir E. Malet.

Sir,

Cairo, June 14, 1882.

THE panic created by the departure of the Khedive and of the Turkish Commissioner for Alexandria has become intensified by rumours spread about town to the effect that a large number of natives who had taken part in the recent tumult at Alexandria had come to Cairo, that several of the principal agitators were also here exciting the mob, and that some Europeans had been insulted and threatened during the last two evenings.

In these circumstances I felt bound to call upon the Prefect of Police, and to hold to him the following language:—

"The deplorable events that occurred at Alexandria last Sunday have naturally created a sense of insecurity among European residents, and led the Representatives of the foreign Powers to demand assurances for the maintenance of public order. His Highness the Khedive, in the presence of the Special Commissioner of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, and with the co-operation of Arabi Pasha, has given assurances that public order shall not be again disturbed, and with a view of carrying into effect those assurances, the arrest, as I am informed, has been operated of a number of persons suspected of being of a turbulent disposition, and orders have been given that any attempt at disturbing the public peace shall be at once suppressed.

"I am informed, however, that over 100 persons who have participated in the riot at Alexandria have come to Cairo, that inflammatory speeches have been made by Abdullah Nedim, by Ibrahim Lakkâni, by Ahmed-el-Onâm, and by students of the Azhar, that last evening and the evening before Europeans have been insulted and threatened by donkey-boys, carriage-drivers, and others, more especially near the western gate of the Ezbekiéh Gardens, and that but for the prudence displayed by those Europeans quarrels would have ensued which might have led to serious consequences. I deem it my duty, with a view to facilitate your task, to bring these matters under your notice, and to request you to take active measures for removing these sources of danger to public security."

The Zâbit answered that the persons mentioned as having come to Cairo are, he thinks, residents of this place, and that numerous arrests have been made of evil-disposed or suspected persons, some of whom have been sent to the army, while others are still in prison; that he is personally watching night and day over public security, and that most stringent orders have been given to carry into effect the assurances of the Khedive and of Arabi Pasha; that he is issuing a notice in French and Arabic reassuring the public, and he trusted nothing would take place in Cairo. At the same time, he ordered that near the particular spot I mentioned two policemen should be stationed with instructions to arrest any person whose language were calculated to incite to a breach of the peace, and he assured me that Arabi Pasha at his (the Prefect's) request had already ordered Nedim to be careful and cautious in his speeches, and the Zâbit added he would have him arrested if he did not profit by the warning. He informed me, moreover, that he had got the Bedouins to leave Cairo, and that the arrest had been made of a young Moslem in the service of Yacoub Pasha Sabry, who, wearing European dress and hat, was overheard addressing natives in a manner that might incite them to a breach of the peace.

I answered that I was glad to be able to convey to you the assurances given by the Prefect of Police, and I added I felt convinced that, so long as Arabi Pasha and he (the Prefect) are in earnest in preventing disturbances, none need be apprehended.

The notice above-mentioned has been actually published, and I send you herein a copy. I must say, however, that it has not in any way had a reassuring effect, and I know that many families are leaving Cairo to-morrow because it is generally felt that no confidence can be reposed in the man who, after stating to some of the Representatives of the Powers that order would not be disturbed in Upper and Lower Egypt and the Soudan, has not been able or willing to prevent the massacre at Alexandria.

It has become known, moreover, that Arabi Pasha and his colleagues have resolved to offer resistance even to the Sultan's troops, and I am credibly informed it has been said that while guaranteeing public security at present, he could not control the population and the army if any attempt were made to land troops at Alexandria, even the Sultan's. This information has been indirectly corroborated by my French colleague, whom I had occasion to see this evening, and who said, "Je ne peux pas dire ce qui pourrait arriver en cas d'une intervention, Anglaise par exemple, ou Turque." These words, pronounced by M. Monge, who has had exceptional facilities for observation, become very significant indeed when the recent attitude of the ordinarily quiet population of Cairo is borne in mind, together with the adverseness to Europeans lately displayed by the element at the Azhar.

Everything now tends to show that the quiet we are enjoying is only temporary, and that the landing of any troops might be the signal of a general outbreak. In this state of things it seems to me that we would be incurring a very grave responsibility if, on hearing of the departure of any troops for Egypt, we did not warn our subjects of the great risks of personal danger to which a continued stay in the country might expose them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. BORG.

P.S.—I am informed the Railway Board have removed to Alexandria, and that French employes in the Railway and Domains Departments will be granted leave of absence on application.

R. B.

Inclosure 2 in No. 1444.

Notice.

LA Préfecture de Police du Caire a fait afficher l'avis suivant dans les deux langues Française et Arabe :—

"La Préfecture de Police prévient les habitants du Caire, tant Européens qu'indigènes, que la police s'occupe sérieusement de la sécurité publique; ses agents veillent scrupuleusement, jour et nuit, pour le maintien de l'ordre et pour prévenir tout incident qui pourrait troubler la tranquillité générale.

"Le public doit être calme et sans aucune inquiétude.

"Tout bruit contraire à ceci doit être écarté.

"Le Préfet de Police du Caire.

"Le Caire, le 14 Juin, 1882."

Inclosure 3 in No. 1444.

Vice-Consul Borg to Sir E. Malet.

Sir,

Cairo, June 15, 1882.

IN continuation of my despatch of yesterday's date, I beg to report that Mr. Roggieri, the clerk in charge of the Eastern Telegraph line, has informed me that he was sent for by the Italian Consul-General, who told him the following words, taken down *verbatim*:—"The time of illusions is past; public tranquillity has been guaranteed for about fifteen days, and on the approach of troops we shall have a serious row. I advise you, therefore, to leave. You may tell this to Mr. Gibbs, and use my name."

The American missionaries have been advised by the commander of the corvette to proceed to Alexandria, and they had to leave by the express train. The German school is closed, and the pastor leaving.

M. Sienkiewicz has addressed a letter to the Deputy of the Nation, stating it is

now impossible for him to answer for public tranquillity, and suggesting a momentary absence as the safest guarantee. I beg to inclose herein a copy of the letter in question.

The population of Cairo is panic-stricken, and the exodus is general. A large number of shops are closed. Many bakers, butchers, grocers, and victuallers have already left, and we may shortly find ourselves unable to procure provisions.

The Djellâbs are assuming a threatening attitude, and have applied to several merchants with whom they ordinarily deal to have allowances on goods, agreed to months ago, refunded, while another (M. Bochorides) has been threatened that his name will be reported to Hassan Moussa-el-Akkad.

Mr. Beaman called to see Arabi to-day, but found him asleep. He has sent me a note, of which I inclose a copy, giving the substance of a conversation of a reassuring character which he has had with an officer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. BORG.

P.S.—The offices of Messrs. Easton and Anderson (Belim Land and Irrigation Company, &c.) have closed to day, or will do so to-morrow.

R. B.

Inclosure 4 in No. 1444.

M. Sienkiewicz to M. Karcher.

M. le Député, *Consulat-Général de France, le Caire, le 14 Juin, 1882.*

J'E crois utile de résumer en quelques mots les entretiens que j'ai eus dernièrement avec vous.

Jusqu'à ces derniers jours j'ai cherché à rassurer les esprits et dissiper les inquiétudes.

La situation a changé: il m'est désormais impossible de répondre de la tranquillité publique, et tout en recommandant à nos compatriotes le calme et la prudence, je les engage à prendre les précautions que réclame leur sécurité: une absence momentanée est évidemment la plus sûre des garanties.

Je profite de cette occasion pour vous informer que je me rendrai très prochainement à Alexandrie.

Agréé, &c.
(Signé) A. SIENKIEWICZ.

Inclosure 5 in No. 1444.

Mr. Beaman to Vice-Consul Borg.

(Private.)

Dear Mr. Borg,

Cairo, June 15, 1882.

I WENT to Arabi, but he was asleep. An officer came out, however, and talked to me for about a quarter of an hour. He pooh-poohed all danger, and said that the personal honour of Arabi, and of all his officers, himself among them, was engaged to keep the public peace. They said "Bis selâmeh" to any one who wanted to go, but there was no need for it. Asking if I was going, he said I was quite right to stop, and he would be security, if I liked, for me. He said Europeans of good position had always been liked, and were so still. It was only a number of lying, low-class scoundrels who tried to get up stories of probable massacres. Cairo had never been quieter than at this moment, and so on, and so on.

Of course, I took all this talk for what it was worth, but he was very friendly, and evidently had no ill-feeling himself, and shook hands cordially with me when I left, asking me to come again.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) ARDERN BEAMAN.

Inclosure 6 in No. 1444.

Vice-Consul Borg to Sir E. Malet.

Cairo, June 15, 1882.

Sir,

SINCE writing my despatch of this day's date I have come to learn from a reliable source that the Prefect of Police, after the conversation reported in my despatch of the 14th June, summoned to the Zaptieh the Sheikhs of quarters, the Chiefs of Corporations, and a number of watchmen, and gave them the following directions:—

1. To avoid all quarrels with Europeans, and even if the latter be in the wrong to refer the matter to the zaptieh.
2. To be within doors at 9 o'clock P.M. at the latest.
3. Not to congregate more than four together in the streets.
4. Not to sing in the streets; and
5. To keep in readiness in their houses sticks and weapons that might be required for personal protection.

The last recommendation is the most important, as it enables these men, and, of course, their subordinates, to lay by a store of weapons which, though ostensibly kept for defence, might at any given time be used for offensive purposes.

The Suez Canal Company have received from the Central Office in Paris the following significant telegraphic message: "Occupation imminente; transportez bureau Ismailieh;" and the office, I understand, will be removed to-morrow.

The reasoning now being held by Arabi Pasha and those that think and act with him is, I am credibly informed, the following:—

"The Sultan is the Caliph and Spiritual Head of the Faithful, and at the same time the temporal Ruler of the Ottoman Empire. In the former capacity he acts by Divine inspiration, and must be implicitly and devoutly obeyed as the representative of the Prophet, while as a temporal Ruler he is obliged at times to follow the requests of other Sovereigns, even against the dictates of his own conscience. In the Egyptian crisis he is compelled from policy, and not from conscientious motives, to adopt the views of the European Powers, who are aiming at the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, and he is not therefore a free agent acting by Divine inspiration. While it would be sinful to resist the Caliph's will, it is lawful to oppose a temporal Ruler's fiat if the decision be contrary to the interests of the Commonwealth. That England wants the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire there can be no doubt, as the 'bag and baggage' policy preached by the Prime Minister of England a short while ago, and which is still vivid in every man's recollection, clearly proves, and the Sultan, therefore, will be submitting to the dictates of the arrogant Minister if he adopt and seek to enforce the ultimatum presented at the instigation of England, a course entirely incompatible with the prestige and high prerogatives of a Caliph, subversive of all order, and tending to bring into disrepute the religion of Islam, and as such may be lawfully resisted to the very last extremity."

The argument is specious, and what a fanatical mob imbued with such principles and carried away by their animal instincts might do if incited by agitators and excited by a landing of troops could be easily conceived, while the recent deplorable events at Alexandria are fresh in everyone's mind.

M. Gilbert, a French citizen, is leaving to-morrow with his family, his father-in-law informs me, upon the advice given to-day by M. Monge.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. BORG.

Inclosure 7 in No. 1444.

Vice-Consul Borg to Sir E. Malet.

Cairo, June 17, 1882.

Sir,

THE panic has assumed such proportions that it may be characterized as "terror." The false news spread about, the inability of Consular officers to reassure their subjects, and the absence of official information as to what may probably take place, have had no mean share in increasing the alarm, and the consequence is a regular stampede.

The police, on its side, has given stringent orders with a view to prevent a disturbance of the peace, the Minister for War has issued a reassuring manifesto, of

which I inclose a manuscript copy, but nothing seems to be of any avail. The banks, the Eastern Telegraph, and other principal offices and places of business, are closed; goldsmiths and jewellers keep their ornamental and costly articles locked up in their iron safes, and I counted myself yesterday morning no less than ninety-two shops closed in the Mooskee as far as the Bank of Egypt, while the majority of the remaining shops had their shutters up or were partially closed, evidently keeping ready to close at a moment's notice.

The attitude of the native population, taken as a whole, cannot be called threatening, but it seems rather imprinted with sullenness during the last few days. A few cases have come to my knowledge of natives having uttered threats to Europeans generally, and the parties, I hear, were immediately arrested. There cannot be any doubt, however, that at any given moment many elements, at present held in check, may break loose and repeat here the hecatombs of Alexandria, and I feel I could not conscientiously recommend any European to remain in Cairo, more especially if an armed intervention were decided upon. I came to learn to-day from reliable native sources that persons who are not by their calling required to use knives were seen yesterday in the Bâh-es-Sarâjah quarter getting large-sized knives sharpened, and that it had been determined to set fire to the Darb-el-Barabara quarter, where a number of Europeans reside.

I immediately informed the Prefect of Police, who gave orders in my presence with a view to avert the threatened danger.

Similar feelings seem to prevail also in the villages. Mr. Murdoch, writing from Mansourah on the 15th instant, says "a good deal of menacing language has been used in the Arab cafés lately, and, although no disturbance has yet taken place, some of the Arabs have shown a decidedly hostile attitude towards Europeans, and are very disrespectful in their manners, &c. His Excellency Chakir Pasha, Moudir, has done his best to maintain order and make his subordinates fully realize their responsibility in the event of any disturbance."

Of another despatch of Mr. Murdoch's I beg to inclose a copy, inasmuch as it reverts to the subject, and gives the result of deliberations at a meeting of Consular Agents respecting the present state of the district.

The Acting Consular Agent at Zagazig addresses to me a similar Report, of which I inclose a translation, and asks to be relieved of his duties in view of the danger to which he feels his life is exposed.

We hear this evening that a cypher telegram was received by Arabi Pasha informing him that 10,000 troops had left Constantinople for Egypt, to which he is reported to have answered that they would be resisted both at Alexandria and at Cairo. The effect produced by this news may be easily imagined.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. BORG.

Inclosure 8 in No. 1444.

Notice.

Gouvernement Égyptien.—Ministère de la Guerre.

Habitants du Caire,

LE Ministre de la Guerre, Ahmet Pacha Arabi, pour répondre à toutes les fausses nouvelles qui ont été mises en circulation, informe officiellement tous les habitants de l'Égypte, sans distinction, que Son Altesse le Khédive a assumé, en présence de MM. les Consuls-Généraux des Puissances amies, la responsabilité du maintien de la sécurité des personnes et de la tranquillité publique, sur toute l'étendue du territoire Égyptien.

Le Ministre de la Guerre garantit, lui aussi, la sécurité des personnes et des propriétés de tous ceux qui habitent le pays, de quelque nationalité qu'ils soient.

Son Altesse le Khédive et les membres de sa famille se sont rendus à Alexandrie dans le but de rassurer les esprits alarmés.

Le Ministre de la Guerre reste dans la capitale pour y assurer le maintien de l'ordre.

Des ordres ont été donnés à tous les Commandants de la force armée dans les

différentes localités, leur enjoignant expressément de veiller à la sécurité des habitants et à la tranquillité publique.

Le Ministre de la Guerre et de la Marine,
(Signé) AHMET ARABI.

Au Caire, le 15 Juin, 1882.

Inclosure 9 in No. 1444.

Mr. Murdoch to Vice-Consul Borg.

Sir, Mansourah, June 16, 1882.
THE meeting of Consular officials at the Italian Consular Agency was merely for the purpose of sending a deputation to his Excellency Chakir Pasha, the Mudir, requesting him to cause the Sheikhs of villages in the immediate vicinity of Mansourah to form a cordon of watchmen in order to prevent any person entering or leaving the town in the night-time.

As several instances of Europeans having been insulted by donkey-boys and others had occurred, a more strict watch was requested to be kept over that class of persons.

A shop in the new street, kept by a native who sold weapons, such as knives, guns, pistols, &c., and who was doing a large business, keeping open till midnight was considered dangerous, and the Mudir to be requested to either close this shop, or else place such restrictions on the sale of these weapons as to limit the sale as much as possible.

The deputation accordingly waited on the Mudir, and the suggestions of the Consular authorities were very favourably entertained, and he promised faithfully to carry them out. All expressed their approval of the efficient and energetic measures which had been already adopted by his Excellency for the maintenance of public order and security.

I have received a number of inventories from British subjects who have left their shops, houses, &c., without anyone in charge, and they have been deposited in the archives, and I await your instructions regarding them. I have declined to verify them or otherwise regard them other than ordinary deposited documents, and have declined any responsibility in connection with them pending your instructions, which I now most anxiously await.

The departure of Europeans continues, and there are now very few left in the town, and to-day a general panic has prevailed.

The Arabs are becoming most insolent in their behaviour to Europeans, and instances of open insult in the street are frequent.

Please inform me whether I ought to advise the local authorities regarding the property left by British subjects or not.

All Anglo-Indian subjects who have not been registered this year I have refused to recognize as entitled to British protection. Am I right in this?

I am, &c.
(Signed) FREDK. MURDOCH.

Inclosure 10 in No. 1444.

Mr. Camilleri to Vice-Consul Borg.

(Translation.)

Sir, Zagazig, June 16, 1882.
I ABSTAINED until now from giving you any news of our village, as there was none of importance. In these days, however, I think the moment has come to draw a little of your attention.

After the panic at Cairo the day before yesterday, a crowd of Europeans from the capital on their way to Port Saïd have created the alarm in our village. Yesterday and to-day the emigration from here was immense [sic]. The few who remain are preparing for the most part to leave after the news received by the Mansourah train; it was said that an Arab had fired a revolver at a Greek priest.

Setting aside these facts, I beg to inform you that a person worthy of credence told me in confidence that a native soldier told his servant (also a native) that Arabi Pasha had given orders to the troops to sharpen their swords, and in confirmation

of his word he drew his sword and tried it on his nail. I cannot say whether the soldier told the truth, but the person told me in confidence it was true. True or not, however, I feel it my duty to report the matter.

We are sorry to remark the ascendancy which the native element has acquired in these days over the European; he is not deterred from speaking plainly. This evening annoying words were uttered to my address. Here is the fact. I was passing on horseback, accompanied by my servant through one of the streets in the village; a carter behind me called out loudly to his companion, "Abou Amer! here are those that remain" ("Adi illi fadiloom"). I feigned not to hear. He repeated the words some ten times, laughing with his companion.

Similar facts have occurred also to others; in one case, a native seeing effects being taken away, shouted out in the middle of the street, "May God not let them come back."

In substance these facts are not grave, but such things had not occurred before, and it is only since yesterday that they are taking place.

I avail myself of the opportunity to ask whether it would not be possible to intrust the Agency to the French Consular Agent. Speaking frankly, I cannot think that the Consulate should sacrifice me here for some twenty subjects, for the most part of the lowest class, who are unable to go away. I have a family that calls me, interests to protect, and my life to save. You can judge that we, Agents or Acting Agents in the interior, are more in danger than the greatest Ambassador. We may be butchered and cut to pieces before we have time to report anything to our superiors. You may rest assured that if what occurred at Alexandria had taken place here, no European would have remained alive. We have a garrison, but what could it do against the mob? In a word, I must frankly say that our stay here becomes very critical; not only our subjects, but all the Europeans fear that they are in danger. Such as can go away; and only those remain who cannot pay their passage. I hope, therefore, you will make allowance for my position, which becomes dangerous.

I ask for my resignation, and I suggest that M. Dr. Aubonne, French Consular Agent, should replace me. As he has no family, he told me he would accept, and remain here to the last moment. I trust, therefore, that my application will be granted, and, thanking you beforehand, I remain, &c.

(Signed) ERN. CAMILLERI.

Inclosure 11 in No. 1444.

Vice-Consul Borg to Sir E. Mulet.

Sir, Cairo, June 18, 1882.
MR. JUDGE LAW informed me to-day that his Austro-Hungarian colleague at the Reform Tribunal, M. Kouzmitz, acting under the advice of his Consul, is leaving Cairo to-day, and that yesterday the Commercial sitting could not be held owing to the departure from Cairo of the Commercial Assessors. The natives interested in the cases before the Tribunal, on learning that no sitting could be held, became very violent in their language, and seemed to be prepared to make a rush upon the Bench. Order, however, notwithstanding their riotous conduct, was soon restored.

At noon to-day the Austrian Consul posted a Notice (translation inclosed), inviting his subjects and protégés to appear at the Chancery in forty-eight hours. I have ascertained that this was done with the object of giving free passages to such persons as have not the means to leave Cairo. During the last two days the measure had been carried out by the Austro-Hungarian Benevolent Society, but it is now taken up by the Consular authority.

This step has greatly contributed to increase the terror of the remaining Europeans.

Arabi Pasha attended this morning the distribution of prizes at the Italian Schools, and made a speech upon the universal brotherhood of mankind, and concluded by reassuring his listeners as regards order and tranquillity in Cairo. The effect of this speech, if favourable, was soon neutralized, however, by the publication of the Austrian Notice, above mentioned.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RAPIL BORG.

Inclosure 12 in No. 1444.

Notice.

(Translation.)

ALL Austro-Hungarian citizens and protégés domiciled here are invited to appear within forty-eight hours at the Chancery of this Austro-Hungarian Consulate.

(L.S.) (Signed) SEEWALD.

Cairo, June 18, 1882.

No. 1445.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26.)

(No. 367.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 19, 1882.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 206 of the 12th instant, I have the honour to inclose herewith, extracted from the "Moniteur Égyptien" of the 13th instant, an order from His Highness the Khedive to Arabi Pasha, Minister of War, enjoining him to issue strict orders to the troops to insure the safety of Europeans in Egypt.

I have, &c.

(For Sir E. Malet),

(Signed) A. COLVIN.

Inclosure in No. 1445.

Extract from the "Moniteur Égyptien" of June 13, 1882.

Ordre de Son Altesse le Khédive à son Excellence le Ministre de la Guerre et de la Marine, en date du 26 Regeb, 1229 (12 Juin, 1882), No. 18.

(Traduction.)

À LA suite des graves événements qui sont survenus hier, 11 Juin, à Alexandrie, événements sur lesquels une enquête est ouverte, qui ont profondément ému les populations, MM. les Consuls-Généraux sont venus aujourd'hui m'entretenir de la situation, en présence de son Excellence le Muehir Dervisch Pacha, et me demander que la vie ainsi que les biens de leurs nationaux soient garantis, sous ma propre responsabilité, comme Khédive d'Égypte, et sous celle de son Excellence Dervisch Pacha, comme Commissaire de Sa Majesté le Sultan.

J'ai acquiescé à leur demande et garanti la vie ainsi que les biens de leurs administrés.

Je vous ai appelé alors et, en leur présence, je vous ai donné l'ordre verbal de transmettre aux officiers commandant les troupes Égyptiennes, tant au Caire qu'à Alexandrie et ailleurs, des injonctions formelles, afin que les mesures les plus efficaces soient prises pour prévenir tout ce qui pourrait porter atteinte à la sécurité générale.

Dans cet état de choses, je vous réitère par écrit l'ordre déjà donné de pourvoir de la façon la plus stricte à ce que les troupes veillent à la sûreté et à la tranquillité publiques, afin que partout l'ordre et la sécurité soient pleinement assurés et ne puissent être en rien compromis.

Faites bien comprendre, d'ailleurs, à vos subalternes que, de même que vous êtes responsable envers moi de la rigoureuse exécution de cet ordre, de même chaque officier en est personnellement responsable.

No. 1446.

Sir E. Malet to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26.)

(No. 368.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 19, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a despatch from Mr. Vice-Consul Borg, forwarding one from Mr. Carr, reporting that the insecurity among the remaining European residents in the villages has become most acute.

Since then Mr. Carr reported that he was the only European remaining at Birket-el-Sab, and I have therefore granted him leave of absence.

I have, &c.

(For Sir E. Malet),

(Signed) A. COLVIN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1446.

Vice-Consul Borg to Sir E. Malet.

Sir,

Cairo, June 14, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to forward to you a copy of a despatch, received to-day from Mr. Carr, stating that the feeling of insecurity among the remaining European residents in the villages has become most acute, and that the panic is complete, and suggesting that I should furnish him with instructions to enable him to answer inquiries from Europeans of divers nationalities.

I beg to inclose a copy of the answer I have returned to Mr. Carr, to the effect that although I do not apprehend any immediate danger, I think that Europeans should be guided by local circumstances and feeling, and I would request to be favoured with instructions, by telegram, if you think that a different answer should be given to the inquiries addressed to Mr. Carr.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. BORG.

Inclosure 2 in No. 1446.

Mr. Carr to Vice-Consul Borg.

Sir,

Birket-es-Sab, June 13, 1882.

SINCE the late disturbance in Alexandria, there is a most acute feeling of insecurity and fear among the remaining European residents in the villages. The exodus is now general, and the panic complete.

Many families, acting upon my advice, have remained up to the present, but fear of personal violence seems now to take precedence of every other consideration, and if the present state of fear and uncertainty continues many days longer the villages will be entirely depopulated of Europeans. Under these circumstances, I beg to suggest that you furnish me at your discretion during the present crisis with instructions to guide me in answering inquiries from Europeans of diverse nationalities, which, I submit, I ought to be enabled to do in the present state of the country.

From what I can gather, the fear of the remaining European residents is in a great measure caused by daily threats of violence from low-class natives. This feeling has now become so general among the Greeks that, as a precaution, they appoint nightly places of meeting where an armed watch is kept during the night. Of course these measures are well known to the natives, and tend to increase the present state of alarm and insecurity. I may remark that the Coptic residents, including Government employes, appear to have even a more intense fear than the Greeks of a so-called fanatical rising for the purpose of plunder.

My own experience in this district shows me that the principal native land-owners deeply deplore the present state of the country, and are not at all particular in their choice of invectives against those who have caused the present ruinous state of affairs.

I have taken the liberty to forward a copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Consul and Judge at Alexandria.

I am, &c.

(Signed) C. SPENCER CARR.

Inclosure 3 in No. 1446.

Vice-Consul Borg to Mr. Carr.

Sir,

Cairo, June 14, 1882.

YOUR despatch of yesterday's date just received states that the feeling of insecurity among the remaining European residents has become most acute; that the

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exodus is now general and the panic complete, and suggests that I should furnish you with instructions to enable you to answer inquiries from Europeans of divers nationalities.

The abnormal times in which we are living in Egypt have created a difficult situation, which has been intensified, no doubt, by the events that occurred at Alexandria last Sunday. Those events have made it imperative upon the Representatives of foreign Powers to demand assurances for the maintenance of order, and assurances have been given by His Highness the Khedive in the presence of the High Commissioner of the Sultan, and with the co-operation of his Excellency Arabi Pasha, that order would not be again disturbed. From what I observe in Cairo, I have reason to think that measures are taken effectively to carry out those assurances, and I do not, therefore, apprehend any immediate danger to the European community.

I do not, however, feel justified in influencing any person whose observations might tend to induce a contrary opinion, to follow my own personal views, and I would therefore advise that everyone should be guided in his determination by local circumstances and feeling.

This despatch must be regarded, of course, as expressing my own views in the matter, and I am sending a copy of it, together with a copy of yours under acknowledgment, to Sir Edward Malet, with a request that he should instruct me by telegram if, in his opinion, a different answer should be given.

I am, &c.
(Signed) R. BORG.

No. 1447.

Mr. Cookson to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26.)

(No. 16.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 20, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a despatch dated the 16th instant, with its inclosures, which I have addressed to Sir E. B. Malet.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHAS. A. COOKSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1447.

Mr. Cookson to Sir E. Malet.

Alexandria, June 16, 1882.

Sir,

IN my last despatch of the 8th instant I had the honour to inform you in general terms that a plan for the self-defence by Europeans of this city had been approved by the Commanders-in-chief of the British and French Squadrons, and also by the Commandore of the Greek Squadron. This plan was on the 9th communicated by the Swedish Consul-General to the Italian and Austrian Consuls with a view to securing their co-operation. They, however, declined that responsibility without the authority of their Consuls-General at Cairo. It was, therefore, arranged that Mr. Böttker should go to Cairo the next day, the 10th, and confer with you and his colleagues. The result of that conference was communicated to me in your telegram of Sunday, the 11th, received at about 1 p.m., copy of which I inclose. Only half-an-hour after I was summoned by the local police to the quarter of the Caracol el Labban (Police Station), where a disturbance had broken out between the Arab population and some Maltese in the neighbourhood. I went with the Governor and the Sub-Prefect of Police to the scene of disturbance, and thought we had succeeded in calming the tumult, in the course of which I was struck with a stone. I returned to this Consulate about 3:30 p.m., and immediately went out again on finding a messenger waiting to summon me with all the other Consuls to a meeting at the Caracol of Labban. I jumped into a carriage with a janissary, Ibrahim Aga, in uniform, and drove across the Square down the broad Rue des Sœurs. At the further end of this stands a Caracol, to which we had been summoned. I observed marks of recent conflict in the street, and groups of excited Arabs, armed with sticks, moving about. On approaching an open space where four more roads meet, about 90 yards short of the Caracol, I was assailed first of all with stones, then struck at from behind by sticks. Without arms or any other means of defence I stood up and looked round on my assailants with folded arms. For

a moment this seemed to have good effect. But a tall Arab ran behind the carriage, and, loudly shouting, felled me to the ground with a long and heavy quarter-staff ("nabut"). When I recovered myself, I was lying surrounded by a number of persons, some of them standing over me and trying to protect me, and others striking at me with sticks. One hand I saw brandishing a long knife or chopper. I was then lifted up and assisted to the Caracol, from which the guard of soldiers did not move a step to protect me as I approached streaming with blood and pursued by howling Arabs, striking at me with sticks. I describe what happened to me somewhat in detail. My excuse must be that it is a fair example of the nature of the attacks made that afternoon on hundreds of other Europeans as unoffending as myself. The only remarkable feature in my case was that I escaped with my life; how, I can hardly say now. It was, no doubt, mainly owing to the brave assistance rendered me by my deliverers, among whom was an Arab officer. My janissary was thrown from the carriage, and had his leg severely hurt.

I was brought home from the Caracol about 5:30 p.m. Mr. Calvert immediately took temporary charge of this Consulate. His despatch to you of the 12th instant will have informed you of what took place up to 4 a.m. on the 12th.

Admiral Sir F. Beauchamp Seymour had lent Captain Molyneux, of Her Majesty's ship "Invincible," to assist Mr. Vice-Consul Calvert, and he remained here during the night of Sunday until 11 a.m. the next day, when we were deprived of his very valuable services, in spite of a strong remonstrance on my part, as I sent a message to Sir B. Seymour that, under the extraordinary circumstances in which we were placed, the least he could do for the protection of the lives of British subjects in Alexandria was to lend us the aid and counsel of an officer of rank and experience.

In consequence of this representation the Admiral dispatched Commander Hammill, R.M., of Her Majesty's ship "Monarch," who stayed here from Monday, the 12th, at 5 p.m., till 11 a.m. Tuesday, the 13th, when, greatly to my disappointment, he too was withdrawn. Admiral B. Seymour, however, sent Lieutenant Couper, R.N., to assist Lieutenant Marriott, R.M.A., in telephone works. I have formed a high opinion of this latter young officer's intelligence and capacity, but I can hardly consider him qualified by age and experience to conduct the task which has been confided to him of arranging and carrying out the scheme for the protection of this Consulate and the British subjects who may fly to it during the period of extremity, which must elapse before assistance can come from the fleet, in the case of a combined attack on Europeans by the native civil population and the army. A plan has, I believe, been conceived for defending one or more strong buildings in this immediate neighbourhood. I am quite incapable of judging of the technical merit of the scheme, the responsibility of which will rest with those who have formed it.

On the 12th instant, at 7 a.m., a meeting was held at the Governor's, attended by the Special Commission from Cairo (whose arrival is reported in Mr. Calvert's despatch), all the senior officers of the Egyptian garrison here and representatives of the Consulates. Captain Molyneux, R.N., attended with Mr. Huri. A copy of a Report by Mr. Huri, Dragoman of this Consulate, of what took place, is annexed.

The result of this meeting will be seen in the Proclamation to the European population, of which a copy is inclosed. During the whole of that day order was perfectly preserved. But all shops and houses were closed, and in most cases barricaded; and every kind of business suspended, even by the Arab population.

About midday I sent to you and Earl Granville a telegram, copy of which is annexed. In the course of the day an inspection took place at the various hospitals of the bodies of those killed on the previous day. The result of it was reported to you and Earl Granville by Mr. Vice-Consul Calvert in a telegram, copy of which I inclose. The Report of the Consular Medical Delegates is herewith annexed. At 6 p.m. I received from you a telegram of which a copy is sent.

The night of Monday, 12th, to 13th, passed over without any disturbance. But in the morning I received a secret visit from a high functionary of the police of Alexandria to tell me that, in spite of the assurances given by the Governor and the military authorities the day before, the soldiers had not been at their post during the night, and that a serious altercation had taken place between the Governor and the colonels of the regiments. His Excellency the Governor remonstrated with the colonels, and they, in the most violent language, denounced him as a traitor to his religion, and refused altogether to obey his orders. I communicated this information by telegram to you and to Earl Granville.

The bodies of James Pibworth, engineer, of Her Majesty's ship "Superb," and of George Sprackett and A. Hern, Admiral domestics, of Her Majesty's ship "Helicon,"

killed in the riot of Sunday, the 11th, were embarked at 2 P.M. under the escort from the local authorities.

In the morning of the 13th I received from you a telegram announcing that His Highness the Khedive would leave Cairo for Alexandria at 10 A.M. His Highness, with the Ottoman Commissioner, arrived in Alexandria about 2:30 P.M. They were received by troops drawn up from the railway station to the Palace. There was no demonstration, either of loyalty or the opposite feeling. Shortly after his arrival His Highness received visits from the Consular body, to whom he expressed his deep regret at the recent occurrences here, and his intention to restore and preserve order.

Dervish Pasha spoke in the same sense, and added expressions of confidence in the continued good conduct of the army.

Immediately after their arrival both His Highness and Dervish Pasha did me the honour of sending specially to inquire after my health. That day and following night passed off in perfect quiet, but a general panic still prevails, preventing the reopening of the shops and places of business. Large numbers of persons desirous of leaving the country flocked on board the men-of-war and merchant-vessels in the harbour, seeking a temporary asylum previous to departure.

On the morning of the 14th I sent to Lord Granville a telegram, of which the following is a copy:—

"All quiet here since last telegram. Town patrolled day and night, and troops apparently doing their duty. Khedive and Dervish Pasha arrived yesterday afternoon. Both assured Consuls of confidence in maintenance of public safety. Khedive admitted to Sir A. Colvin that mission of Dervish Pasha had failed, and said nothing but arrival of Turkish troops would terminate crisis. Great panic since yesterday in consequence of rumour of landing from Anglo-French fleet. I have contradicted it as publicly as possible. Large number of Bedouins reported outside Alexandria; intention unknown, probably for plunder. Present garrison of Alexandria estimated about 7,000 in all. General flight of Europeans continues. Shipping accommodation quite inadequate, and beg authority, if absolutely necessary, to charter vessels for conveyance of British subjects. All shops closed, and business suspended.

"My own health progressing very favourably; injury to hand prevents my writing."

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHAS. A. COOKSON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 1447.

Sir E. Malet to Mr. Cookson.

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 11, 1882.

THE Swedish Consul-General has arrived from Alexandria, and has submitted to a meeting of Representatives of Great Powers the plan for a common defence of Europeans at Alexandria for our approval. The Representatives are all of opinion that the preparations for such defence, involving the arming of 3,000 to 4,000 persons, is a most dangerous course, and likely at any moment in itself to cause a collision.

They all send instructions to their Consuls to take no part in it. You will therefore abstain from taking any further steps with regard to plan in question, and rely on assistance which will be given by Admiral in case of necessity for safety of British subjects, and act under his advice as to measures to be taken. It is desirable that the sudden abandonment of a plan which has to a certain extent become known should not be announced. You will therefore keep these instructions secret, and you should endeavour to calm apprehension by pointing out that there is no quarrel between Europeans and natives, and that the negotiations are now entirely in the hands of the Imperial Commissioner, acting in name of Sultan. Communicate these instructions to Admiral.

Repeat to Secretary of State.

Inclosure 3 in No. 1447.

Vice-Consul Calvert to Sir E. Malet.

Sir,

Alexandria, June 12, 1882, 3 A.M.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of a telegram which I addressed to you respecting the alarming riot which has taken place here.

After sending off my telegram, I received yours addressed to Mr. Cookson, as follows:—

"June 11, 8:23 P.M.

"Telegraph to me what has taken place at Alexandria."

And also another, dated 10:4 P.M., as follows:—

"Is it true that you have been wounded? The Under-Secretaries of State for War and Justice and the Aides-de-camp of the Khedive and of Dervish Pasha have started by special for Alexandria."

It appears that some delay has taken place in forwarding my telegram, possibly through the Egyptian line being so taken up in sending messages. Dr. Mackie replied to your second telegram inquiring after Mr. Cookson, who is laid up in bed, having been much struck over the head and hands. He is doing tolerably well.

It is impossible at present to attempt to give you a narration of what has occurred. Admiral Sir B. Seymour has allowed Captain Molyneux, of Her Majesty's ship "Invincible," who happened to be at the Consulate, to remain here, for the purpose of taking the direction of affairs, Mr. Cookson being unable to attend to business.

The Admiral had ordered the "Superb" to come round and lay off the Old Port, for the purpose of sending boats to take off women and children. The Governor and several of the Consuls assembled at the Consulate approved of this, until the Governor paid a second visit shortly afterwards, and objected to this as likely to excite the soldiers, who thus far have behaved tolerably well, and have not sided with the mob. The boats have therefore been since withdrawn, and the "Superb" will keep at a considerable distance.

The Consulate is full of English residents and ladies and children who have taken refuge here.

Engineer Pibworth was killed by stabs, and others have received injuries and are in concealment. About fifteen British officers took refuge at the Danish Consulate-General, as it was quite impossible for them to get to the Marina.

The mob has plundered both houses and shops. After I telegraphed to you fighting was renewed in a low quarter of the town, called Tartoushi, but a body of cavalry dispersed the rioters. At present the town appears perfectly quiet (4 A.M.).

The official delegates from Cairo have just come to the Consulate, accompanied by the Governor. His Excellency stated that it would be perfectly safe for any women and children to embark. Captain Molyneux replied that they would not feel secure without an escort. It has therefore been arranged that an escort will be provided for them at 6 o'clock this morning, and that other parties embarking would also be accompanied.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY H. CALVERT.

Inclosure 4 in No. 1447.

Mr. Huri to Mr. Cookson.

Sir,

Alexandria, June 12, 1882.

HAVING, in accordance with your instructions, accompanied Captain Molyneux, of Her Majesty's ship "Invincible," to the Mohafesa (Governor's), where a meeting of the senior officers of the Egyptian army, the Consuls-General here present, and Consuls, and the members of the Special Commission sent from Cairo to inquire into the events of yesterday, the 11th instant, was convoked for 7 o'clock A.M., I beg to report to you the Minutes of the proceedings.

His Excellency the Governor began by explaining the result of his communications with Her Majesty's Consulate and with the other Consuls who were therein

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assembled last night, and of the measures he has taken for re-establishing order, and he said that, although Captain Molyneux had promised him to order the boats of the British men-of-war in this port not to approach the shore, in order to avoid creating excitement among the soldiers, some boats belonging to the British men-of-war were seen towards 5 o'clock A.M. to-day at a short distance from the shore.

Captain Molyneux answered that since his Excellency the Governor requested him last night to prevent the boats from nearing the shore, he has requested Admiral Seymour to give orders to that effect, and he had himself sent precise instructions for the same purpose. But owing to the difficulty of communicating at night, the orders must have reached the boats a little late. He added that the only object in view in sending these boats to the beach was to take on board the women and children who were frightened by the late events.

At the instigation of the Egyptian officers, the Arsenal wharf was designated by his Excellency the Governor as the only place for the boats to lay.

His Excellency the Governor demurred as to the necessity of concerting for taking steps to prevent the recurrence of similar events, and proposed, to attain that object, that the Europeans should be enjoined by their Consuls not to fire on the natives from the houses, and called upon the Consuls to pledge themselves to it, and asked, at the same time, the Egyptian officers to formally promise and answer for public order and security. The Consuls engaged themselves to make the most strenuous efforts towards that end, and promised to enjoin their subjects not to fire on the people and troops; and the officers have undertaken to keep and preserve peace and public order, declaring themselves to be answerable for the lives of Europeans. His Excellency Yacoub Pasha, Under-Secretary of State for War, then addressed the colonels in these words: "As long as a drop of blood remains in your veins, you shall protect and defend the Consuls and their subjects." The colonels answered in the affirmative.

Then came the question of how to deal with and arrest any European that might fire; and the result of the discussion was that each Consul should appoint a delegate to be sent by the Governor to a police-station, where he would be called upon, in case of a European using fire-arms, to accompany the police officer to the house where firing was observed, in order to arrest the offending party. They all agreed that the Consular janissaries or delegates should be considered as *solidaires*, each of them having powers to arrest any European accused of having fired. The Consuls-General and Consuls have accepted the proposal, and expressed their satisfaction thereat. Captain Molyneux observed that he could not engage himself for it on behalf of the British Consulate, but felt convinced that Her Majesty's Consul would approve of the measure.

Then the Governor formally asked the Egyptian officers whether they would answer for the safety of the town and public order, and they all answered in the affirmative. It was then decided to increase the number of the patrols, and to reinforce the police-stations by troops; and the military authorities have requested to be informed at once as to the number of soldiers required for that purpose, and as to the principal places to be watched. This request the Governor promised to comply with at once.

The greatest value was attached by the Consuls to the soldiers' power of preventing the assembling of natives in the European quarters, and the Egyptian senior officers have undertaken to disperse any assemblage of natives in the European quarters.

At the request of Captain Molyneux a military escort was promised to the officer in charge of Her Majesty's mails for to-morrow, and also sufficient protection to the passengers coming from India by the train from Suez, bound here to-morrow early in the morning, while they will be landing and embarking.

The Consuls were also requested to send delegates to the Military Hospital, to identify those of their subjects who were found dead or wounded.

That is, Sir, the summary of to-day's proceedings.

I have, &c.
(Signed) S. F. HURI,
Dragoman to Her Majesty's Consulate.

Inclosure 5 in No. 1447.

Proclamation.

Aux Européens d'Alexandrie.

Chers Concitoyens,

DES désordres graves ont éclaté hier à Alexandrie.

L'armée Égyptienne a rétabli l'ordre et ses chefs s'engagent à le faire respecter.

Nous avons confiance en elle.

Nous sommes d'ailleurs parfaitement d'accord avec les autorités civiles et militaires sur les mesures nécessaires pour assurer la tranquillité publique.

Nous faisons appel à votre sagesse pour nous aider dans l'accomplissement de cette tâche commune.

Ne portez pas d'armes à feu.

Restez autant que possible dans vos demeures.

Évitez toutes les occasions de rixe ou de querelle.

En vue du bien général, il a été convenu entre les membres du Corps Consulaire soussignés que tous les cawas, sans distinction de nationalités, auraient les mêmes pouvoirs de police vis-à-vis des étrangers.

Nous vous invitons à respecter leur autorité.

(Signé)

Pour le Consulat d'Allemagne	..	HUNHOLT.
" " Autriche-Hongrie	..	SUZZARA.
" " Belgique ..	..	BARKER.
" " Brésil ..	..	NACOUZ.
" " Danemark	..	DE DUMREICKER.
" " Espagne ..	..	DE UNCILLA.
" " États-Unis	..	MENASCE.
" " France ..	..	KLECZKOWSKI.
" " Grande-Bretagne	..	COOKSON.
" " Grèce ..	..	RANGABÉ.
" " Italie ..	..	MACHIAVELLI.
" " Pays-Bas ..	..	ANSLYN.
" " Portugal ..	..	Cte. DE ZOGHEB.
" " Russie ..	..	SVILARICH.
" " Suède et Norvège	..	BÆDTKER.

Alexandrie, le 12 Juin, 1882.

Inclosure 6 in No. 1447.

Consul Cookson to Sir E. Malet and Earl Granville.

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 12, 1882.

WOMEN and children who sought refuge in the Consulate have been escorted on board the ships under the protection of the soldiers. The military still maintain order. Mr. Cookson is convalescent, but confined to bed; injuries not serious. Only danger now apparently would be from further hostilities between Arabs and Europeans, in which the Europeans prove the strongest, and military might come to aid their compatriots.

Inclosure 7 in No. 1447.

Medical Report.

NOUS Soussignés, en vertu du mandat qui nous a été confié par nos Consuls respectifs, nous nous sommes rendus aujourd'hui 12 Juin, 1881, à 11 heures et demie du matin à l'Hôpital Général du Gouvernement Égyptien, à l'effet de visiter les cadavres qui ont été transportés à la suite des troubles survenus hier, dans l'après-midi à Alexandrie, et de constater la nature des blessures qu'ils présentent et leur identité s'il est possible.

Nous avons procédé à l'examen extérieur de quarante-deux cadavres qui se trouvent au dit hôpital. Presque tous sont dépouillés de leurs vêtements en entier ou en partie, sont mouillés d'eau de mer, et ont sur eux du sable de mer et des feuilles des varechs.

Trente-huit d'entre eux sont incirconcis et doivent par conséquent être considérés comme appartenant à des Chrétiens; la plupart d'entre eux présentent, d'ailleurs, les caractères bien tranchés de la race Européenne. Quatre portent les traces de la circoncision; de ces quatre circoncis trois sont Arabes.

Le premier présente à la région sous-clavière droite une plaie pénétrante par arme à feu. Le second plusieurs plaies pénétrantes par instruments piquants et tranchants à la région thoracique. Le troisième à la région du cœur une plaie pénétrante par instrument piquant et tranchant. Le quatrième corps circoncis a été reconnu pour être celui de M. Cattani, Fils, de la nationalité Austro-Hongroise; il présente plusieurs fortes contusions à la tête.

Des trente-huit corps non circoncis, un seul a été reconnu, celui de Georges Gemail, attaché au Drogmanat du Consulat de France à Alexandrie; il présente plusieurs contusions et fractures du crâne.

Les trente-sept autres n'ont pas été reconnus, et sont, pour la plupart, irrécouvrables par suite des blessures qu'ils ont reçu à la tête et au visage.

Trois d'entre eux présentent, indépendamment de contusions à la tête, de larges et profondes plaies par instruments tranchants aux régions antérieures et latérales du cou; l'un d'eux présente, en outre, à l'abdomen, des plaies par instrument piquant et tranchant.

Trois autres présentent quelques contusions à la tête, et des plaies pénétrantes par instrument piquant et tranchant, l'un à l'hypocondre droit et deux autres à la région abdominale. Ces plaies ont environ 4 centim. de diamètre; elles n'ont point été faites par un stylet ou tout autre instrument triangulaire, mais bien par un instrument piquant et tranchant, tel qu'un couteau, un sabre-baïonnette, ou tout autre arme analogue.

Trente et un enfin présentent des contusions graves, étendues multiples à la tête, plusieurs avec lacération des parties molles, la plupart avec fracture des os du crâne et de la face.

Ces contusions et fractures ont été produites par un corps contondant tel qu'un gros bâton ou "nabout" appliqué avec violence.

En outre, il résulte des déclarations du Dr. Zancarol, médecin de l'Hôpital Grec, qu'il y a été porté trois cadavres, dont deux ont été reconnus pour être ceux de Lanzotta, sujet Ita. en d'Ascoli, dans les Marches, âgé de 18 ans, mort de plusieurs blessures par instrument contondant; et d'Albert Sheuter, sujet Allamand, mort d'une plaie pénétrante par arme à feu à la région oscillaire gauche.

Le troisième n'appartenant pas à la race indigène n'a pas été reconnu; la mort doit être attribuée à des blessures faites par un corps contondant.

De celles des Drs. Massa et Ardouin, médecin de l'Hôpital Européen, et Dr. Decastro, du Consulat d'Italie, que l'Hôpital Européen a reçu trois cadavres, dont l'un a été reconnu être celui du sujet Italien, Gimelli, âgé d'une trentaine d'années; il présente plusieurs blessures à la tête, produites par un corps contondant.

Les deux autres cadavres n'ont pas été reconnus, mais on suppose qu'ils sont Maltais; ils présentent encore des plaies contuses à la tête.

De celles du Dr. Mackie, médecin de l'Hôpital des Diaconesses, qu'il a été porté à son hôpital un seul cadavre qui a été reconnu être celui d'un officier de la flotte Anglaise. Il présente à la tête plusieurs blessures, produites par un instrument contondant, des contusions sur tous le corps, et une plaie pénétrante par un instrument piquant et tranchant, laquelle a occasionné la mort par hémorragie interne.

Totalité des morts dans tous les hôpitaux, 49.

Il existe dans les divers hôpitaux de la ville 71 blessés, dont 36 Européens, 2 Turcs, et 33 indigènes.

(Signé)

Dr. KULP-MACKIE, du Consulat d'Angleterre.

Dr. RODYOUVSKI, du Consulat d'Autriche.

Dr. ARDOUIN, du Consulat de France.

Dr. MASSA, de l'Hôpital Européen.

Dr. BURLAZZI, du Consulat d'Espagne.

Dr. DECASTRO, du Consulat d'Italie.

Dr. J. KNIPS MACOPPE, Délégué du Consulat d'Espagne.

Dr. ZANCAROL, du Consulat de Grèce.

Dr. NAGGAR, Délégué du Consulat de France.

Dr. R. MALLAM, Délégué de la Préfecture de Police.

Alexandrie, le 12 Juin, 1882.

Inclosure 8 in No. 1447.

Vice-Consul Calvert to Sir E. Malet and Earl Granville.

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 12, 1882, 2 P.M.

GENERAL medical inspection shows that about fifty Europeans were killed in yesterday's riot. Only three Arabs produced as killed, but number supposed to be much more. Dr. Mackie says nearly all killed were clubbed to death; some received stabs. Several persons still missing. Steamers over-crowded with fugitives. Authorities endeavour to check embarkation. Town quiet at present.

Inclosure 9 in No. 1447.

Sir E. Malet to Consul Cookson.

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, June 12, 1882.

A MEETING has taken place at the Palace; present, the Khedive, Dervish Pasha and suite, also Chérif Pasha, and Representatives of Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia, France, and myself. The object of our meeting was to receive an answer to the demand which we had made to Dervish Pasha in the morning, that measures which should be satisfactory to us should at once be adopted to insure the safety of Europeans in Egypt. The following guarantees were given to us and accepted: Arabi Pasha undertook to obey implicitly all orders given to him by the Khedive, and stated that he would stop all inflammatory preaching, meetings, and newspaper articles, and guaranteed the maintenance of public order by the troops; the Khedive undertook to issue orders immediately with the object of restoring public tranquillity. Dervish Pasha said that, under the urgent circumstances of the case, he would assume joint responsibility with Arabi Pasha for the execution of the orders of the Khedive.

No. 1448.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26.)

(No. 245. Secret.)

My Lord,

Berlin, June 21, 1882.

IN my previous correspondence I have had occasion to point out that Prince Bismarck, after the severe defeat his home policy had sustained, might be tempted to retrieve his political reputation by some success in foreign policy, which would increase the influence of Germany in Turkey and extend it also to Egypt.

Recent events lead me to think that at the secret request of the Khedive and of the Sultan he is willing to promote a provisional arrangement in Egypt with the powerful co-operation of Arabi Pasha, for the purpose of preventing, if possible, further bloodshed and massacre.

If in the coming Conference he seeks to maintain and increase the influence of Germany in the East, he may possibly support the Sultan's policy more than that of the other Powers, and then I should not be surprised to hear that the German Representative in the Conference took a somewhat different view of the *status quo* the Conference is to re-establish than the Representatives of England and France.

My reason for thinking so is that I have been privately told, on high authority, that Prince Bismarck has been heard to attribute to the *status quo* which England and France wish to re-establish in Egypt the national movement against foreigners and the military despotism it has created.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPHILL.

No. 1449.

E

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26.)

(No. 220.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 22, 1882.

M. MANCINI has informed me that last night the Turkish Ambassador communicated to him the Circular from the Porte, stating that everything had been

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settled in Egypt by Dervish Pasha's mission, and consequently that there was no occasion for a Conference being held, &c.

His Excellency told me that he had replied to Musurus Bey that he did not exactly understand the object of this communication, for, even if there were the will there was not the time between then and to-day for an exchange of communications between the Powers, with the view of altering the decision taken, after due deliberation, that the Conference should meet to-day.

M. Mancini went on to inform me that he had, immediately after seeing Musurus Bey, sent a telegram to Count Corti, in which he had expressed himself even more explicitly as to the Turkish communication, to the effect, viz., that it was hardly to be supposed that Europe, after having determined to hold a Conference upon the affairs of Egypt, was to be turned aside from this purpose by a simple word from the Porte at the last moment. This would be an act of weakness which, he presumed, no Government, at all events he could answer for himself, would be capable of. He consequently desired Count Corti, if his colleagues had similar instructions, to take part in opening the Conference to-day, adding that, in his opinion, the Conference, after going through the preliminary business for constituting itself, the exchange of full powers, comparison of instructions, &c., should sign the Self-denying Protocol, and then adjourn and fix itself the day of its next meeting. The proceedings of this first meeting should, in his opinion, be communicated to the Porte, and if there were unanimity amongst the Representatives, which he trusted might be the case, a new and important phase would have occurred, and the Porte would have to decide whether it would continue to ignore the views of Europe when formulated in a Conference actually constituted.

M. Mancini was far from sanguine that even this would overcome the resistance of the Porte, or that the Sultan would be ever induced to employ his troops against Arabi and his army, observing that the question would then present itself as to what measures were next to be taken, and by whom, for re-establishing a normal state of things in Egypt. His Excellency refrained from any discussion upon these points, but he was very clear and distinct in the assertion that the situation created by the formation of the Ministry under Ragheb Pasha could not be accepted as satisfactory, and that it was necessary for Europe to have some better guarantee for its interests than that which was afforded by the predominance of the military element in Egypt.

His Excellency referred to what he had said on this latter point in his speech in the Chamber of Deputies on the 12th instant, remarking that he had been attacked in some portions of the press on account of these observations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

P.S.—I ought to have mentioned that M. Mancini acknowledged that he at first had not been much inclined for a Conference without Turkey, but added that the matter having been once settled ought not to be changed.

A. P.

No. 1450.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26.)

(No. 213. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 20, 1882.

I THINK it right to inform your Lordship that M. Mancini read to me yesterday a telegram just received from Count Corti, stating that the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs had sent for the Dragomans of the Italian, Austrian, German, and Russian Embassies, and requested that the thanks of the Sultan might be conveyed to their respective Governments for having contributed "to the arrangement of the affairs of Egypt; that everything was now settled ('*réglé*') by the formation of a new Ministry, and that there was therefore no need for a Conference, as there was nothing more to discuss." Count Corti added that the same Minister had given to the Dragoman of the English Embassy a complete contradiction ("*démenti*") to the assurances "said to have been" conveyed to your Lordship by Musurus Pasha as to the Porte not objecting to the Conference being held at Constantinople, but without its participation.

No. 1451 A.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26.)

(No. 289. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 18, 1882.

COUNT KÁLNOKY told me to-day that the French Ambassador had communicated to him a telegram from his Government, asking him to agree to a Conference without the participation of Turkey, if a favourable answer should not be obtained from the Porte within forty-eight hours, and intimating that I had been instructed to make a similar communication.

Count Kálnoky had answered, that in the communication I had made to him no mention had been made of any fixed period within which the Porte was to be required to reply. His Excellency did not seem to admire anything that had the appearance of putting the knife to the throat of the Sultan, and, as I have informed your Lordship by telegraph, he will not be disposed to take part in a Conference assembled in hostility to him.

I told Count Kálnoky that I had communicated to him the precise substance of your Lordship's telegrams, in which there was no mention of the forty-eight hours to be allowed to the Porte, and he noted with pleasure the moderate and conciliatory action of Her Majesty's Government, as contrasted with the more dictatorial tone which the French Ambassador seemed directed to employ.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 1451 B.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26.)

(No. 305. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 21, 1882.

TWO days 'ago, when conversing with Edhem Pasha, the present Turkish Ambassador at this Court, who has lately been recalled and is about to return to Constantinople, I took occasion to express my regret that the confidence in the goodwill of England towards Turkey which prevailed while I had known him there no longer continued.

I expressed the hope that as a former Grand Vizier, whose opinions would always carry weight, he would use his influence to remove from the mind of the Sultan the distrust which he has latterly seemed to entertain of us, as His Majesty might be assured that Her Majesty's Government were truly anxious for the welfare of his Empire.

The Pasha answered, with a warmth that surprised me, that the feeling to which I alluded had certainly existed till quite recently, but he was happy to be able to assure me positively that it was now completely removed. His Majesty had too long listened to persons who tried to keep alive this distrust, and he must add also that the warnings given to him by the French Ambassador, of a design on the part of England to get possession of Egypt, had not been without a certain effect.

I expressed my entire disbelief of any such insinuations having been made on behalf of the French Government, but Edhem reiterated as an absolute matter of fact that they had been made on two separate occasions.

Having had an opportunity of seeing Lord Dufferin's secret despatch to your Lordship, sent to me under flying seal, in which he reports the favourable change that appeared to have taken place in the Sultan's sentiments towards England, I mention to your Lordship Edhem Pasha's language to me as an apparent indication that the Turkish Representatives have received a hint to adopt the same tone as that of their Sovereign.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

M. Mancini observed that we were now in presence of a new phase of the question. Not only the Porte declined to take part in the Conference, but opposed its being held at all at Constantinople. Of course, he continued, the Representatives would be free to meet and discuss the Egyptian question, but would it be consistent with the dignity of Europe that its Representatives should assemble in the Turkish capital and take deliberations upon the affairs of Egypt, when they knew beforehand that their decisions would be ignored by the Sultan? He thought at all events it was his duty to communicate Count Corti's telegram to the other Governments, and to submit the above question to their consideration.

I earnestly begged M. Mancini to do nothing of the sort. He might be sure, I said, that the other Representatives at Constantinople had equally reported to their Governments the communication made to their Dragomans by the Turkish Minister; everybody was now agreed upon holding the Conference, with or without Turkey. The communication above referred to was evidently only a last effort of the Sultan to prevent its meeting, and if his Excellency now raised any question such as he had spoken of, he would only be playing into the hands of the Turks, and throwing everything again into confusion.

After some further conversation, in which I continued to insist upon the same arguments, M. Mancini agreed to do nothing with reference to Count Corti's telegram.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1451.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26.)

(No. 221.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 22, 1882.

IN a telegram dated to-day from Paris to the Stefani Agency, it is stated that "The 'Paris' announces that Lord Granville and Musurus Pasha signed on Friday a Convention, according to which England is authorized eventually to occupy the Suez Canal. The Convention was communicated to the German Government, which approved it, but the news requires confirmation."

M. Mancini asked me to-day if I had seen the above telegram, and if I knew whether it were correct.

I replied that I had no information whatever on the subject, but I think it right to report M. Mancini's inquiry, in order to mention that, from the way in which his Excellency expressed himself, I gathered the impression that should it ever happen that Her Majesty's Government should deem it necessary to occupy the Canal, such a step would not be looked upon with jealousy by M. Mancini, who would rather see in it a security for all maritime nations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1452.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26.)

(No. 313.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 23, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship the inclosed despatch which has been addressed to me by Lieutenant-Colonel Primrose, Military Attaché to this Embassy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 1452.

Lieutenant-Colonel Primrose to Sir H. Elliot.

(Private.)

Sir,

Vienna, June 21, 1882.

SPEAKING of the affairs in Egypt to me, this morning, the Emperor said he was concerned to hear that Turkey definitely declined to join the proposed Conference (news to this effect having just reached His Majesty), though his own opinion was that a Conference in the matter was not wanted, and would serve no immediate and practical end.

"But," continued His Majesty, "I am at a loss to know what will now happen, for the first meeting of the Conference was fixed for to-morrow, and now Turkey not only will not join the other Powers, but opposes even their acting apart."

The Emperor seemed much preoccupied with the whole subject. He had just received some reports from his Consul at Alexandria.

His Majesty told me it appeared from these accounts that the loss of life due to the recent disturbances was much exaggerated—not more than forty persons in all.

It was not true that the wife of the Austrian Consul had been insulted in the streets, nor did His Majesty believe that any Egyptian troops, as a body, had fired or otherwise attacked Europeans.

But the Austrian Consul in passing had noticed sentinels firing on foreigners.

His Majesty seemed to attach importance to Arabi Pasha remaining Minister of War, and concluded his remarks by emphatically observing the Egyptian difficulty was one which had outgrown its relative importance, and which should have been settled at once by the Ambassadors at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EVERARD PRIMROSE, *Military Attaché.*

No. 1453.

Mr. Morier to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26.)

(No. 65.)

My Lord,

Madrid, June 23, 1882.

THE Minister of State stated yesterday, in reply to an inquiry addressed to him in Congress as to whether Spain had asked to be admitted to the Conference at Constantinople, that the Spanish Government had not asked of anyone to be admitted to participation in the said Conferences. It was the duty of the Spanish Government to follow events there, but they had never requested of anyone the right to assist at them. Consequently, no country or countries had been in a position to refuse to Spain what she had never asked.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. B. D. MORIER.

No. 1454.

Mr. Morier to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26.)

(No. 66.)

My Lord,

Madrid, June 23, 1882.

I AM anxious to call your Lordship's particular attention to the extract from the "Correspondencia de España," a translation of which I have the honour to transmit herewith. These scraps purport to give the conversations in the "Salas de Conferencias" or lobbies of the Houses of Parliament, but they are, as I have good grounds for knowing, really *communiqués* by the Government, and are universally regarded as such. In the present case there are unmistakable signs of this official inspiration, and a remarkable similarity between the hints of secret arrangements at the expense of Spain between Great Britain and France, which, as reported to your Lordship, have been made by the Marques de la Vega de Armijo in his conversations with me.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. B. D. MORIER.

Inclosure in No. 1454.

Extract from the "Correspondencia" of June 22, 1882.

IT is not true that the Spanish Government has taken any steps to enable Spain to be represented amongst the nations which are called upon to solve, or to try to solve, the complicated Egyptian problem.

What may perhaps have taken place is this (which is highly satisfactory, as it proves that we have advanced somewhat in the opinion of great nations): that one of these nations may have suggested the propriety of Spain being represented at the forthcoming Conference, and that the matter having been left to the decision of France and England, which have the initiative in the Egyptian question, these two countries should have stated an opinion contrary to the intervention of Spain.

It is natural that this should have occurred, as England has settled and well-considered plans on the subject which are perhaps unknown even to her ally, the French Republic, which is humbly following the indication of the British Government. It is not a failure of Spanish diplomacy, as Spain has never, either directly or indirectly, had any part in this indication made by other countries, which have thus given us a proof of their sympathy and friendship.

It is enough to show that England has a preconceived hidden political end in view, the fact that she should have required that a Protocol should be signed stating that only the Egyptian question would be discussed at the Conference.

Apropos of this, comments were offered in a diplomatic circle to-day on what Great Britain did with regard to Cyprus during the Berlin Conferences.

No. 1455.

E

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26.)

(No. 623.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 25, 1882.

M. DECRAIS, the Director of Political Affairs in the French Foreign Office, told me last evening that M. de Freycinet had granted M. Sienkiewicz leave to come to France to spend a week or ten days with his wife and children.

On the one hand, M. Sienkiewicz was, M. Decrais said, very much fatigued; and, on the other hand, M. de Freycinet, who was not personally acquainted with him, would be glad of the opportunity of seeing him, and talking over Egyptian affairs with him.

M. Decrais added that it had not yet been decided by whom the functions of Agent and Consul-General in Egypt were to be performed during M. Sienkiewicz's short absence, but that it was probable that some Minister Plenipotentiary not without experience of the East would be sent specially to act *ad interim* for M. Sienkiewicz.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1456.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26.)

(No. 621. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 24, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a further Yellow Book on the affairs of Egypt which has just appeared.

It contains correspondence from the 15th November, 1881, to the 11th March, 1882.

Being desirous to send your Lordship a copy without losing a post, I must confine myself to pointing out very briefly one or two of the more interesting points treated of in the correspondence.

These are important despatches from M. Challemel-Lacour to M. Gambetta recording conversations with your Lordship, and from M. Gambetta to M. Challemel-Lacour, recording conversations with me respecting the dual communication to the Khedive of the 8th January, and the demand of the Egyptian Government for explanations respecting that note.

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A considerable part of this correspondence turns on the meaning to be attached to the reservation with which your Lordship accompanied your adhesion to this declaration. A distinction appears to have been drawn, first, by M. Gambetta, and afterwards by M. Challemel-Lacour, between your Lordship's personal communications to M. Challemel-Lacour and the reservation as expressed in your own words in my letter to M. Gambetta of the 6th January.

With regard to this matter, I would refer your Lordship particularly to Nos. 18, 20, 22, and 44.

As your Lordship is aware, the doubt on the subject was mentioned to me by M. de Freycinet on his coming into office, and thereupon cleared up by me (No. 69).

The whole correspondence between M. Gambetta and M. Challemel-Lacour is interesting, and throws rather a new light on various matters.

The Book contains numerous despatches respecting the organization and regulations of the Egyptian Chamber of Notables, and the objections to them of the Controllers-General; but I do not think any mention is made of the communications between the British and French Governments respecting the modification of the 34th Article of the Organic Law.

The Book ends with the telegram by which M. de Blignières' resignation of the office of Controller-General was accepted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1457.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville. — (Received June 26.)

(No. 626.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 25, 1882.

IN execution of the instruction contained in your Lordship's telegram of yesterday (No. 383), I gave M. Decrais last evening a Memorandum stating that the British Acting Consular Agent at Zagazig reported, on the 21st instant, that a train from Cairo had conveyed cannon for the Suez Canal.

I begged M. Decrais to communicate the Memorandum to M. de Freycinet and call his Excellency's attention to its contents, and he promised to do so.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1458.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville. — (Received June 26, 10 A.M.)

(No. 266.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 26, 1882, 8 A.M.

MORICE PASHA, Controller of Lighthouses, has informed Admiral that, owing to circumstances existing in Egypt, the Europeans in charge of the Damietta and Rassatta (?) lighthouses at the mouth of the Nile have been removed, and these lighthouses are now under the control of natives. Morice Pasha does not think that they will tamper with them.

No. 1459.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville. — (Received by telegraph, June 26.)

(No. 387. Ext. 266.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 26, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour has been informed by Morice Pasha, Controller-General of Lighthouses, that, owing to the present unsettled state of affairs in Egypt, the Europeans in charge of the Damietta and Rosetta lighthouses at the mouths of the Nile have been removed,

and the said lighthouses are at present under the control of natives. Morice Pasha does not, however, apprehend that the lighthouses will be tampered with.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1460.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville. — (Received June 26, 11 A.M.)

(No. 172.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 25, 1882, 11:55 P.M.

AT the Conference to-day I opened the discussion by insisting strongly on the anarchical state of Egypt, and on the fact that Arabi Pasha and his military associates were as completely masters of the situation as ever; that the new Government was an illusive device, patched up in the hope of baffling the objects of the Conference, and that it offered no guarantee either for the financial stability of the country, the maintenance of its international engagements, or the security of life and property. I said that our task divided itself into two portions: one necessitating the utmost urgency, namely, the re-establishment of a Government both able and willing to fulfil its obligations; the other of a deliberative character, namely, that of providing against the return of the present crisis. I concluded by announcing that the idea which I desired to submit to my colleagues for their consideration was that, the mission of Dervish Pasha having completely failed, it would be desirable that the Conference should invite His Majesty the Sultan (whose position as Sovereign of Egypt was fully recognized by our respective Governments) to undertake, under certain well-defined and specified conditions, the vindication of the authority of his Representative by such further effectual methods as should reduce to immediate subjection the rebel faction which had usurped supreme power in Egypt.

I did not think it advisable at the very outset to hazard the naked proposal that a Turkish corps d'armée should be sent to Egypt, for my French colleague is evidently strongly opposed to this alternative, and will fight it off by every means in his power. He tells me that his Government has given him no special instructions, but has left him full liberty of action. He evidently dreads the responsibility of associating himself with a measure which would be so unpopular in France. He declared his acquiescence, however, without reserve, in the whole of my statement, as well as its conclusion. Baron Calice began by questioning my appreciation of the actual situation in Egypt. He said that he was himself without information on the subject, not having been in communication with his Consul, and that consequently he must inform himself before offering an opinion on the point; and he concluded by hinting that an amelioration had taken place within the last day or two in the circumstances of Egypt, and that things after all might not be so bad as I had painted them.

The German Chargé d'Affaires in a very cautious manner intimated his acquiescence in Baron Calice's view.

The Russian Chargé d'Affaires also referred to his want of accurate knowledge, but said very little one way or the other.

Count Corti said that he accepted every word of my description of the state of affairs of Egypt.

In order to reinforce my view, I then communicated to my colleagues the substance of the telegrams which had been received at the Palace and at the Porte from Dervish Pasha and Sheikh Ahmed Essad, calling their special attention to the fact that Dervish Pasha in his last telegram, which was written after the new Ministry had been formed, had declared that without troops the Khedive would be as powerless as ever.

The discussion was then adjourned until the day after to-morrow, Tuesday 27th, as to-morrow is the day on which the Minister for Foreign Affairs receives the Ambassadors, and it was thought advisable that some of them should wait upon him in order to ascertain what effect had been produced at the Porte by the constitution of the Conference and the communication of our Memorandum.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 26.)

(No. 495. Confidential. Ext. 172.)

My Lord,

Therapia, June 26, 1882.

YESTERDAY the Conference held its second sitting, as I have already informed your Lordship by telegram.

Our first act was to sign the Self-denying Protocol, copy of which I inclose, in accordance with the instructions contained in your telegram No. 254 of the 17th instant. Count Corti then informed us that the Memorandum we had requested him to transmit to Saïd Pasha had been acknowledged by his Excellency as having been received "à titre officieux."

These preliminaries concluded, at the invitation of our Doyen I proceeded to make the subjoined observations. In order, however, that their exact intention may be understood, it is well that your Lordship should know that I had already had several intimate conversations with my French colleague, during the course of which it became quite apparent that the Marquis de Noailles held in the utmost abhorrence the idea of a Turkish occupation, and that I could not really count upon his good-will or effectual support if I made a direct proposition to that effect. On the contrary, he appeared to prefer any amount of delay, or any solution rather than that; and he could scarcely conceal his displeasure when I sketched out the character of the language I was prepared to hold in explanation of the views of Her Majesty's Government.

For this and for other reasons I did not think it prudent at the very outset to launch the naked proposal of a despatch to Egypt of a Turkish corps d'armée. I thought it better to use terms that would distinctly imply such an alternative, at the same time that they were of a character to command the acquiescence of my French colleague.

"As the Government of Her Majesty," I said, "has, in conjunction with that of France, taken a leading part in the *pourparlers* which have resulted in the reunion at Constantinople of the Representatives of the Six Powers, for the purpose of consulting together upon the affairs of Egypt, I may be permitted to call the attention of my colleagues to the principal features of the existing situation. I shall do this very briefly, more especially as the task of taking the initiative only devolves upon me through my accidental seniority to my French colleague, to whose powers of clear and lucid statement I would far sooner it had been confided. Happily, however, the facts with which we have to deal are in themselves so eloquent, the exigencies which they involve have been so unanimously recognized, and the appreciation of them by our respective Governments is so identical, that they can be portrayed in a few sentences.

"It is no exaggeration to say that during the last few months absolute anarchy has reigned in Egypt. We have seen a military faction, even alleging those pretences to legality with which such persons are wont to cloak their designs, proceed from violence to violence, until insubordination has given place to mutiny, mutiny to revolt, and revolt to a usurpation of the supreme power. As a consequence the Administration of the country has been thrown into complete confusion; the ordinary operations of the merchant have come to a standstill; the fellahs, no longer finding purchasers for their produce, are unable to pay the land-tax, and the revenues of Egypt are failing. This state of things has placed in extreme jeopardy those commercial interests in which the subjects of all the Powers are so deeply concerned. Not only so, but those special engagements into which the Governments of France and England had entered with Egypt have been repudiated; the officers appointed to carry them into effect have been excluded from the control they were authorized to exercise, and the system which had begun to work so greatly to the advantage of the industrious cultivators of Egypt has been completely broken up and overthrown.

"But these effects form only a portion of the deplorable situation which has excited the anxiety of Europe. It is not merely the public creditor who has suffered extensive damage. The life and property of every individual European in the country have become insecure. Of this insecurity we have had a most melancholy and convincing proof in the brutal massacre by an insolent mob of upwards of 100 unoffending persons at Alexandria, and in the sudden flight from Cairo and the interior (a flight which implies loss to all and ruin to many) of thousands of our respective citizens. It is evident that such a condition of affairs requires a prompt,

effective, and energetic remedy. It is true we have been told by the Representatives of the Ottoman Government that the crisis is past, that disorder has been suppressed, that a new Ministry has been formed, that the authority of the Khedive is in the ascendant, and that the Egyptian question has almost ceased to exist. I can only describe such a view of the case as an impudent and delusive falsification of the facts, and I took upon myself to communicate that opinion to Saïd Pasha in courteous, but in perfectly explicit, terms. The make-believe Government which has been established is the Government of Arabi Pasha and of his fellow-rebels. The Khedive is as powerless as ever in their hands, and the Ottoman Commissioner is as powerless as the Khedive. Dervish Pasha himself has informed his Government, as I know upon indisputable authority, that the new régime is but another form of successful revolt; that Arabi Pasha continues master in Egypt; and that neither he nor any one else without troops at their back will be strong enough to quell the usurper. Can the European Powers tolerate the continuance of such a state of affairs in a province with which they have such important commercial relations, where so many of their subjects reside, and whose tranquillity is so necessary to the general peace? England and France certainly cannot, and the presence of our colleagues here to-day is a sufficient answer to the question, for the Conference has been convoked subsequently to the constitution of the Ministry of Comedy which now affects to regulate the affairs of Egypt. Inasmuch, then, as all acquiesce in recognizing the evil, it only remains for us to consider the remedies to be applied. Unfortunately, it seldom happens that a political sore of this kind can be cured without resorting to expedients which in themselves are frequently undesirable.

"Be that as it may, one thing is very obvious, that it is of the utmost importance that Europe should be united in her counsels, and that we should strain every nerve to arrive at a common accord. I, upon my part, am authorized by my Government to pay the greatest deference to the counsels and opinions of my colleagues, an instruction which it will be a pleasure to me to obey, as I am well aware of the respect which is due to their ability, and to their experience of affairs. Our task, then, appears to me to divide itself into two branches; the one of a most urgent and practical character, having regard to the present; the other which may be conducted in a more deliberate manner, and which concerns the future. The first would consist in the immediate and authoritative re-establishment in Egypt of a normal and *bond fide* Government, which sincerely and conscientiously recognizes the authority of the Khedive, and which has both the will and the power to observe existing international obligations, as well as to maintain order, and to secure the safety of the life and property of the European residents; the second, in making such provisions and taking such security for the future as will prevent the recurrence of the lamentable events which have occasioned our presence here to-day. It is obvious that we cannot come to a conclusion on the first point a moment too soon. It is the tendency of every rebellious movement to acquire force and consistency the longer it is permitted to remain unchecked. At this moment the military faction is more formidable than it was a week ago, and a week hence it may be more formidable still. But independently of this consideration, although most have fled, many Europeans still remain both in Cairo and in the remoter parts of the country, and the lives of these persons are completely at the mercy of Arabi Pasha and his associates; in fact their security may be said in some part to depend upon the promptness of our decision and the wisdom of our counsels. At this early stage of our proceedings it would be out of place to trouble my colleagues with details, or a premature exposition of the *modus operandi* it may be desirable to adopt to replace the Egyptian Administration upon a satisfactory footing. The leading idea which at present inspires the British Government has already been submitted to, and, I believe, approved of, by the Powers. It is that His Majesty the Sultan, whose position as Sovereign of Egypt is fully recognized, should be invited to undertake under certain well-defined and specified conditions the vindication of the authority of his Representative by such further effectual methods as shall reduce to immediate subjection the rebellious faction which has usurped the supreme authority in Egypt. Already the Sultan has dispatched to Cairo, if not at the invitation, at all events with the approbation of, the Powers, a high military functionary armed with full powers. The convenience of resorting to the Sultan's authoritative intervention has therefore been fully recognized. It only remains to consider whether its application in a more forcible form would not be opportune and desirable."

M. de Noailles followed with an expression of his complete adherence to everything that had fallen from his English colleague. He expatiated with great force upon the impossibility of Europe accepting the present situation as satisfactory, or as

offering any guarantees for the future; and he concluded by observing that we were met together, not for the purpose of imposing the views and programme of the Governments we represented upon our colleagues, but in order to confer and consult with them as to the best means of putting an end to the existing crisis. There might be many expedients worthy of examination. The best plan, therefore, of proceeding might perhaps be to determine what courses were unacceptable. By this process of exhaustive elimination we should arrive at a positive conclusion.

Baron Calice observed that the Conference had a right to require, at the hands of his French and English colleagues, some distinct and definite proposition, and that he hardly considered that this had been made. Moreover, it might be a question whether all the members of the Conference took the same view of the situation in Egypt as had been developed by the Representative of Great Britain. He, upon his part, was not in a position to pronounce upon that part of the question. He had not had the same facilities of procuring information as his French and English colleagues, though he would now make a point of doing so. At all events, a preliminary agreement upon the character of the actual condition of Egypt would be desirable.

M. de Hirschfeldt associated himself with the view taken by Baron Calice.

Count Corti said that he entirely accepted the picture of the situation which had been presented to them by the British Ambassador: but he would observe that the affairs in Egypt were in a very difficult and complicated condition, that there were a variety of forces face to face with one another, and that the problem to be solved was most embarrassing. He also thought that it would be advisable that the Representatives of England and France should submit a well-defined programme.

M. Onou expressed himself as in the same position as Baron Calice in regard to his imperfect knowledge of what had actually passed in Egypt, but it seemed to him that something very like a proposition had been made by Lord Dufferin at the conclusion of his observations.

I replied that when the proper time arrived I should be quite prepared to enter into any details which might be desired by my Austrian colleague, but that it was no good for me to elaborate a plan of procedure at the very outset of the discussion, when I was quite in the dark as to the views and feelings of the other members of the Conference. That before coming to particulars, it was desirable to agree upon a principle, and I had propounded a principle, namely, that the means to be employed for the re-establishment of good government in Egypt should be a more forcible intervention on the part of the Sultan. But, though this was my opinion, other members might suggest other alternatives. Some might perhaps argue that a further trial should be given to the mission of Dervish Pasha; or, again, the view might be taken that the continued interference of the Sultan was not desirable, and that it would be preferable to resort to extraneous methods for the suppression of the revolted element in Egypt; a contention might be even started that (as the Foreign Minister had argued) the settlement patched up by the four Consuls was a satisfactory one, and that it was no longer necessary for the Conference to make any suggestions at all. It appeared to me, therefore, that, so far as the enunciation of a principle of action was concerned, I had submitted one to the Conference in terms that were both tangible and precise. My Austrian colleague had further observed that it was desirable we should ascertain whether our appreciation of the actual situation was identical. I entirely coincided with him in this view, and for this reason I had developed, perhaps at too great length, the conception I had formed of the state of things in Egypt, and I would now justify everything I had said by informing the Conference that I had had means of acquainting myself with the daily reports sent home by Sheikh Essad and by Dervish Pasha to the Prime Minister, and that the latter had acknowledged in express terms the failure of his mission, and his inability to rescue the Khedive from the power of the dominant military faction unless something like twenty-three battalions were sent to him; and that he had stated, after the new Ministry had been formed, that it was the Ministry of Arabi, and that the Khedive would remain as impotent as ever as long as he had no troops at his back with which to establish his authority.

The hour being late, the discussion was then adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, the 27th.

The conclusion I draw from the foregoing proceedings is that none of my colleagues have as yet received any definite instructions as to the line which they are to take. Nevertheless, as your Lordship will perceive, both the Austrian and the German Representatives already show a disinclination to acquiesce in the view taken by my French and Italian colleagues and by myself of the unsatisfactory character of the recent settlement in Egypt. M. Onou, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, will, I appre-

hend, eventually adhere to the opinion that no arrangement can be accepted which does not exclude Arabi Pasha and his associates from all influence in the Government. The only indication Count Corti has given of the views of his Government is that the matter we have in hand is likely to give us occupation for many months, and that it is undesirable to hurry it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

Inclosure in No. 1461.

Self-denying Protocol, signed at Therapia, June 25, 1882.

LES Gouvernements représentés par les Soussignés s'engagent dans tout arrangement qui pourrait se faire, par suite de leur action concertée pour le règlement des affaires d'Égypte, à ne rechercher aucun avantage territorial, ni la concession d'aucun privilège exclusif, ni aucun avantage commercial pour leurs sujets, que ceux que toute autre nation ne puisse également obtenir.

(Signé) DUFFERIN.
HIRSCHFELDT.
CALICE.
MARQUIS DE NOAILLES.
L. CORTI.
ONOU.

Therapia, le 25 Juin, 1882.

No. 1462.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26, 1.45 P.M.)

(No. 107.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 26, 1882, 12.5 P.M.

THE following appears in "République Française" newspaper this morning:—

"Thanks to the indiscretion of a confidant, we are able to give the exact date on which M. de Freycinet proposed to the English Cabinet to depose poor Tewfik, to whom the two Powers had promised their energetic support; it was the 13th March."

Your Lordship will recollect that it was really the 17th. See my despatch No. 237 of that day.

No. 1463.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 26.)

(No. 628. Ext. 107.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 26, 1882.

IN an article upon the last Blue Book respecting Egyptian affairs, which appears in the "République Française" this morning, the following passage occurs:—

"Grâce à l'indiscrétion d'un confident, nous avons appris hier à quelle date au juste M. de Freycinet avait proposé au Cabinet Anglais, comme nous le savions, du reste, très positivement, de déposer ce pauvre Tewfik à qui les deux Puissances avaient promis leur énergique appui: c'était le 13 Mars."

Your Lordship will remember that in a conversation, which he begged me to consider as wholly private and personal, and as divested of all official character, M. de Freycinet did on the 17th (not the 13th) March desire me to suggest to your Lordship, as a subject deserving of consideration, the advisability of setting up a more efficient Khedive in the room of Tewfik Pasha.

The conversation was reported by me to your Lordship in my Most Confidential despatch No. 237 of the 17th March.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1464.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.(No. 283.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 26, 1882, 3.5 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 262 of yesterday.

Mr. Cookson should go on leave, and Vice-Consul Calvert take charge of the Consulate.

No. 1465.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.(No. 306.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 26, 1882, 4.50 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 172 of yesterday.

Your language in Conference approved.

No. 1466.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 346. Ext. 306.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 26, 1882.

HER Majesty's Government have had before them your Excellency's telegram No. 172 of yesterday, giving an account of the proceedings in Conference that day, and I have to acquaint you that they approve the language you held, as reported in your telegram.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1467.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26, 3.30 P.M.)(No. 267.)
(Telegraphic.)*Alexandria, June 26, 1882, noon.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 259 of the 24th instant, I saw Ragheb Pasha yesterday, and represented to him the great importance of protecting Mr. Cornish, with all other Europeans at the waterworks. His Excellency answered it was impossible to make an exception in the case of one individual, and that there was no danger at all to Europeans. I explained that it was for the benefit of the whole population that the request was made, and I left with his Excellency a full statement of the circumstances in Arabic.

Meanwhile, Mr. Cornish says that he can hardly keep the pumps going with his present staff, and that even those who remain will soon desert him, unless special protection is formally granted.

The question is serious, and it seems scarcely possible that the water supply can continue. There is already great distress among the Arabs, who have petitioned both the Khedive and Arabi for food.

I also made a remonstrance to Ragheb Pasha respecting the crowds who assemble every evening in the Square, and who are a cause of alarm to Europeans. The Austrian Consul-General has done likewise.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1468.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 26.)

(No. 388. Ext. 267.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 26, 1882.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 259 of the 24th instant, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that in an interview which I had yesterday with Ragheb

Pasha, the President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs, I represented to his Excellency the great importance of protecting Mr. Cornish, the Resident Engineer and Manager of the Alexandria Water Company, as well as the other Europeans at the waterworks. Ragheb Pasha replied that he could not make an exception in the case of one person, and that they run no danger since the safety of Europeans has been guaranteed. I rejoined that it was not on behalf of one individual that I made the request, but on behalf of the whole population of Alexandria, since were the engineers to leave the supply of water to the town will be stopped, and I left with his Excellency a full statement of the circumstances in Arabic, of which I have the honour to inclose a translation.

Meanwhile, Mr. Cornish states that he can hardly keep the pumps at work with the remaining staff, who threaten to leave unless special protection is formally granted.

The question is a very serious one, and it seems hardly possible that the water supply can continue. Already there is great distress among the low class of natives, who have petitioned both the Khedive and Arabi Pasha for relief.

I remonstrated at the same time with Ragheb Pasha about the number of people of the lowest classes who assemble (evidently by order) in the evening in the Square Mehemet Ali, and who, by their conduct and noisiness, are a cause of uneasiness and annoyance to Europeans accustomed to stroll about the place at that hour. The Austrian Agent and Consul-General has made a similar representation to Ragheb Pasha.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1468.

Memorandum respecting the Alfah and Alexandria Water-works.

OF the European staff ordinarily employed at the Alfah pumps only three remain, and it is probable that they will shortly leave.

Unless the Government, therefore, can send competent Arab engineers to Atfeh, there is every probability of the works stopping.

But the water supply of Alexandria is dependent, firstly, on these works; and in second lieu, failing them, on the water supply furnished by the Rayah.

In the event, therefore, of competent engineers not being available for Atfeh, it will be necessary to prevent the water of the Rayah, throughout its course in the different Moudiriyehs, being used for irrigation, and orders should, if needful, issue to that effect.

The accompanying Memorandum from Mr. Cornish contains a statement of the assurances which he requires from Government should he remain at the water-works in Alexandria.

As the proper conduct of those works is of the utmost importance to the whole population of the town the Memorandum is recommended to the special attention of the Government, and the necessity of early orders is pointed out.

Inclosure 2 in No. 1468.

Memorandum by Mr. Cornish.

Conditions on which I am prepared to remain at the Water-works and do my best to keep the Town supplied.

1. THAT the Khedive and Arabi Pasha, in consideration of the importance of the water supply to the town, undertake to keep outside the works a mounted guard of not less than ten or more than twenty-five men, with strict orders to preserve the lives and property of all those connected with the works, and the neutrality of the Company's property, whatever the course of events may be.

2. That a guard of four horsemen shall, if required, accompany me or any employé of the Company who may have to circulate to and from the works to the Mahmoudieh Canal or to the town.

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3. That the above soldiers shall have strict orders not to enter the Company's premises, and shall prevent any person from doing so without my express permission.

(Signed) J. E. CORNISH.

*Alexandria Water Company (Limited),
Alexandria, Egypt, June 24, 1882.*

No. 1469.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26, 6.55 P.M.)

(No. 269.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 26, 1882, 3 P.M.

FOLLOWING telegram sent in reply to Lord Dufferin:—

"Best evidence of Minister of War's exclusive influence in the Council is the fact that the army, whose representative he is, and which has been greatly encouraged by his remaining in the Ministry, maintains unbroken ascendancy, pretensions, and threatening attitude.

"As illustrations I give following:—

"The attitude of the Under-Secretary of State for War, who is military member of Mixed Commission sitting for the last ten days to inquire into the events of the 11th June, has become so uncompromising in determination of resistance to close inquiry into action of military police that day that the English member has been withdrawn; French member only retained temporarily pending examination of certain wounded persons whose depositions are required. Egyptian civil member of Commission, who is Under-Secretary of State for Justice, tells me privately that it is quite useless to make inquiries at present, because nobody will dare to say anything to displease officers. He himself in Commission supports military member from this motive, though wholly opposed to his views. Several Europeans have been retained in native prisons since 11th June in defiance of Capitulations, because military member of Commission opposes their release on the ground that it would incense officers. Minister of War has told Khedive's Private Secretary that he will not allow any Arab to be executed, unless for every Arab a European is hung. Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs assured me to-day that it is quite useless to ask President of Council to take any measure, however desirable, which is distasteful to officers. Prefect and Sub-Prefect of Police at Alexandria, who are of Military party, have not been even suspended since 11th June. Finally, decoration of Minister of War by the Sultan added immensely to his prestige and to supremacy of army. President of Council's language is now identical with that always held by Minister of War. Minister of War never appears in public except with a strong mounted escort like the Khedive, and invites demonstration from the population.

"The point to be brought out clearly is that it is not only the personal ascendancy of Minister of War in the Council, but the collective ascendancy and exclusive authority of the military in Administration which calls for armed intervention. The Governors of towns and districts, and the civil authorities throughout the country, no less than Ministry itself, are in complete subordination to the will of the military, of whom Minister of War is only one, though the most prominent, member.

"Above statements are facts; besides these, violent threats attributed to army are current in the town, causing daily panics and flights, and are not disavowed by Military party."

No. 1470.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 26.)

(No. 389. Ext. 269.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 26, 1882.

AS it appears from a telegram I have received from the Earl of Dufferin that an idea prevails among some of the Representatives of the Powers at the Conference that Ragheb Pasha's Ministry is working satisfactorily, that Arabi's influence is diminishing, and that measures of coercion are no longer necessary, I have thought it right to inform Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople of the entire insecurity still felt here, which is wholly caused by the attitude of the Military party.

The exclusive influence of Arabi Pasha is best shown by the unbroken ascendancy, the intolerable pretensions, and the threatening attitude of the army, which has been greatly encouraged by the recognition of Arabi in the new Ministry.

This state of things is amply illustrated by the difficulties encountered in the work of the Commission sitting to inquire into the events of the 11th June.

Yakoob Pasha, the military member of the Commission, who is Under-Secretary of State for War, has offered such determined opposition to the institution of a satisfactory inquiry, that the English Delegate has been withdrawn, and the French Delegate is only momentarily retained on the Commission in order to complete the examination of certain wounded persons, whose evidence is specially required.

Boutros Pasha, the Under-Secretary of State for Justice, who is the civil representative of the Government, has repeatedly stated to Sir A. Colvin, in confidence, that no one dares to give evidence which may be distasteful to the Military party, and that even he himself is obliged to support Yakoob Pasha in the Commission, although wholly opposed to his views.

There are still several Europeans in the prisons, who have been detained ever since the 11th June, and Yakoob Pasha refuses to release them, because he says it would incense the officers, and that in that case he would not be answerable for the maintenance of order.

Similarly, Tigran Bey, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, has assured Sir A. Colvin that Ragheb Pasha will take no action which can in any way offend the officers; and I may note, in confirmation of this, that his Excellency's language has now become identical with that always held by Arabi.

The Prefect and Sub-Prefect of Police, who belong to the Military party, have not yet been suspended for their conduct in connection with the disturbances, nor has a single man of the military police been punished, notwithstanding their disgraceful behaviour on that day.

Lastly, the decoration of Arabi Pasha by His Majesty the Sultan, at the moment when his own personality almost alone was in question, has immensely increased his prestige, and added further to the confidence and supremacy of the army. Whenever Arabi Pasha appears in public, demonstrations are prepared for his reception, and he, alone of the Ministers, is escorted by a body of cavalry such as that which follows His Highness the Khedive.

The point, however, which it is essential to make clear is that it is not only the personal influence of Arabi Pasha in the Council, but the exclusive ascendancy of the Military party in all branches of the Administration, which necessitates the intervention of an armed force. The Governors, the Mudirs, and the civil authorities throughout the country, are entirely at the mercy of the Military clique, of whom Arabi himself is only a prominent member; and they have no power or influence whatever except such as the military chiefs, for their own purposes, and to cloak their own designs, permit them to exercise.

The above are all statements of facts, but, besides these, there are daily reports in the town of threats and violent language used by the officers, which contribute greatly to the general alarm of Europeans, and which, though a matter of notoriety, call forth no disavowal from the military authorities.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1471.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 26.)

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

Admiralty, June 26, 1882.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the decypher of a telegram, dated the 25th instant, from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, respecting the position of the Khedive at Alexandria, and the precautionary measures recommended in view of certain eventualities, together with reply sent to the Admiral to-day.

I am, &c.

(Signed) G. TRYON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1471.

Admiral Sir B. Seymour to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Paraphrase of Telegram)

Alexandria, June 25, 1882.

I SHOULD wish to be perfectly prepared for immediate action when the decision of the Conference is known here.

I propose, with consent of Khedive, to bring all the outside squadron into desirable positions for attack, ostensibly to coal and provision. If requisite, I shall to-morrow morning keep steam ready on board inside ships.

The escape of the Khedive is feasible, but he is not at present disposed to embark without his family. He is too closely watched to effect this.

Inclosure 2 in No. 1471.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Admiral Sir B. Seymour.

(Telegraphic.)

Admiralty, June 26, 1882.

IN reference to your telegram of yesterday.

Do not ask consent of Khedive. Arrange to coal ships singly in Aboukir Bay, if necessary. If Egyptian troops are making preparations to attack communicate with French Admiral and bring ships outside into position.

No. 1472.

Earl Granville to Lord Amthill.

(No. 268. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 26, 1882.

THE German Ambassador informed me yesterday that Count Herbert Bismarck was about to return to Germany, and would be glad to pay me a visit before leaving.

Count H. Bismarck called accordingly this morning. I requested him to express my best acknowledgments to his father for the part which he had taken in promoting what I believed to be the common object and interest of Europe in regard to the crisis in Egypt, viz., that the Sultan should be induced to take the necessary steps for preserving his authority and that of the Khedive without interference with the privileges secured to Egypt by the Firmans.

Count Bismarck told me that the Ambassadors had heard from some members of the house of Rothschild that the Sultan had made up his mind to send a force to Egypt.

He asked me whether the French Government would oppose the dispatch of Turkish troops if the Sultan consented.

I said that it appeared to be impossible for them to do so, and that I presumed Europe would object to such an opposition if it took place.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1473.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26, 7.30 P.M.)

(No. 270.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 26, 1882, 3.30 P.M.

FOLLOWING telegram sent to Lord Dufferin:—

“My telegram No. 269.

“Even supposing, which is absurd, that Minister of War is losing influence, the struggle, if carried out only by moral means, must be long. Meanwhile, confidence daily decreases, and the financial and commercial injury to the country during the struggle will become irreparable. Financially, receipts of Customs, Railways, and Land Revenue are falling fast. Payment of coupons of October-November doubtful; fresh floating debt commencing, in consequence of decrease of revenue and increase of military expenditure; commerce wholly abandoned.

“Panic among Europeans greatly increased during last three days. Railway and other Administrations kept working with utmost difficulty. Labouring classes already distressed for want of employment. Only most immediate and prompt measures will avert complete internal catastrophe. Question now is not only to subdue Military party in the interests of Khedive, but to save finances and commerce from ruin.”

No. 1474.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 26.)

(No. 390. Ext. 270.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 26, 1882.

WITH reference to my foregoing despatch, I have sent a further telegram to Lord Dufferin representing the state of affairs here under the new Ministry.

I have represented to his Excellency that it is absurd to suppose, as some would have it, that Arabi Pasha's influence is decreasing; and that, even if this were so, the struggle with the Military party, if confined to moral influences, must be a lengthy one. Meanwhile, confidence is daily decreasing, and the financial and commercial injury to the country is becoming irreparable. The land revenue is falling fast, and the receipts of the customs and railway services will soon show a considerable decrease. The payment of the coupons of the debt in October and November is cause for anxiety; and a new floating debt is arising owing to increased military expenses, coupled with decreased revenue. The commerce of the country is at a standstill.

During the last few days the panic among European employés has been greatly intensified, and it is only by the most strenuous efforts that the railways, posts, and telegraphs are kept working. At the same time, there is great distress among the native labouring classes from want of employment. It is only by prompt and immediate action that a complete internal catastrophe can be averted; and the object is no longer only to rid the Khedive of Arabi Pasha and the Military party, but to save the finances and the commerce of Egypt from ruin.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1475.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26, 7.20 P.M.)

(No. 271.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 26, 1882, 4 P.M.

IMMEDIATELY after the events of the 11th June Mr. Cookson, at the instance of the Government, nominated English member to Mixed Commission, to take evidence of wounded and witnesses. Commission has taken much evidence, but adjourned on being [?] on the question of right to search houses of policemen believed to have stolen property.

Under-Secretaries of State for War and Justice insist on reciprocal and similar search in denounced European houses. Inquiry was thus leading to mutual recriminations, and giving pretext to Government to bring counter-charges against Europeans, while retaining at their posts all police officials.

In view of these circumstances, and those mentioned in my telegram No. 269, I have directed English member to withdraw from Commission.

No. 1476.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 26.)

(No. 391. Ext. 271.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 26, 1882.

IN regard to the Commission of Inquiry into the events of the 11th June, to which I have alluded in my despatch No. 389 of this day's date, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, at the request of the Governor of Alexandria, Mr. Cookson, shortly after the disturbances, nominated Mr. Grosjean, an English barrister here, to serve on that Commission.

Much evidence has been taken from the wounded and from other witnesses; but a difficulty arose on Saturday last as to the right to search the houses of policemen who are believed to have possession of stolen property. The Under-Secretaries of State for War and Justice, who represent the Egyptian Government, insisted on a system of reciprocity, and demanded the right to search European houses.

The inquiry was thus leading to mutual recriminations, and a pretext was afforded to the Government for bringing counter-charges against Europeans, whilst it had as yet given no earnest of its sincerity by the removal of any of the police officials who were on duty on the 11th June, and whose misconduct encouraged the Arab rioters.

In view of these circumstances, and the further incidents mentioned in my despatch No. 389, I have instructed Mr. Grosjean to withdraw from the Commission. It is, I think, to be regretted that any such Mixed Commission should have been assented to on the part of the Consulates, until the Government had furnished material proofs of its sincerity, and its anxiety to examine closely into the case of the police officials whose conduct seemed to call for notice.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1477.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26, 7.45 P.M.)

(No. 272.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 26, 1882, 5 P.M.

NOTWITHSTANDING assurances for the safety of Europeans, ten Greeks and three Jews were massacred to-day by an Arab mob at Benha, a town on the road to Cairo.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1478.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 26.)

(No. 392. Ext. 272.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 26, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that, notwithstanding the repeated assurances given by Arabi Pasha that he guarantees the safety of Europeans, I learn from a trustworthy source that to-day, at Benha, a town on the railway line to Cairo, ten Greeks and three Jews were massacred by a fanatical mob.

Official statements, subsequently put into circulation, affirm that one Greek only was murdered. The reason admitted, however, is significant, being his refusal to give up bonds which he held from the fellahcen, his murderers.

I am endeavouring to ascertain what the number of murders really were.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1479.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26, 8 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 26, 1882, 4 P.M.

VICE-CONSUL CALVERT has completely broken down from nervousness and anxiety; he wishes me to forward his resignation, but will keep charge until relieved. Staff of Consulate is greatly reduced, and no longer in working order.

Sir E. Malet tells me to ask for instructions.

No. 1480.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26, 8.45 P.M.)

(No. 108.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 26, 1882.

I LEARN privately and confidentially from the Political Director that M. de Vorges, lately Minister in Lima, has left Paris for Egypt to act as French Consul-General *ad interim*. M. de Freycinet wishes this not to be mentioned for the moment.

No. 1481.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 26.)

(No. 630. Ext. 108.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 26, 1882.

M. DECRAIS told Mr. Plunkett yesterday, confidentially, for my information, that the person whom M. de Freycinet had selected to perform the duties of Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, *ad interim*, was M. de Vorges, who was lately French Minister in Peru.

M. Decrais added that M. de Vorges had already left Paris for Egypt, but that, for the moment, M. de Freycinet did not wish his appointment to be mentioned.

I have had the honour to transmit the substance of this despatch to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1482.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 26, 9 P.M.)

(No. 60. Secret.)

(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, June 26, 1882, 5.20 P.M.

MY French and Russian colleagues, who saw Count Hatzfeldt yesterday, tell me, in strict confidence, that he spoke of the Memorandum drawn up by the Conference as a useless measure, and of the Sultan as being correctly inspired in refusing to send troops to Egypt, from which they conclude that he will support the Sultan's policy "quand même."

No. 1483.

Lord Amthill to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 26.)

(No. 253. Confidential. Ext. 60.)

My Lord,

Berlin, June 26, 1882.

I HAVE been confidentially informed that my French and Russian colleagues were told by Count Hatzfeldt, whom they saw yesterday, that the Memorandum which the Constantinople Conference had drawn up appeared to him to be a useless measure ("une mesure inutile").

As far as I can gather, his reason for thinking so was that he feared it might give the Porte an excuse for objecting once more to the Conference.

He also said that he thought the Sultan was correctly inspired in refusing to send troops to Egypt at present, as their arrival might lead to excesses and bloodshed.

The general tone of Count Hatzfeldt's conversations shows an inclination to support the Sultan's policy "quand même," my colleagues think.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPHILL.

Saïd Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, June 27.)

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 26 Juin, 1882.

VOUS connaissez déjà les raisons qui militent en faveur de la résolution du Gouvernement Impérial de rétablir l'ordre, de raffermir l'autorité du Khédive, et de sauvegarder le *statu quo* en Égypte, ainsi que les droits souverains de notre auguste Maître sur cette province, toutes choses auxquelles les Puissances elles-mêmes ont bien voulu consacrer leur haute sollicitude.

En vue d'arriver à ce but désiré à titre d'égards par tous, le Gouvernement Impérial s'est appliqué à faire mettre à exécution sur les lieux des mesures sages et pratiques émanées de sa propre initiative et qui ont eu pour conséquence d'amener, à la satisfaction générale, le retour graduel de situation normale en Égypte par la disparition des dissentiments, par la formation d'un Ministère apte à remplir son mandat, et par une entente parfaite entre le Maréchal Dervich Pacha, le Khédive, et les pouvoirs constitués.

Les deux télégrammes du Maréchal, dont je vous transmets ci-après la traduction, édifieront, nous en sommes sûrs, les Grandes Puissances à cet égard.

Voici ces dépêches :—

Premier Télégramme de Dervich Pacha à son Altesse le Premier Ministre.

"Aujourd'hui les officiers supérieurs et autres des troupes Impériales Égyptiennes d'Alexandrie sont venus me voir, et Yakoub Pacha, adjoint du Ministère de la Guerre, a prononcé au nom de tous les officiers et soldats les paroles suivantes :—

"Au nom de l'armée Impériale Égyptienne et au mien, j'ai l'honneur de déclarer à votre Excellence que toute l'armée renouvelle l'hommage de son obéissance absolue envers Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, notre auguste Souverain et bienfaiteur, qu'elle est prête à se soumettre à tous les ordres qu'il plairait à Sa Majesté Impériale de donner, et à prouver sa fidélité et ses devoirs militaires d'après le verset du Coran concernant la soumission. Notre désir à tous c'est d'appeler sur nous les bonnes grâces et la satisfaction de notre Souverain, qui sont pour nous la seule source de salut et de prospérité dans ce monde comme dans l'autre, et de mériter ainsi le bonheur moral et matériel. L'envoi en Égypte de votre Excellence, qui est un des plus anciens Muchirs de l'Empire, pour l'amélioration de la situation du pays est une preuve éclatante de la haute et généreuse sollicitude de Sa Majesté Impériale à notre égard. Aussi nous empressons-nous d'exprimer notre gratitude et le contentement que nous éprouvons et de renouveler l'assurance formelle de notre dévouement inébranlable, en nous déclarant en même temps prêts à remplir strictement les ordres du Khédive. C'est, je le répète, au nom de toutes les troupes Impériales Égyptiennes qui se trouvent partout dans ce pays que nous exprimons le témoignage de tous ces sentiments."

"J'ai répondu en ces termes :—

"Le bonheur résultant de l'obéissance au Khalifat suprême ne pouvant être acquis que par la soumission au Khédive et les intentions généreuses de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan ne visant qu'à la tranquillité et au bien-être de l'Égypte, je suis heureux d'assurer l'armée Impériale Égyptienne de la haute et entière bienveillance du Souverain à son égard, et je vous félicite tous des sentiments de dévouement et d'obéissance que vous venez d'exprimer."

Deuxième Télégramme du même au même.

"Les points qui composent le programme soumis au Khédive par le Président du Conseil des Ministres d'Égypte sont les suivants :—

"D'abord le préambule énonce le témoignage du respect et de la déférence dus au Khédive, la nécessité de l'exécution pleine et entière du Firman Impérial octroyant les privilèges au Khédivat ainsi que celle des stipulations des Conventions conclues avec les Puissances, le maintien enfin du Conseil des Délégués, et des arrangements concernant la Dette, le Contrôle et la Liquidation.

"Après cette énumération et la déclaration comme quoi les points en question seront encore plus strictement observés qu'autrefois, le programme susdit formule les demandes qui suivent :—

"1. Le pardon pour le passé et l'amnistie générale pour tous les individus tenus responsables par suite de derniers événements, ainsi que pour ceux qui ont été impli-

qués avec eux devront être publiés en Turc et en Français dans les journaux officiels. Ne pourront bénéficier de cette amnistie les individus compromis par leurs actes et ceux ayant encouru la même responsabilité par suite de l'incident d'Alexandrie, ainsi que tous ceux mis en jugement pour des actes se rattachant au droit commun.

"2. Nul ne subira une peine quelconque sans avoir été jugé conformément à la loi par un Conseil et sans une sentence émanée de ce Conseil.

"3. Aucun fonctionnaire de l'Administration autre que le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères ne pourra pour affaires politiques entretenir la moindre correspondance avec les Agents Diplomatiques des Puissances se trouvant en Égypte. Le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères aura la faculté dans les questions urgentes de se concerter avec le Conseil des Ministres. Toute correspondance de tout autre fonctionnaire ne sera point prise en considération.

"4. Les arrêtés devant paraître pour exécution et travaux seront rendus conformément au Decret du 28 Août, 1878.

"Il est évident que les quatre points précités ne constituent rien qui soit de nature à porter atteinte au *statu quo*. Les demandes actuelles sont donc résolues par les points qui précèdent et ont rencontré l'approbation générale. Il serait également utile que Sa Majesté Impériale daigne savoir que les Agents étrangers en Égypte, à l'exception d'abord de Sir E. Malet et en second lieu du Consul-Général Français, ainsi que Son Altesse le Khédive, l'armée et toute la population sont tous satisfaits du mode d'organisation administrative dont il s'agit.

"Ainsi que j'ai eu l'honneur de le dire déjà à plusieurs reprises, le résultat favorable qui a été obtenu par l'application des mesures découlant des instructions Impériales, qui sont le seule guide de salut, constitue un succès éclatant pour Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan.

"En ce qui concerne l'incident d'Alexandrie une Cour composée de trois sections a été instituée à cet effet et a même commencé à fonctionner.

"Nous adressons des vœux au ciel pour la réussite de notre magnanime Souverain dans cette circonstance également.

"Le 1^{er} 1/3 Juin, 1882."

De ce qui précède votre Excellence relèvera sans doute le résultat heureux auquel a abouti la mission de Dervich Pacha, résultat qui, se traduisant par le retour de la concorde que des officiers de l'armée Impériale Égyptienne avaient un instant menacée, et par des témoignages éclatants de soumission et de dévouement destinés à resserrer d'une manière indissoluble les liens entre le Souverain et le Khédive son Représentant ainsi que ses loyaux sujets, écartent entièrement les difficultés qui avaient surgi dans cette province et satisfont ainsi au vœu légitime de l'Europe.

Confiant en l'équité impartiale des Puissances, nous nous plaçons à espérer qu'elles accorderont leur sérieuse attention aux communications importantes et aux arguments qui précèdent, et voudront bien y constater notre désir sincère de mettre fin à la question, et la conviction où nous sommes d'avoir atteint le but poursuivi, sans que les mesures appliquées avec un si heureux succès aient désormais besoin d'être renforcées par d'autres dont nous avons peine à nous expliquer l'utilité pratique.

Je compte donc sur votre zèle éprouvé et votre lumière pour faire prévaloir toutes ces raisons auprès de M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, en exprimant notre certitude de le voir agréer nos vœux et reconnaître, comme nous, que la réunion d'une Conférence pour les affaires Égyptiennes, ne présentant plus aucune nécessité, doit être définitivement abandonnée.

Vous êtes, en même temps, autorisé à laisser à son Excellence copie de la présente dépêche.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 27.)

(Confidential.)

THE Secretary of the Admiralty presents his compliments to the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and begs to transmit, for the information of Lord Granville, the following decypher of a telegram, dated the 26th June, 10.40 p.m., from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, at Alexandria, viz. :—

"All ships completed coaling; one lighter lost. Had no communication with

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Viceroy. Two ships at anchor off lighthouse; two rendezvous. Four field batteries expected here to-morrow morning; no other preparations known."
Admiralty, June 26, 1882.

No. 1486.

The British Suez Canal Directors to Earl Granville.—(Received June 27.)

(No. 9.)

My Lord,

London, June 27, 1882.

WITH reference to Lord Tenterden's letter No. 4 of the 24th instant, instructing us to press upon the Council of Administration of the Suez Canal Company the necessity of ensuring, in view of any emergency that might arise, a sufficiency of fresh water for the purposes of the Canal, we have the honour to inclose copy of a letter received this day from Mr. Standen, with whom we at once communicated on receipt of your Lordship's directions.

We have, &c.
(Signed) C. RIVERS WILSON.
J. STOKES.

P.S.—Mr. Standen could not have received your Lordship's despatch of the 24th when his letter was written.

C. R. W.
J. S.

Inclosure in No. 1486.

Mr. Standen to Sir C. Rivers Wilson.

My dear Sir Rivers,

Paris, 6, Rue de la Bienfaisance, June 26, 1882.

IN consequence of a note I sent round yesterday on receipt of your letter, Charles de Lesseps came to see me this morning. I explained to him the position of the case as viewed, I believed, by Lord Granville, and stated that, in the opinion of the English Government, it was the duty of the Management of the Canal to prepare for all eventualities, no matter what their private opinions might be as to the probability or otherwise of the party in power in Egypt endeavouring either to cut off the water-supply or to block up the Canal.

I told him that our Government has reason to believe that artillery has been sent on as far as Zagazig with a view of operating against the Canal, and that in the Canal itself vessels are stated to be in position ready at a given moment to be exploded and sunk in mid-channel. In reply to this he said that we must not suppose for a moment that the Company's agents on the Canal shut their eyes or ears to what was going forward, but that, on the contrary, they were taking strict notes and exercising great vigilance on every point. Some short time since the Egyptian man-of-war stationed at Port Saïd was changed and replaced by another. It was reported that this new vessel was a perfect mine of dynamite and torpedoes, destined to blow up the banks of the Canal and vessels cruising in it. Victor de Lesseps has been doing his best of late to find out what truth there was in this statement, but he has up to the present moment been unable to discover the slightest foundation for such a report. If there is any truth in it I should say that the new man-of-war was a source of greater danger to her officers and crew than to the navigation of the Canal.

This incident may perhaps account for the "three vessels in position" that you allude to. The Canal authorities don't know of them, and they could not exist "in position" without its being known. I should like to know more of the unimpeachable authority that we possess of these facts before insisting that de Rouville and Victor de Lesseps are mistaken.

With regard to artillery being sent to Zagazig, Charles de Lesseps said that under threats, or perhaps rumours only, of a hostile landing being made in the Isthmus, it was probably as a precautionary measure that the cannon spoken of had been forwarded in that direction.

He then told me that he had come to bring me news of a reassuring character.

On Saturday the 24th, owing, I believe, to my conversation with him of the previous day, the President had sent the following telegram to Ragheb Pasha:—

"Ragheb Pacha, Alexandrie.

"Paris, le 24 Juin, 1882.

"On répand avec persistance en Europe le bruit que la liberté et la sécurité du transit par le Canal de Suez seraient menacées. J'affirme à tous la sagesse du Gouvernement Égyptien, et je proteste que cette nouvelle n'a pas le moindre fondement. Néanmoins, je craindrais que si elle n'était pas immédiatement démentie il n'en résultât des complications fâcheuses. Le Gouvernement Égyptien devrait de suite proclamer hautement qu'il se porte garant de la libre circulation du Canal, et du complet fonctionnement de l'entreprise. Il serait utile que vous me communiquiez par le télégraphe le texte de cette proclamation solennelle.

(Signé) "LESSEPS."

To this telegram M. de Lesseps received last night the following replies:—

"À M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, Paris.

"Alexandrie, le 25 Juin, 1882, 7 h. 40 soir.

"Les bruits qui vous sont parvenus sur le manque de sécurité pour le trafic par le Canal sont complètement imaginaires. Je vous remercie de les avoir démentis, et je me hâte d'ajouter que le Gouvernement de Son Altesse reconnaît qu'il est de son devoir de maintenir la tranquillité du pays en général et du Canal en particulier. Vous pouvez donc être persuadé que rien ne troublera la sécurité de votre œuvre.

(Signé) "RAGHEB."

À M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, Paris.

"Alexandrie, le 25 Juin, 1882, 12 h. 25 soir.

"Je vous remercie de votre dépêche. Elle m'a prouvé votre attachement, sur lequel je n'ai pas cessé de compter."

(Signé) "TEWFIK."

Ragheb Pasha is stated by M. de Lesseps to be a man entirely on the side of order, though belonging to the National party. As Finance Minister, under Saïd Pasha, nothing could have been more honourable or straightforward than his conduct; the disorders in the Egyptian finance commenced only under the reign of Ismaïl, during the time that the Moufettish was in power.

Ragheb is one of the old founders on the Suez Canal. He subscribed to the founders' list for the projected canal from Ismaïlia to Port Saïd when it was proposed to form an Egyptian Company to carry it out; and again wrote to M. de Lesseps when the Panamá scheme was set on foot to place his name down as a subscriber and founder. He is not a man of great wealth, but Charles de Lesseps mentioned these facts as showing that he was a man altogether on the side of order, and should not be confounded with any military party of disorder.

While Arabi was in full power, and before the arrival of Dervish Pasha, the yearly balance due to the Canal Company for account of sums it had paid in advance on the Domaine Commun was settled immediately on presentation. This fact De Lesseps mentioned with a view of showing that even on Arabi's part the engagements of the Government towards the Canal Company would be respected. He trusts, therefore, that our Government will be reassured on this point. If so suicidal a policy as that so often alluded to of late in the House of Commons should be adopted, the Company has always the means of existence for a few days, during which a campaign of relief would have to be undertaken.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. J. STANDEN.

No. 1487.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 27, 8 A.M.)(No. 173.)
(Telegraphic.)*Constantinople, June 26, 1882, 11:30 P.M.*

COUNT CORTI has intimated to me, confidentially, that the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs wishes to get the Conference to come to a verbal agreement, not to be consigned to a Protocol, that while the Conference is sitting no Power shall take any independent action except in the presence of an emergency. I should like to be forearmed with your wishes on the point, if possible, before to-morrow, when we meet at 4 P.M.

No. 1488.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 27.)

(No. 501. Very Confidential. Ext. 173.)

Therapia, June 26, 1882.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to state that Count Corti has intimated to me, confidentially, that the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs wishes to induce the Egyptian Conference to come to a verbal agreement, not to be consigned to a Protocol, that, while the Conference is sitting, no Power shall take any independent action except in the presence of an emergency.

I shall be glad if your Lordship will furnish me with instructions on this point.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1489.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 27, 8 A.M.)(No. 174.)
(Telegraphic.)*Constantinople, June 26, 1882, 11:35 P.M.*

I ASKED the Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day about the decoration bestowed by the Sultan on Arabi Pasha. He answered mysteriously that the time would come when I should entirely applaud the act.

No. 1490.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 27.)

(No. 502. Confidential. Ext. 174.)

Therapia, June 26, 1882.

My Lord,

HAVING learned that the Sultan had conferred decorations on Arabi Pasha, I asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs about it.

His Excellency replied mysteriously that the time would come when I should entirely applaud the act.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1491.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 27, 12:45 P.M.)(No. 273.)
(Telegraphic.)*Alexandria, June 27, 1882, 11 A.M.*

AT the Khedive's reception yesterday the Ministers, contrary to custom, left the Palace before the arrival of the Corps Diplomatique, and were not present at its reception.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1492.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 27.)

(No. 393. Ext. 273.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 27, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that at the reception held yesterday by the Khedive to commemorate the anniversary of his accession, when the Diplomatic Body were introduced to His Highness, the Ministers, contrary to the custom observed on such occasions, were not present, and had actually left the Palace before its arrival.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1493.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 27, 12:50 P.M.)

(No. 274.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 27, 1882, 11:20 A.M.

I HAVE been in [communication] with the Khedive and the Admiral as to measures for former's safety in the event of sudden danger. The Khedive [has] boats and reliable boatmen ready at the Palace, and he is confident of getting off safely with his family at night to his yacht, whose officers are loyal. The yacht has twelve hours' coal on board. If needful, and possible, Admiral would cover Khedive's passage from Palace to the yacht by boats from the fleet.

Please inform Admiralty.

No. 1494.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 27, 12:30 P.M.)

(No. 275.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 27, 1882, 11:30 A.M.

CONSUL at Cairo reports that since three days great activity is shown in provisioning citadel and improving water supply. He reckons provisions sufficient for 13,000 men for two months.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1495.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 27.)

(No. 394. Ext. 275.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 27, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a despatch from Mr. Vice-Consul Borg, reporting that great activity is displayed by the military at Cairo in provisioning the citadel and improving its water supply. Mr. Borg reckons that the provisions now stored at the citadel are sufficient for 13,000 men for two months.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

Inclosure in No. 1495.

Vice-Consul Borg to Sir E. Malet.

Sir,

Cairo, June 25, 1882.

I AM credibly informed that it has been resolved in the event of Cairo being attacked by an invading force, to collect into the citadel the families of officers, and to offer a stern resistance. This information is borne out by the fact that during the last three days active preparations have been going on there. The granaries are being

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rapidly filled and a large quantity of flour has been stored. A number of oxen, cows, sheep, and horses have been taken in already, while purchases are constantly made of cattle and forage.

The water supply at the citadel since the establishment of the Waterworks Company at Cairo, has been derived from this source; but in view of the probability of this being cut off, the waterwheels of Joseph's Well are being carefully looked after and put in working order, while the well itself and the works of cleansing, &c., that might be required therein, form the subject of anxious consideration.

In addition to the provisions above mentioned, about 350,000 oke of biscuit are stored at the Shounat-el-Tallnat and at the Mahabés at Boulak, while the biscuit manufactory there is kept constantly at work, making biscuits at the rate of about 5,000 oke per diem. As the ration served to the men is a half oke of bread per day, which at present is supplied daily under a special contract, the biscuit already stored would represent about two months' consumption by 13,000 men.

The armament of the citadel consists of forty-two pieces of cannon which had done service in the Egyptian navy during the time of Mahommed Aly. The number of shots available for these guns is about 21,000. The citadel, however, can be easily dismantled by the works made on the crest of the Mokattem Hills, in which six pieces of cannon have been placed in position. These guns are also of the same class and have about 500 shots each.

The field-pieces number 497 Krupp guns of 8·7 centim. and 7·5 centim, of which 120 are mounted, but only 65 to 70 have the required complement of men and horses. I doubt, however, whether these would be all fit for immediate action, as the men of five or six batteries only are practised. The field-pieces have 500 rounds each.

At the Abbasieh is a 14-inch Krupp steel gun, and if I mistake not, a 25-ton Armstrong gun.

Of small arms the following would be available: 130,000 Remington rifles and about 20,000 Enfields. The stock of cartridge is about 20,000,000 for Remingtons and about 7,000,000 for Enfields.

Some of the Remington cartridges have been supplied by the firm of Hookham and Ludlow, and these are fit for service, while the others were made at the cartridge factory here, and having grown rusty, are unfit for use; about 7,000,000 have been made here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. BORG.

No. 1496.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 27, 1·10 P.M.)

(No. 175.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 27, 1882.

I AM more satisfied with the attitude of my French colleague to-day. He has received new instructions this morning.

No. 1497.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 308. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 27, 1882, 2·50 P.M.

YOUR No. 173.

We see no necessity for a declaration that, while the Conference is sitting, no Power shall take any independent action, except in presence of an emergency.

As far as we are aware, there is no intention on the part of any of the Powers to take immediate action, except in such a case.

The declaration might be misunderstood, and lead to attempts to protract the Conference indefinitely. We have reparation to demand, and we could not pledge ourselves to abstain from separate action for an indefinite period.

No doubt the effect of the Conference is of itself to check and put back any idea of separate action.

No. 1498.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 349. Ext. 308.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 27, 1882.

IN your telegram No. 173 of last night, you inform me that Count Corti has intimated to your Excellency, confidentially, that the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs wishes the Conference to come to a verbal agreement, that while it is sitting no Power shall take any independent action except in the presence of an emergency.

Her Majesty's Government see no necessity for any such declaration. So far as they are aware there is no intention on the part of any of the Powers to take immediate action except in presence of an emergency.

Such a declaration as is desired by the Italian Government might be misunderstood, and lead to endeavours to protract the proceedings of the Conference indefinitely.

As your Excellency has already announced in Conference, by desire of Her Majesty's Government, they intend to demand reparation on account of the disorders at Alexandria on the 11th instant, and they could not pledge themselves to abstain from separate action for an indefinite period. On the other hand, the effect of a Conference is to check and put back any idea of separate action.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1499.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 27, 4 P.M.)

(No. 276.)
(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 27, 1882, 1 P.M.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 279 of the 21th instant, a meeting of the Consuls-General was held this morning to consider Ragheb Pasha's proposal to institute a new Commission of Inquiry. My colleagues unanimously held that an inquiry at the present moment was worse than useless, and that the Government should first show signs of its power for good, by punishing those whom it knew and acknowledged to be guilty. It was agreed to reply to Minister for Foreign Affairs that certain administrative steps should be taken by the Government before the proposal could be taken into consideration.

I doubt whether any useful purpose is served by my attending any further meetings on this subject; the reply concocted to-day does not represent the views generally expressed at the meeting.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1500.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 27.)

(No. 396. Ext. 276.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 27, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report that a meeting of the Consuls-General was held to-day to consider the question of appointing a fresh Commission to inquire into the events of the 11th June.

The letter from Ragheb Pasha, of which a copy is inclosed, was read by M. de Martino, who added that Ragheb Pasha had, in a personal interview, strongly urged him to induce his colleagues to assist in the constitution of the Commission.

It appeared to be the unanimous opinion of those present that the inquiry could yield no good results at the present moment, and that it was the duty of the Government to show signs of its power for good by at once punishing those whom it knew and acknowledged to be guilty.

After much conversation as to the impossibility of obtaining evidence, and the incapacity of the Government to enforce punishment upon the offenders, it was decided that a letter should be preparing stating that certain administrative measures were expected of the Government before their present proposal could be taken into consideration.

Owing to the necessities of the present situation, this reply to Ragheb Pasha does not adequately represent the views generally expressed at the meeting; and I am doubtful whether any useful purpose is served by my attending further deliberations on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

Inclosure in No. 1500.

Ragheb Pasha to M. de Martino.

M. le Doyen,

Alexandrie, le 26 Juin, 1882.

CONFORMÉMENT aux ordres contenus dans une lettre que Son Altesse a bien voulu m'adresser le 22 courant pour appeler mon attention sur la nécessité d'instituer une Commission d'Enquête au sujet des malheureux événements survenus à Alexandrie, le Conseil s'est réuni le même jour, et j'ai l'honneur de porter à votre connaissance, M. le Doyen, la décision qu'il a prise.

Le Conseil reconnaît l'urgence qu'il y a d'ouvrir une enquête rigoureuse afin d'arriver à la connaissance des causes qui ont fait naître les désordres, leur ont donné une si grande intensité et permis qu'ils se prolongeassent, sans que des mesures efficaces aient été prises pour les étouffer à temps ou en arrêter le développement. Les promoteurs et auteurs de ces désordres et ceux qui ont négligé de les prévenir ou de les réprimer, ainsi que leurs complices, doivent être recherchés afin que chacun des coupables subisse la peine qu'il aura encourue selon la gravité du crime ou du délit dont il aura été convaincu.

Bien qu'une Commission ait déjà chargée, le lendemain même du jour où avaient éclaté les tristes événements d'Alexandrie, d'ouvrir une enquête préliminaire, le Conseil, s'inspirant des sentiments de Son Altesse, a décidé l'institution d'une Commission d'Enquête mixte placée sous la Présidence de son Excellence Abderrahman Bouchdy Bey, Ministre des Finances, et composée de dix-huit membres, dont neuf indigènes:—

Son Excellence Cadry Pasha, ancien Ministre de la Justice.

Son Excellence Yacoub Pacha, Sous-Secrétaire d'État au Ministère de la Guerre.

Son Excellence Boutros Pacha, Sous-Secrétaire d'État au Ministère de la Justice.

M. Hammed Bey, Conseiller de la Cour d'Apel.

M. Hassan Bey Mahmoud, Président du Conseil Sanitaire Maritime et Quarantenaire.

tenaire.

M. Ibrahim Tey el Alf, Président du Tribunal Local d'Alexandrie.

M. Hussein Tey Wassif, Attaché au Ministère de la Justice.

M. Ibrahim Bey Fouad, Président du Tribunal de Gizeh et Gallioubieh.

M. Youssef Bey Bartow, Directeur de l'Octroi d'Alexandrie.

À ces membres indigènes seraient adjoints neuf membres Européens que le Gouvernement Égyptien serait heureux de voir coopérer à l'enquête et qui seraient choisis et désignés pour MM. les Représentants des Puissances.

La Commission, ainsi composée, se réunirait à Alexandrie, arrêterait les règles de la procédure qu'elle jugerait utile de suivre, et nommerait, pour faciliter les recherches et les investigations, des Sous-Commissions prises dans son sein.

Les travaux des Sous-Commissions seraient remis à la Commission plénière, qui se réunirait pour les examiner et compléter l'instruction s'il y avait lieu.

L'instruction générale terminée la Commission établirait un Rapport résumant tous les faits et le soumettrait à Son Altesse.

Je viens, en conséquence, M. le Doyen, faire appel à votre bienveillant intermédiaire, et solliciter votre intervention pour obtenir de MM. vos collègues, en votre qualité de Doyen du Corps Diplomatique et Consulaire, leur adhésion à une mesure qui témoigne du vif et sincère désir du Gouvernement Égyptien d'arriver à la connaissance complète de la vérité par la coopération des Délégués Européens à l'enquête.

J'ai la ferme confiance que cette enquête, ainsi dirigée, aura les meilleurs résultats et contribuera puissamment à l'apaisement des esprits et au rétablissement des relations amicales entre tous les habitants de l'Égypte, sans distinction d'origine.

Veillez, &c.
Le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères,
(Signé) RAGHEB.

No. 1501.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 27, 3:50 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

CALVERT in doctor's hands, unable to continue work. West can come from Suez to act for a short time. *Alexandria, June 27, 1882, 3 P.M.*

No. 1502.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.

(Consular.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 27, 1882, 6:30 P.M.

YOUR telegram of to-day.

West should act for Calvert until arrival of Miéville, who starts Friday to replace him.

Some senior officer will follow to act as Consul in place of Cookson.

No. 1503.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 766.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 27, 1882.

AMONG the despatches contained in the last Yellow Book on Egypt, of which a copy is forwarded in your Excellency's despatch No. 621 of the 24th instant, is one from M. Challemel-Lacour to M. Gambetta, dated the 17th January last, relative to a conversation which his Excellency had had with me on the previous day.

The despatch in question must be taken in connection with a telegram sent by M. Challemel-Lacour on the day of the conversation which appears a few pages before, and to which M. Challemel-Lacour refers as giving the upshot of the conversation.

In the telegram M. Challemel-Lacour reports me as having said that I attached the greatest importance to the Agreement between England and France being not only real but apparent, that I had sent a telegram to your Excellency in that sense which you would have communicated to M. Gambetta, and that as to the pretensions of the Chamber of Notables with regard to the Budget, I agreed with M. Gambetta in considering them to be inadmissible.

In the despatch M. Challemel-Lacour states that, notwithstanding my formal declaration as to the value I attached to a good understanding not only in reality, but in appearance between France and England on the Egyptian question, he had not found my disposition entirely satisfactory. He goes on to express his own inference from my conversation, that if Her Majesty's Government had contemplated the eventuality of effective action on the part of the two Powers in support of the collective note, they had done so for the object of avoiding it; that the reservation which I had made in agreeing to the note had expressed the real intentions of Her Majesty's Government, and that I had intended that the collective note should be considered as a purely platonic encouragement, which did not imply the promise of any sanction.

He then adds that when he had expressed to me, according to his instructions, how much M. Gambetta had been touched by the goodwill with which I had agreed to the step proposed to be taken in common, I had said, "that I had never thought that the note proposed by the French Government could be of any use," but that I had wished to give M. Gambetta evidence of the desire of Her Majesty's Government to show itself in accord with France.

My recollection of the general tenour of the conversation referred to is that M. Challemel-Lacour stated to me M. Gambetta's apprehensions lest any divergence between the language of the English and French Agents at Cairo with regard to the recent Declaration of the two Governments should give rise to doubts as to the completeness of the agreement existing between them, and thus diminish the effect of the Declaration.

In reply, I told M. Challemel-Lacour that I was as desirous as M. Gambetta to

establish and maintain the impression, that the two Governments were in full agreement, and that it was principally with that object that Her Majesty's Government had consented to the Declaration. I then mentioned to His Excellency the purport of the telegrams which I was addressing to you.

M. Challeml-Lacour was clever and brilliant in conversation; we were on excellent terms, and our discussions were often too animated and of too great length to admit of being completely recorded by either of us in despatches. His Excellency did not favour a plan which I not unfrequently adopt, in case of an important conversation with a foreign Representative, of writing down at the conclusion what we agreed in considering to be the pith of the communication and of the answer made to it.

After five months have elapsed I should not like positively to deny having used the phrase attributed to me by M. Challeml-Lacour. I have no doubt that his Excellency recorded nothing which did not correctly represent his own impression on the following day of what had passed. But I have no recollection of having made use of the expression, and I feel certain that if I did it must have been accompanied by some qualification. There was not, indeed there could not have been, any intentional omission on my part in not recording the words used, but the effect I intended to convey was undoubtedly that which was in my thoughts and which is stated above, that I thought the dual note useful, as showing the accord between England and France.

I entirely deny the correctness of M. Challeml-Lacour's inferences as to the views and intentions of Her Majesty's Government and the object of the reservation made by them in agreeing to the dual note. We had always contemplated the possibility of action becoming necessary in Egypt, but we wished to hold ourselves free to judge both as to the fact whether the necessity had at any given moment arisen, and as to the mode of action to be resorted to.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1504.

Earl Granville to Lord Amthill.

(No. 272. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 27, 1882.

THE German Ambassador asked me to-day if there was any news from Egypt or Constantinople.

I said that I had received none of importance.

Count Münster then inquired whether we were preparing to take steps for the protection of the Suez Canal.

I said that the Government had not come to any decision on the subject, but that they were now in a state of preparation to take any steps which might be found necessary with regard to Egypt.

Count Münster said that, if any decisions were come to, he hoped that we should inform the German Government before putting them in execution. He did not make the request out of simple curiosity, but the German Government might be able to be of use to us in the matter. He added that it would be important for us to come to an agreement on the subject with the Sultan.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1505.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 27, 7.30 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 27, 1882, 5 P.M.

DOCTOR hopes Cookson will be able to leave for England on Saturday by long sea.

No. 1506.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 27, 11 P.M.)

(No. 288.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 27, 1882, 7 P.M.

SIR E. MALET left by Peninsular steamer "Mongolia" for Venice this morning. He seemed in good spirits.

No. 1507.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 27, 11.30 P.M.)

(No. 54.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, June 27, 1882, 5 P.M.

IN an interview with Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day his Excellency alluded again to current reports respecting intentions of Her Majesty's Government to take measures to protect the Suez Canal, and spoke in a different sense to that recorded in my despatch No. 221 of the 22nd instant, saying he should regret any isolated action by England in Egypt without the consent of the other Powers. He referred to questions in Parliament and answers of Prime Minister respecting Suez Canal not coming within the limits of the Conference, saying that he considered that measures for securing the freedom of the Canal were matters of European interest, and therefore for deliberation by the Conference.

I replied that I had no information as to the intentions of Her Majesty's Government, and consequently no instructions to discuss the Canal question; that I believed that the questions and answers in Parliament referred especially to the neutralization of the Canal, which I presumed everybody would understand could never be accepted by England. I reminded him of our last conversation, when his tone had been different, adding that whatever England did would be for the benefit of all the world, without any selfish object, and that if she saved the Canal by prompt action from imminent peril, she would deserve the gratitude, and not the opposition, of the other Powers.

His Excellency still said he trusted there would be no isolated action, for, notwithstanding his earnest desire not to be in opposition to the English policy, he would be placed in a difficult position.

No. 1508.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 27.)

(No. 229. Ext. 54.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 27, 1882.

I HAVE just had an interview with M. Mancini, in which his Excellency again referred to the current reports of its being the intention of Her Majesty's Government to take immediate measures for the protection of the Suez Canal, and I perceived with regret that his tone in speaking of this contingency was different from that which had characterized his observations when he referred to the announcement which had appeared in the "Paris" newspaper, as reported in my despatch No. 221 of the 22nd instant.

His Excellency began by saying that all the rumours of military preparations which were being made by England, coupled with the questions addressed to Her Majesty's Government in Parliament and the answers of the Prime Minister respecting the arrangements to be made for securing the free navigation of the Canal not coming within the topics to be discussed at the Conference, gave him, he was obliged to confess, a certain uneasiness.

Every one, his Excellency continued, would of course be ready to acknowledge that England, both politically and commercially, had a superior interest to other Powers in the maintenance of unimpeded communication through the Canal, but still the other Powers had also a very great interest in it, and Italy came second after England.

It appeared to him, therefore, that the measures to be taken for securing the free navigation of the Canal were matters of European interest, and would very properly come within the scope of the deliberations of the Conference; and it would be with

great regret that he would see any isolated action taken by England in Egypt without the consent of the other Powers.

I told M. Mancini, in reply, that I was without any information whatever as to the intentions of Her Majesty's Government on the subject referred to, and consequently without any instructions to discuss the Canal question. Anything that I said, therefore, must be taken as coming from myself only.

With regard to the questions and answers in Parliament, I continued, my belief was that they had referred especially to the idea of a neutralization of the Canal,—which I presumed every one would understand that England could never accept, or indeed consent to discuss in Conference. I reminded his Excellency of our last conversation when he had questioned me as to the truth of a report in a French newspaper to the effect that a Convention had been signed between your Lordship and Musurus Pasha, giving England the right, in certain eventualities, to occupy the Canal, and when his observations had led me to infer that he would not see such a step with displeasure. On the contrary, I had understood him to imply that it would be for the interest of all maritime Powers, and he had even admitted it would not be at variance with the Self-denying Protocol.

I repeated that I had no information and no instructions on this subject, but I said I could without hesitation assure his Excellency of one thing, viz., that whatever England did would be for the benefit of all the world, without any selfish object, and that if she saved the Canal, by prompt action, from eminent peril, she would deserve the gratitude and not the opposition of the other Powers.

With regard to the military preparations which had attracted his Excellency's attention, I said that in a previous conversation he had himself contemplated the probability of the Sultan refusing to send troops, in which case the question would arise as to what measures should then be taken and by whom, for re-establishing a normal state of things in Egypt instead of the rule of the military rebels, which his Excellency himself had distinctly stated could not be allowed to continue.

If therefore an European intervention became necessary, no Power, I presume, would contest the right of England to take a leading part in it. Hence certain preparations to be ready for every contingency were only the natural consequence of the present state of affairs. Besides, I said, we had an account to settle with Egyptians for the massacres and losses inflicted on the Queen's officers and subjects.

M. Mancini did not dispute the accuracy of these observations, but his Excellency still said that he trusted there would be no isolated action without the agreement of Europe; for that, notwithstanding his earnest desire not to be placed in opposition to the policy of England, he would find himself in a difficult position.

I should add that in the conversation which ensued and in which M. Mancini claimed for Europe a partnership with England and France in the financial Control, his Excellency reiterated in the most unequivocal terms his previous statements to the effect that the Ministry composed under Ragheb Pasha could not be accepted as affording the necessary guarantee for the future, and that it was absolutely essential to subdue the Military party. In reference to the part taken by the Italian Consul-General in bringing about this Ministry, his Excellency said that he had been applied to by the Austrian and German Governments to authorize the Italian Agent to join with his Austrian and German colleagues in affecting this arrangement, which had been imagined simply with a view to obtaining momentary security for the European Colony, and he had consequently given M. de Martino the requisite instructions; but no one, his Excellency believed, looked upon it in the light of a serious or lasting solution, but only as a temporary expedient created for a special purpose.

M. Mancini likewise repeated the same sentiments that he had on a previous occasion expressed, as reported in my despatch No. 170 of the 2nd instant, in speaking of the maintenance of Tewfik as Khedive or his substitution by Halim, only with regard to the latter alternative imparting his opposition to it in still more forcible and decided language.

It had been reported, his Excellency said, that the Italian Government were in favour of the return of Ismail, which was absolutely not true. On the contrary, they considered that Tewfik should be maintained, and his Excellency referred again to the difficulties by which His Highness had been surrounded, and the allowances which should consequently be made for him.

They had, however, no very strong feeling one way or another provided Halim was excluded; "Italy," his Excellency said, "would never consent to Egypt being made over to him."

He then again dilated on the character of Halim, saying he was the very worst

type of the old Turkish school; that he was "criblée de dettes" which he would hasten to pay out of the Egyptian revenues; that he would be simply a creature of the Porte; that he would soon reduce Egypt to the condition of the worst governed Turkish province; and that international engagements, Treaties, and Firmans would be perfectly valueless in his hands.

I referred his Excellency to the declarations which had been made in Parliament as to the intentions of Her Majesty's Government respecting the present Khedive, and his Excellency observed that on this subject there was agreement between the two Governments.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1509.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 28.)

(No. 634.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 27, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship the Report, given by the "Journal Officiel" this morning, of questions put to M. de Freycinet yesterday in the Chamber of Deputies on Egyptian affairs, and of the answers made to them by his Excellency.

M. Edouard Lockroy asked—

"Is it true that the English Government has given orders to fit out a fleet, and to hold soldiers in readiness at Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, and even in India, and that the fleet in question is to go to Egypt and Port Saïd?"

"Is it true that the English Government asked the French Government three days ago to co-operate in this landing of troops?"

"Is it true that the French Government has at this moment the intention to land troops in Egypt?"

"Is it true that Sir E. Malet and M. Sienkiewicz have been recalled, as an announcement, so to speak, of a new policy, and really for diplomatic and political reasons, not, as has been alleged, on account of their health?"

M. Lockroy concluded by saying that he would not ask why or how Arabi Pasha had received the Grand Cross of the Medjidié from the Sultan, as this was a recompense to him which had been expected by every one, and at which no one had any notion of being surprised.

M. de Freycinet answered that he was not able to give the Chamber any information respecting the armaments which England might be making, and which she had a right to make, in the exercise of her sovereignty.

He said that, as regarded the English Consul-General, he had, of course, no answer to give; but that M. Sienkiewicz was to be authorized to come to France for the interests of the service, and that his return did not imply any change in the policy of France.

He declined to answer the other questions, and added that he should equally wish to be silent whether the facts were true or false, and that he begged no conclusion might be drawn from his silence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1510.

Mr. Easton to Earl Granville.—(Received June 28.)

My Lord,

11, Delahay Street, June 27, 1882.

IN accordance with my last letter I telegraphed out to my partner, Mr. H. C. Anderson, asking him to wire proofs as to threats made to him, and I have the following reply, dated this day, 3.30 P.M. :—

"Fitzgerald Blum, Alexandria (this in answer to a question), intimation intention seize hostages from army and Notables. Cornish refuses leave; probably be murdered. Murders Christians. Delta villages people leaving Semahieh (this is one of our properties near Damietta). My opinion tragedy inevitable; leaving to-night."

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD EASTON.

No. 1511.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 28, 8.20 A.M.)(No. 176.)
(Telegraphic.)*Constantinople, June 27, 1882, 11 P.M.*

THE following is an identic telegram we have agreed to send our respective Governments after the third sitting of the Conference this afternoon:—

“The British and French Ambassadors began by communicating the information they had received since our last meeting with regard to the state of Egypt. This information was of a nature to increase our apprehensions. After completing the exchange of views which formed the subject of our last meeting, we began to discuss the measures that might be adopted in order to arrive at the ends proposed to the Conference. The Italian Ambassador suggested that it should be understood that, so long as the Conference lasted, the Powers should abstain from all isolated action in Egypt. This suggestion was accepted, [with] the reservation of *force majeure*, such as the necessity of protecting lives of our subjects. The next meeting is fixed for Thursday.”

No. 1512.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 28.)

(No. 504. Confidential. Ext 176.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 27, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a copy of an identic telegram, which the Representatives of the Six Powers agreed to send to their respective Governments after the third sitting of the Egyptian Conference, reporting its proceedings.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

Inclosure in No. 1512.

Identic Telegram sent by the Representatives of the Six Powers after the Third Sitting of the Egyptian Conference.

June 27, 1882.

LES Ambassadeurs de France et d'Angleterre ont d'abord communiqué les informations qu'ils ont reçues depuis notre dernière séance sur l'état d'Égypte. Ces informations sont de nature à augmenter les préoccupations. Après avoir complété l'échange de vues générales qui a fait l'objet de notre dernière réunion, nous avons abordé la discussion des mesures auxquelles on pourrait recourir pour atteindre le but assigné à la Conférence.

L'Ambassadeur d'Italie a proposé qu'il soit entendu que pendant la durée de la Conférence les Puissances s'abstiendraient de toute entreprise isolée en Égypte. Cette proposition a été acceptée sous la réserve de *force majeure*, tel que la nécessité de protéger la vie des nationaux.

La prochaine séance est fixée à Jeudi.

No. 1513.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 28, 12.30 P.M.)(No. 177.)
(Telegraphic.)*Constantinople, June 27, 1882.*

I HAVE informed your Lordship in my identic telegram No. 176 of the character of the proceedings in to-day's Conference. The news which I communicated of the massacre of the ten Greeks and three Jews at Benha made a great impression on my colleagues, as did also the examples of military tyranny and the prospects of financial ruin set forth in Mr. Cartwright's telegrams Nos. 269 and 270 of yesterday.

My French colleague took the lead to-day in insisting with great vigour upon the

necessity of our applying a prompt remedy for subsequent increasing anarchy in Egypt, which, he said, would eventually render all the African provinces uninhabitable by Europeans. Other members having more or less acquiesced in the gravity of the situation, the moment appeared to me propitious for launching a formal proposition inviting the Sultan to dispatch, under specified conditions and for a specified object, Turkish troops to Egypt, in sufficient force to dominate the situation and to suppress the military faction.

My colleagues one after another observed that they could not pronounce on so important a suggestion without referring to their respective Governments, but in the meantime they all declared themselves ready to discuss it in all its bearings. I remarked that the French Ambassador did not go beyond this.

I think we have reason to be satisfied with the way in which our proposal has been met. Every one was agreed that something had to be done, and no one was able to suggest any other alternative.

No. 1514.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 28.)

(No. 506. Confidential. Ext. 177.)

My Lord,

Therapia, June 27, 1882.

I HAVE informed you in my preceding despatch of the character of the proceedings in to-day's Conference. The news which I communicated of the massacre of the ten Greeks and three Jews at Benha, made a great impression upon my colleagues, as did also the examples of military tyranny, and the prospects of financial ruin set forth in Mr. Cartwright's telegrams Nos. 269 and 270 of yesterday.

My French colleague took the lead to-day in insisting with great vigour upon the necessity of our applying a prompt remedy to the increasing anarchy in Egypt, which, he said, would eventually render all the African provinces uninhabitable by Europeans.

Other members having more or less acquiesced in the gravity of the situation, the moment appeared to me propitious for launching a formal proposal inviting the Sultan to dispatch, under specified conditions and for a specified object, Turkish troops to Egypt, in sufficient force to dominate the situation and to suppress the military faction.

My colleagues one after another observed that they could not pronounce on so important a suggestion without referring to their respective Governments, but, in the meantime, they all declared themselves ready to discuss it in all its bearings. I remarked that the French Ambassador did not go beyond this.

I think we have reason to be satisfied with the way in which our proposal has been met. Every one was agreed that something had to be done, and no one was able to suggest any other alternative.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1515.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 28, 8.20 A.M.)(No. 178.)
(Telegraphic.)*Constantinople, June 27, 1882, 11.50 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 308 of to-day.

(Confidential.)

I am sorry to say that your telegram did not arrive till after the meeting of to-day's Conference, and, as my French colleague and my other colleagues were unanimous in acquiescing in Count Corti's proposition, under the reserve set forth in my identic telegram No. 176 of to-day, I did not like to withhold my assent.

Do you desire me to take any further action in the matter?

No. 1516.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 28.)

(No. 507. Confidential. Ext. 178.)

My Lord,

Therapia, June 27, 1882.

I AM sorry to say that your Lordship's telegram No. 308 of this day's date did not reach me until after the meeting of to-day's Conference; and as my French and my other colleagues were unanimous in acquiescing in Count Corti's proposition under the reservation set forth in my despatch No. 504, Confidential, of this day's date, I did not like to withhold my consent.

I should be glad to know if your Lordship wishes me to take any further action in the matter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1517.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 28, 1.25 P.M.)

(No. 179.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 27, 1882.

RESCHID BEY called upon me this evening at my invitation to receive the replies contained in your telegram No. 302 of the 25th to the Sultan's two questions.

Reschid Bey thought His Majesty would be very much pleased with the terms in which your Lordship's answers were couched. He said, however, that he thought the Sultan would want the concluding paragraph, which refers to "the safe improvement of the internal administration of Egypt," still further explained. The third point named as the basis of the Conference, namely, the "prudent development of Egyptian institutions," had already excited His Majesty's suspicions that there was an intention to introduce into Egypt a state of things which would be incompatible with the Firmans, and therefore a departure from the *status quo*; and the phrase in your answer to the second question had renewed his misgivings.

I replied that, if His Majesty desired it, I would ask your Lordship to describe more particularly what was meant by the expression in question. In my own apprehension it would refer to the reorganization, we will say, of the judicial system, and to other similar improvements.

Reschid Bey then said that, if only Her Majesty's Government would give the Sultan satisfaction upon this one point, he was authorized to give me an assurance then and there that His Majesty would be willing both to enter the Conference and to dispatch a corps d'armée to Egypt as desired.

What has excited His Majesty's mistrust is evidently the allusion to Parliamentary government which he imagines to be shadowed forth in the word "institutions." If we are to carry the Sultan with us, we must calm his apprehensions on this head. If this can be done, the prospect of our difficulties in the Conference, which are formidable, would in a measure disappear. At the same time, your Lordship must remember that Reschid Bey is a very young man, and though he is entirely trusted by the Sultan, an intimation conveyed through him may not have the same serious character as if transmitted through a responsible Minister.

I told Reschid Bey about the new massacre, and he left me thoroughly persuaded of the necessity of getting the Sultan to put his troops in motion.

No. 1518.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 28.)

(No. 508. Confidential. Ext. 179.)

My Lord,

Therapia, June 27, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to state that Reschid Bey called upon me this evening at my invitation, to receive the replies contained in your Lordship's telegram No. 302 of the 25th instant to the Sultan's two questions.

Reschid Bey thought that His Majesty would be very much pleased with the terms in which your Lordship's answers were couched. He said, however, that he thought the Sultan would want the concluding paragraph, which refers to "the safe improvement of the internal administration of Egypt," still further explained.

The third point named as the basis of the Conference, namely, "the prudent development of Egyptian institutions," had already excited His Majesty's suspicions that there was an intention to introduce into Egypt a state of things which would be incompatible with the Firmans, and therefore a departure from the *status quo*; and the phrase in your answer to the second question has renewed his misgivings.

I replied that, if His Majesty desired it, I would ask your Lordship to describe more particularly what was meant by the expression in question. In my own apprehension, it would refer to the reorganization (we will say) of the judicial system, and to other similar improvements.

Reschid Bey then said that if only Her Majesty's Government would give the Sultan satisfaction upon this one point, he was authorized to give me an assurance then and there that His Majesty would be willing both to enter the Conference and to dispatch a corps d'armée to Egypt as desired.

What has excited His Majesty's mistrust is evidently the allusion to Parliamentary Government which he imagines is shadowed forth in the word "institutions." If we are to carry the Sultan with us, we must calm his apprehension on this head. If this can be done the prospect, I think, is beginning to brighten, for, with a docile Sultan, our difficulties in the Conference, which are formidable, would in a great measure disappear. At the same time your Lordship must remember that Reschid Bey is a very young man, and though he is entirely trusted by the Sultan, an intimation conveyed through him may not have the same serious character as if transmitted through a responsible Minister.

I told Reschid Bey about the new massacre, and he left me thoroughly persuaded of the necessity of getting the Sultan to put his troops in motion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1519.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 28, 11 A.M.)

(No. 279.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 28, 1882, 9.40 A.M.

DERVISII PASHA decorated thirty-three persons the day before yesterday in the name of the Sultan, without consulting the Khedive. Of these, eight are of military faction, sixteen of Khedive's party, the rest indifferent. He intends to distribute several more decorations.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1520.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 28.)

(No. 399. Ext. 279.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 28, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report that Dervish Pasha has bestowed decorations on thirty-three persons, of whom eight belong to the Military party, sixteen are believed to be well disposed to the Khedive, while the rest are men of colourless opinions.

The Khedive, to his great annoyance, as I learn, was not consulted in the choice of persons to be decorated, the decorations being distributed directly by Dervish Pasha in the name of the Sultan. Several more decorations are to be given.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1521.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 28, 11.10 A.M.)

(No. 280.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 28, 1882, 10 A.M.

THREE hundred black troops arrived at Cairo from the Soudan.

No. 1522.

Mr. White to Earl Granville.—(Received June 28, 11 A.M.)

(No. 1.)

(Telegraphic.)

Bucharest, June 28, 1882, 9 A.M.

BARON RING, French Minister at Bucharest, left for Therapia this morning on leave of absence. He is, however, expected to give assistance to the French Ambassador unofficially on the Egyptian question.

No. 1523.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 28, noon.)

(No. 281.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 28, 1882, 11 A.M.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 253 of the 22nd instant, French Agent has received no instructions in reply to his telegram of same date and purport. Identic instructions are urgently needed for two Controllers.

Confirmed ascendancy of Military party under new Ministry further strengthens reasoning of above telegram. Should the instructions to Sir A. Colvin, which are known here, be modified, the Military party would be greatly encouraged.

No. 1524.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 28.)

(No. 400. Ext. 281.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 28, 1882.

WITH reference to Sir Edward Malet's despatch No. 378 of the 22nd instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that M. Sienkiewicz has not to this day received any instructions from his Government in reply to his telegram of the 22nd instant, asking whether Mr. Brédif, the French Controller-General, should attend at the Council of Ministers. It is of the highest importance that identic instructions to those contained in your Lordship's telegram No. 277 of the 23rd instant should be sent to the French Agent as early as possible, otherwise there is risk of opposing action being taken by the two Controllers-General.

The confirmed ascendancy of the Military party since the formation of the new Ministry must be held to strengthen the arguments employed in Sir Edward Malet's despatch No. 378 of the 22nd instant. Should, however, the instructions conveyed in your Lordship's telegram No. 277 of the 23rd instant, which have become known here, be in any way modified, the Military party would be greatly encouraged.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1525.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 28, 2 P.M.)

(No. 180.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 28, 1882, 10 A.M.

I OUGHT to have added to my telegram No. 178 of last night that the reservation appended by myself and my French colleague to Count Corti's proposition, indicated by the words "force majeure," was added for the purpose of leaving perfect liberty of action to our respective Governments in the presence of any emergency

whatever, and would comprise not only danger to the Suez Canal, but any other unexpected change in the political situation in Egypt which might call for immediate action. We did not, in fact, regard Italian Ambassador's suggestion, when modified by this saving reservation, as of any great significance.

No. 1526.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 28.)

(No. 509. Confidential. Ext. 180.)

My Lord,

Therapia, June 28, 1882.

I OUGHT to have stated in my despatch No. 504 of yesterday's date, that the reserve appended by myself and my French colleague to Count Corti's proposition, indicated by the words "force majeure," was added for the purpose of leaving perfect liberty of action to our respective Governments in the presence of any emergency whatever.

It would comprise not only danger to the Suez Canal, but any other unexpected change in the political situation in Egypt, which might call for immediate action. We did not, in fact, regard the Italian Ambassador's suggestion, when modified by this saving reservation, as of any great significance.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1527.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 28, 2.45 P.M.)

(No. 282.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 28, 1882, 12.30 P.M.

REPORTS are very current as to storing of large quantities of explosive materials in and about Suez Canal and at Ismailia, and as to gathering of Bedouins along Canal. I am trying to learn truth. Recruiting and movements of troops and guns go on actively in the country,
(Admiral informed.)

No. 1528.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.

(No. 291.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 28, 1882, 4.50 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 267 of 26th.

Your action about waterworks and assembling of crowds approved.

No. 1529.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.

(No. 195. Ext. 291.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 28, 1882.

I HAVE received your telegram No. 267 of the 26th instant, stating that you had represented to Ragheb Pasha the great importance of protecting Mr. Cornish and all other Europeans at the Alexandria Waterworks, and that you had also made a remonstrance to his Excellency respecting the crowds who assemble every evening in the Square, and who are a cause of alarm to Europeans; and I have to acquaint you that your proceedings in these matters are approved by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1530.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.(No. 292.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 28, 1882, 5.5 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 271 of 26th.
Her Majesty's Government approve your having withdrawn English member from Mixed Commission inquiring into riots. As you will have learnt from my telegram No. 279 of 24th, Her Majesty's Government desire that you should keep yourself aloof from any such inquiry.

No. 1531.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.(No. 196. Ext. 292.)
Sir,*Foreign Office, June 28, 1882.*

I APPROVE your having withdrawn the English member from the Mixed Commission instituted to take evidence with regard to the disorders at Alexandria on the 11th instant, as reported in your telegram No. 271 of the 26th instant.

As you will have learnt from my telegram No. 279 of the 24th instant, Her Majesty's Government desire that you should hold aloof from any such inquiry under existing circumstances.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1532.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 28, 5.45 P.M.)(No. 181.)
(Telegraphic.)*Constantinople, June 28, 1882, 2 P.M.*

THE Ambassadors agreed yesterday to recommend to their Governments to observe the same absolute secrecy in regard to what passed in the Conference as they themselves had undertaken to maintain.

No. 1533.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 28.)(No. 510. Confidential. Ext. 181.)
My Lord,*Therapia, June 28, 1882.*

I HAVE the honour to state that at the meeting of the Egyptian Conference yesterday, the Ambassadors agreed to recommend to their Governments to observe the same absolute secrecy in regard to what passed in Conference as they themselves had undertaken to maintain.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 1534.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.(No. 404.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 28, 1882, 6.30 P.M.*

MR. CARTWRIGHT'S telegram No. 281, already repeated to you.
Her Majesty's Government have concurred in the suggestion made by the Controllers, and approved by the Agents.
Call attention of French Government to this matter.

No. 1535.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.(No. 765. Ext. 404.)
My Lord,*Foreign Office, June 28, 1882.*

I HAVE already repeated to your Excellency Mr. Cartwright's telegram No. 281, reporting that the French Agent had received no instructions in reply to his telegram of the same date, and purport of Sir E. Malet's of the 22nd instant, No. 253, in regard to the proposal of the Controllers that, under existing circumstances, they should abstain from presenting themselves at the Council of Ministers.

Her Majesty's Government have concurred in the suggestion made by the Controllers and approved by the British and French Agents.

Your Excellency will have the goodness to request the attention of the French Government to this matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1536.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 311.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 28, 1882, 6.30 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 179 of to-day.

Say in courteous terms that if the Sultan undertakes to enter into the Conference, and to send troops to Egypt as desired, Her Majesty's Government regard any changes unconnected with the Firmans as entirely excluded.

If the matter passed out of the hands of the Sultan, other considerations would come into view.

No. 1537.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.(No. 350. Ext. 311.)
My Lord,*Foreign Office, June 28, 1882.*

IN your telegram No. 179 of this day, you state that the Sultan's Private Secretary has informed your Excellency that the third point named as the basis of the Conference, "the prudent development of Egyptian institutions," had excited His Majesty's suspicions that there was an intention to introduce into Egypt a state of things which would be incompatible with the Imperial Firmans, and therefore a departure from the *status quo*; but that if Her Majesty's Government would give an assurance satisfactory to the Sultan in this respect, Reschid Bey was authorized to say that His Majesty would be willing both to enter the Conference and to dispatch a corps d'armée to Egypt as desired.

I have to request your Excellency to state in courteous terms that if His Majesty will undertake to act as he is represented by Reschid Bey to be willing to do, Her Majesty's Government will regard any changes inconsistent with the Firmans as entirely excluded from discussion.

Other considerations would, however, present themselves should the matter pass out of the hands of the Sultan.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1538.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 312.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 28, 1882, 6.50 P.M.

HER Majesty's Government approve the reservation reported in your telegram No. 180 of to-day. You should mention to your colleagues the object with which it was added.

No. 1539.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.(No. 351. Ext. 312.)
My Lord,*Foreign Office, June 28, 1882.*

IN your telegram No. 180 of to-day your Excellency explains that qualifying words "force majeure" were added by yourself and your French colleague to Count Corti's proposition relative to the abstention from isolated action during the sitting of the Conference, in order to leave perfect liberty of action to the British and French Governments in the presence of any emergency whatever.

Your Excellency should take an opportunity of mentioning to your colleagues the object with which you made the reservation, which I have to inform you is approved by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1540.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.(No. 313.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 28, 1882, 7.35 P.M.*

MUSURUS PASHA to-day read me a telegram of the 27th from the Porte describing everything as settled at Alexandria, and saying that there was no longer occasion for any measures.

He said the Sultan would never consent to appear in Conference.

He asked me whether warlike preparations were being made here.

I declined to answer, adding that what we wished was that the Sultan should himself send troops to re-establish the *status quo*; we should regret the necessity of recurring to other means.

No. 1541.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.(No. 352. Ext. 313.)
My Lord,*Foreign Office, June 28, 1882.*

THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me yesterday afternoon and placed in my hands a Circular telegram from the Turkish Government, of which a copy is herewith inclosed, recapitulating the reasons of the Porte for objecting to a Conference on Egyptian affairs as unnecessary and inopportune.

Musurus Pasha called upon me this afternoon for an answer to this communication.

I said that I was unable to agree with the Turkish Government in their view of the situation, and I repeated, in support of my opinion, the argument which I had used on previous occasions.

Musurus Pasha then told me the substance of a further telegram which he had received from the Porte, dated the 27th instant, and stating that, in consequence of the assurances of obedience and devotion received from Yacoub Pasha on behalf of the Egyptian army and its superior officers, the Sultan had conferred on Arabi Pasha the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Medjidié. Dervish Pasha had telegraphed, in reply, on the 25th, that Arabi Pasha had expressed his gratitude and had reiterated his assurances of fidelity and devotion to the Sultan, adding that these were the sentiments of the whole army. The telegram went on to say that the Porte now considered that there was no longer occasion for anxiety or for the departure of foreigners from Egypt. The alarm which had prevailed had been due to insubordination on the part of the military, but these acts of submission and the restoration of tranquillity removed all difficulties, and rendered any measures of vigour useless.

Musurus Pasha added, in conversation, that the Sultan would never consent to appear in Conference.

His Excellency reminded me that when I had told him that the object of the Conference was that the Porte should send troops to Egypt according to the declarations made by all the Powers, I had also said that we attached no importance

to the form, provided the troops were sent for the purpose described, and that I had added that Her Majesty's Government could not separate themselves from the other Powers.

His Excellency then asked me whether military preparations were being made here.

I said I must decline answering that question, but that the Sultan might be assured that what Her Majesty's Government wished was that he should himself employ the necessary means to re-establish the *status quo*. We should regret the necessity of having recourse to other means.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1542.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.(No. 314.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 28, 1882, 7.5 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 177 of 28th: That day's Conference proceedings.

Her Majesty's Government approve your having proposed invitation to Sultan to send troops.

No. 1543.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.(No. 353. Ext. 314.)
My Lord,*Foreign Office, June 28, 1882.*

HER Majesty's Government approve your having made a formal proposal to the Conference to-day, as reported in your telegram No. 177, that His Majesty the Sultan should be invited to dispatch troops to Egypt under specified conditions and for a specified object, and in sufficient force to dominate the situation and to suppress the military faction.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1544.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 28, 9.30 P.M.)(No. 283.)
(Telegraphic.)*Alexandria, June 28, 1882, 5 P.M.*

FOLLOWING sent to Lord Dufferin:—

"Ragheb tells the Khedive's Turkish Private Secretary that he is greatly disheartened at his want of success with the Military party, and does not see his way at all. They are wholly occupied with hostile designs and preparations, and will not seriously listen to any reassuring measure."

No. 1545.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 28.)(No. 401. Ext. 283.)
My Lord,*Alexandria, June 28, 1882.*

I HAVE the honour to report that Ragheb Pasha meets with great difficulties in his endeavours to control the military element in his Ministry. His Excellency has told Khairy Pasha, the Khedive's "Garde des Sceaux," that he is greatly disheartened at his want of success, and that he finds the officers too much occupied with warlike designs and preparations to pay any serious attention to reassuring measures, or to the need of serious steps with a view to the establishment of order and a more normal state of affairs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1546.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 28, 9.40 P.M.)(No. 284.)
(Telegraphic.)*Alexandria, June 28, 1882, 5.15 P.M.*

ITALIAN Consul-General tells me that Ragheb expressed great anxiety to him respecting distress among natives here; 30,000 people are without means of food, and the Ministers have been summoned to consider the subject.
(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1547.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 28.)

(No. 402. Ext. 284.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 28, 1882.

M. DE MARTINO, the Italian Agent and Consul-General, who is an old friend of Ragheb Pasha's, has told me that his Excellency is very anxious in regard to the wide-spread distress among the natives at Alexandria, owing to loss of employment. The Governor of Alexandria estimates that in consequence of the exodus of Europeans, nearly 30,000 persons are left destitute, and Ragheb Pasha has called a special meeting of the Ministers to deal with the matter, which is very urgent.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1548.

His Highness the Khedive to Earl Granville.—(Received June 29.)

My Lord,

Ras-el-Tin, June 19, 1882.

I HAVE requested the bearer of this, M. Ambroise Sinadino, to present himself to your Lordship and to furnish you with full information regarding the late events in Egypt and the present aspect of affairs here. M. Sinadino enjoys my entire confidence, and has been made acquainted with my own views and wishes.

I take this, as every other opportunity, to thank your Lordship and Her Majesty's Government for the support and assistance which I have throughout received from them.

Accept, &c.

(Signed) TEWFIK.

No. 1549.

Mr. Egerton to Earl Granville.—(Received June 29.)

(No. 109.)

My Lord,

Athens, June 22, 1882.

CROWDS of refugees from Egypt are pouring into this country daily, and, at the instance of the Greek Agent, two more Government vessels (one the King's yacht) have been dispatched to Alexandria and Port Saïd to bring off the panic-stricken Greek residents.

The Government propose to send the poorer fugitives at once to their provinces of origin.

A motion of M. Delyanni's last Saturday, censuring the original dispatch of warships to Egypt, on the ground that Greece, unlike France or England, had no political interests there, gave M. Tricoupi an opportunity of gaining a Parliamentary triumph—a vote of 106 to 57 in censure of his opponents, after having himself made one of those eloquent appeals which he seems rarely to make without success to the national spirit of this aspiring people.

The practical question raised was disposed of by M. Tricoupi stating that the dispatch of Government vessels was considered necessary by his Agent for the protection of Greek life.

He produced some of the correspondence for the private information of Members, but not for general circulation or printing, and, for obvious reasons, refused to communicate to the House the more confidential papers which he had received from Egypt.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWIN H. EGERTON.

No. 1550.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 29.)

E

(No. 635. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 27, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a despatch which I have received from Captain Rice, reporting a conversation with the French Minister of Marine relative to the possibility of the dispatch of a naval force to Egypt.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 1550.

Captain Rice, R.N., to Viscount Lyons.

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 27, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that, being at the Ministry of Marine this morning for the purpose of presenting Captain Beaumont, Royal Navy, I took the opportunity of ascertaining, as far as I was able, the views of M. Jauréguiberry, the Minister of Marine, and whether any further steps had been taken with regard to the state of affairs in Egypt.

The Minister commenced the conversation by saying, "You are making great preparations in England." I answered that the public press appeared to show we were preparing against a possible contingency, and I hoped that France was taking similar precautionary measures. He shrugged his shoulders, and said, "How can we do anything? We are very poor in the navy. To take any steps we must have money, and the Chamber will not give it for such a purpose." He added that every morning he hoped to receive some orders; that, speaking for himself, he thought nothing would be done until the Conference had come to some conclusion; that he personally was averse to landing such a small body of men as the French and English ships now at Alexandria had at their disposal. The Minister seemed curious to know how many men Admiral Seymour could land, and, when told about 1,400, he said the French could not land more than 800. He concluded by saying that, in his opinion, there would be no difficulty, as far as either arm of the service was concerned, in getting off 10,000 men from Toulon within a week of the order being given.

In a subsequent conversation with Admiral Peyron, the Chief d'État-Major-Général, that officer said, with reference to the observations of the Minister, that of course the fleet at Toulon ("escadre d'évolutions") was ready at a moment's notice. He expressed the dissatisfaction of himself and the officers at the Ministry of Marine at being allowed to do nothing, and added, "But you are strong enough in the Mediterranean now to do anything, and the nation will support you."

I was especially struck, in the remarks both of the Minister and Admiral Peyron, by the total absence apparently of any feeling of jealousy of England acting alone. The prominent feeling seemed to be indignation at not being able to join with us.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ERNEST RICE, *Naval Attaché.*

No. 1551.

E Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 29.)

(No. 637.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 28, 1882.

THIS afternoon, in execution of the instruction contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 757, Confidential, of the 21th instant,* I spoke to M. de Freycinet of the possibility that the head supply of the water of the Nile which flows to the Suez Canal by the Ismaïlia Canal might be cut off.

I added that besides this possible danger in regard to the supply of fresh water, Her Majesty's Government had received alarming intelligence, which they had good reason to believe to be well founded, that plans had been prepared against the Canal itself.

M. de Freycinet said that the apprehensions of Her Majesty's Government did not appear to be shared by the President of the Suez Canal Company, for that M. de Lesseps, who had come to take leave of him before starting for London, had declared that he had no fear, either for the Canal itself, or for the undisturbed continuance of the traffic through it, provided only that there was no interference by European military forces. All that M. de Lesseps asked was, M. de Freycinet said, not to be protected.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1552.

E Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 29.)

(No. 638.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 28, 1882.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 744 of the 23rd instant, and to the telegram from Sir Edward Malet (No. 253 of the day before), of which a copy was inclosed in it, I have the honour to report that I spoke to M. de Freycinet this afternoon of the observations made by the Controllers-General in Egypt on the question of their attending the sittings of the Council of Ministers.

It appeared, I said, that in consequence of these observations the two Agents and Consuls-General had come to the conclusion that the Controllers should certainly abstain from presenting themselves at the Council, and should confine themselves to such exercise of their powers of inquiry as circumstances might allow and as their discretion might suggest.

I added that Her Majesty's Government concurred in these views.

M. de Freycinet said that he should send by telegraph instructions to the French Controller to act in this matter in the same way as his English colleague.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1553.

Mr. Ralli to Sir Charles W. Dilke.—(Received June 29.)

My dear Sir,

25, Finsbury Circus, London, June 27, 1882.

MY mother-in-law has received from her son, Mr. Ambrose A. Ralli, of Alexandria, a very interesting letter, and as it contains information about the late events there, I thought it might interest you to have an extract from it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) S. A. RALLI.

* See No 1418 (date since altered to June 27).

Inclosure in No. 1553.

Mr. A. A. Ralli to Mrs. Ralli.

(Extract)

Athens, June 17, 1882.

I SUPPOSE you will have heard from Liverpool of our precipitate flight from Alexandria. By the last mail from there I could only write you a couple of lines in order to let you know that we were leaving. I can now give you a little more detailed account of the late events there.

Last Sunday morning everything was quite quiet and nobody expected any disturbance. It is very uncertain how the disturbance began, but the rumour that is most generally believed is that it began in a dispute between a donkey boy and a Maltese, which ended in the Maltese stabbing the donkey boy. Anyhow, by 5 o'clock the riot was at its highest. All the Arabs of the lowest class turned out with large sticks and beat any Europeans they came across. The Europeans taken unexpectedly, and without any organization for defence, could do nothing but run to their houses for shelter. From the houses they began a very lively fire on the Arabs with revolvers. On the other hand, the Arabs, although they did not kill many with their sticks, badly wounded a great many. All the Consuls who went to try and restore order were badly maltreated. The English Consul was so hurt that when we left Alexandria he was still in danger of his life. One of the worst features of the affair was, that the zaptichs, or in other words, the policemen of the place, began killing the Europeans. They had arms, and therefore did the most in the way of killing, because the Arabs only had their formidable sticks, called "nebout," which stunned and broke the skin but did not kill. The Europeans, with their revolvers, killed a certain number of Arabs, but nothing in proportion to the Europeans that were killed. They, however, killed two soldiers, and it was then that the affair became very serious. The bodies of these two soldiers were carried down to a guard-house on the road leading to the harbour. The sight of these two bodies infuriated the soldiers there and they began the most cold-blooded butchery that it was possible to imagine. We heard what happened from a man who happened to be in a bath establishment just opposite the guard-house at the time, and who remained there all the time until the next morning when things were quiet and he made his escape. He told us that there were three or four Arabs on the watch who came and informed the soldiers when one, two, or three carriages with Europeans were approaching. Directly they came opposite the guard-house the carriage was stopped by an officer and the Europeans made to descend on the pretence of searching them for arms. While the officer was searching him for arms the soldiers killed him with bayonets from behind. The body was thrown into a place near, the blood washed up, sand thrown on the place, and they then waited for the next comer. The man who told us said that at this one place alone he counted 130 killed in that way, besides many Europeans who ran to the guard-house for safety thinking that they would there be protected by the soldiers from the fury of the mob. This went on until midnight, when the bodies of the killed were taken away in covered carts, and thrown into the sea; at least 500 Europeans must have been killed. To show the treachery of the authorities one has only to know the following: The street disturbance began at 3 o'clock, the policemen doing the most in the killing; until past 7 o'clock this went on, when at 1st a regiment of soldiers was sent out to stop the disturbance, whereas they could have stopped it in a quarter-of-an-hour if they had chosen. Moreover, although by 8 o'clock everything was quiet in the European quarter of the town, the butchery at the guard-house was continued until midnight. It was after we learnt this, namely, that it was exactly the soldiers who ought to have kept order who murdered the most, that Mr. Ralli made up his mind to leave, and we all left on the Tuesday. Of course, directly after the affair, the authorities guaranteed the safety of all the Europeans, but we had heard that so often that we knew it could not be depended upon.

The Arabs broke into a lot of shops and we saw them passing our windows piled with the plunder they had taken. Luckily they did not attack our houses, being too well occupied with the shops.

There is not a doubt that the whole disturbance was a pre-arranged affair by Arabi Pasha.

We at once took places on board the Austrian steamer that left Alexandria last Tuesday, and we arrived here yesterday all quite safe and well, but after rather a miserable voyage, because there was such an immense number of people leaving that it was impossible to get cabins. We were between 800 and 900 people on our steamer.

and we had to sleep on the deck without even a mattress. The second day the weather was rough, the steamer had no cargo, so that it rocked and pitched tremendously, and the amount of sea sickness on board was a thing to be seen, not described. Added to that, we had a woman on board who the second night was raving mad, and created a great disturbance. I suppose she had seen something that had turned her brain for the time being, and she was screaming, "Mon Dieu! mon Dieu! ayez pitié de moi," and a lot of things of the same sort until she was removed by the ship's doctor.

As regards Egypt, there is no doubt that things are in a very complicated state, and it is impossible to foresee what will be the end. The Arabs must be put down and no half measures taken, otherwise things will never get right. I need scarcely say that it is a very serious matter for us from a business point of view, as we have a very large interest in the interior. Let us hope that things will come right, but I am very much afraid that the mutual jealousies of the Powers will only result in a patching up. If they let the Arabs off, and especially Arabi Pasha and his officers, without hanging a lot of them, it will be one of the greatest mistakes they can make, and England and France will become simply objects of scorn to all who know anything of the place, and the events that have taken place there lately.

No. 1554.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 29.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 28, 1882, 5 P.M.

YOUR telegram of yesterday.

Wrench is prepared to start by next direct steamer leaving Tuesday, arriving at Alexandria Saturday, July 8th.

No. 1555.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 29, 12:30 P.M.)

(No. 285.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 29, 1882, 7:30 A.M.

THE Khedive has secretly ordered a Post-Khedivial steamer to be ready to sail one hour after sunrise on Saturday with members of his family. Khedive not visible last two days; will try and ascertain to-day who are leaving in steamer.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1556.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 29, 1:30 P.M.)

(No. 109.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 29, 1882, 12:50 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 404 of last evening about attendance of the Controllers at the Council of Ministers.

My despatch No. 638 yesterday will show your Lordship that I have anticipated this instruction.

No. 1557.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 29.)

(No. 611. Ext. 109.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 29, 1882.

YOUR Lordship directed me, by your telegram of last evening (No. 404), to call the attention of the French Government to the question of the attendance of the Controllers at the Council of Ministers in Egypt.

Some hours before your Lordship's telegram reached me I had spoken to M. de Freycinet on the subject, and, as your Lordship will have learned from my despatch No. 638 of yesterday, had been told by him that he would send, by telegraph, instruc-

tions to the French Controller to act in this matter in the same way as his English colleague.

Having thus anticipated your Lordship's instruction, I abstain, for the present, from taking any further step.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1558.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 29, 1:30 P.M.)

(No. 286.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 29, 1882, noon.

THE exodus and preparations for flight are taking increased dimensions. The shipping agents transferred offices to quays; banks still open preparing to transfer their staff on board ships; hotels are closing. Impossible to exaggerate or conceive gigantic collapse and utter ruin which has overtaken the country, or to urge too strongly need of immediate measures to guarantee confidence.

The native element, notably the religious Sheikhs, are now foremost in their outcry against the Military party. Flight of Turkish families increases; large number of respectable Arabs leaving.

Government itself exporting at its own cost 200 indigent Jews (Rayahs).
(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1559.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 29.)

(No. 403. Ext. 286.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 29, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report that the exodus of Europeans, and the preparations for flight, after seeming temporarily to have abated, continued with increased vigour. The hotels are closing; the shipping agents, including the Peninsular and Oriental Company, have transferred their offices to the neighbourhood of the port; and the banks which still remain are preparing to remove their staff to the ships.

It is impossible to conceive the collapse and ruin which have so suddenly overtaken the country, or to press too strongly the urgent need of steps to restore, not the seeming merely, but the reality of confidence. The natives, and even the religious Sheikhs, are now raising their voices against the Military party, and a large number of respectable Arabs are leaving the country. The departure of Turkish families is taking larger proportions, while 200 destitute Jews and Rayahs have been sent away at the expense of the Government itself.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1560.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 29, 1882, 4:10 P.M.

CONSUL WRENCH will start by next direct steamer from Constantinople, arriving at Alexandria July 8th, and will take charge of Consular business. Consul Miéville will assist him. If you think it necessary, ask Lord Dufferin to send an Assistant with Wrench.

No. 1561.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.(No. 296.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 29, 1882, 6.15 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 281 of yesterday.
M. de Freycinet informed Lord Lyons yesterday that he would telegraph instructions to French Controller, in accordance with Controller's and Agent's proposals.

No. 1562.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.

(No. 197. Ext. 296.)

Foreign Office, June 29, 1882.

Sir,
WITH reference to your telegram No. 281 of yesterday's date, stating that it was a matter of urgency that the French Controller should receive instructions as to his course of proceeding identical with those telegraphed to you for the guidance of Sir Auckland Colvin, I have to acquaint you that the French Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday informed Her Majesty's Ambassador that telegraphic instructions would be sent to the French Controller in accordance with the recommendations of the Controllers approved by the British and French Agents.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1563.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.(No. 297.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 29, 6.35 P.M.*

TAKE such steps as you properly can for protection of property of Riso Levi and Sons lying at Suk-el-Harir, and of premises and property of Cotton-pressing Company.

No. 1564.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 29, 6.45 P.M.)(No. 182.)
(Telegraphic.)*Constantinople, June 29, 1882, 4 P.M.*

IN a telegram to the Prime Minister, dated the 26th June, which has reached my hands, Dervish Pasha says that, Arabi having remained a member of the new Ministry, the military chiefs, at all events in appearance, give him their confidence, but that the reunion of the Conference has altogether compromised his prospects of eventual success. The rumour of English troops being sent to Port Saïd has caused the preparations for defence to be redoubled. He says that all the assurances given to the foreigners have no effect; that, at the instigation of their Consuls, they are flying the country; and that consequently the foreign Powers ("les étrangers") must have some evil designs on Egypt. He says that both the Bedouins and the other inhabitants are only waiting for a sign to rise. The Ulemas have issued a fetwa (legal opinion) that no obedience would be owing to the Porte if it acted in concert with the Europeans. He then goes on to say of Ahmed Essad what Ahmed Essad had already said of him, namely, that he has lost all his influence with the Ulemas, and that, consequently, they have no one on their side except the Khedive; that his giving a supplementary undertaking to preserve order has incensed the military Chiefs. He asked for instructions in case the fleets should approach nearer the port; and he complains that, on the one hand his Government will hold him responsible, on the other hand he will become an object of reprobation to the people.

No. 1565.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 29, 1882.

ASK Wrench to start as proposed. He will take charge of Consular business, Cartwright remaining Acting Agent and Consul-General. Consul Miéville will assist him. If further assistance required, Cartwright will ask you to send an Assistant.

No. 1566.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.(No. 298.)
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 29, 1882, 7.10 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 276 of the 27th.
I approve your abstaining from attending any further meetings for discussion of proposal for Commission of Inquiry.

No. 1567.

Earl Granville to Mr. Cartwright.

(No. 198. Ext. 298.)

Foreign Office, June 29, 1882.

Sir,
UNDER the circumstances reported in your telegram No. 276 of the 27th instant, it does not appear that any useful purpose would be served by your attending any further meetings of the Consuls-General to discuss the proposal of Ragheb Pasha for the institution of a new Commission of Inquiry into the disorders at Alexandria on the 11th instant. Her Majesty's Government, therefore, approve your suggestion that you should abstain from doing so.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1568.

*Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.**Foreign Office, June 29, 1882.*

I LAID before Earl Granville your letter of the 22nd instant, inclosing copy of a despatch from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour relative to the outbreak which occurred at Alexandria on the 11th instant, and I am directed by his Lordship to request that you will suggest to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that the Admiral's proceedings, as reported in his despatch, should be approved.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 1569.

M. de Giers to Prince Lobanow.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Prince Lobanow, June 30.)

(Télégraphique.)

St. Pétersbourg, le 1^{er} Juin, 1882.

L'AMBASSADEUR de Turquie m'a communiqué la Circulaire Turque du 26 Juin.

J'ai répondu que le refus de la Porte de prendre part à la Conférence était, selon nous, une faute grave, pouvant provoquer l'action énergique des Puissances dont les intérêts sont compromis en Égypte. Nous souhaitons le succès de la mission de Dervish Pacha; mais aucun résultat ne sera solide sans la sanction de l'Europe réunie en Conférence. Le Sultan, en y prenant part, acquerrait l'appui de cette grande force morale, basée sur la puissance matérielle, sans laquelle l'avenir serait ouvert à de dangereuses éventualités.

Informez-nous de l'accueil que la démarche Turque a rencontré auprès du Cabinet de Londres.

(Signé) GIER.S.

No. 1570.

Consul West to Earl Granville.—(Received June 30.)

(Telegraphic.) *Alexandria, June 29, 1882.*
I HAVE this day taken charge of Alexandria Consulate at request of Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General, and I have left Mr. Faulkner in charge of Suez Consulate.

No. 1571.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 30, 10.50 A.M.)

(No. 183.) *Constantinople, June 30, 1882, 1 A.M.*
(Telegraphic.) FOLLOWING is an identic telegram we agreed to send to our respective Governments after the fourth meeting of the Conference yesterday :—
"At our meeting to-day we continued the discussion originated by the British Ambassador respecting an armed Turkish intervention in Egypt.
"The Conference began by considering, *le cas échéant*, the form this intervention should take and the conditions to which it should be subjected.
"Our next meeting is fixed for the 2nd July."

No. 1572.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 30.)

(No. 517. Confidential. Ext. 183.) *Constantinople, June 30, 1882.*
My Lord, I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a copy of the identic telegram which we agreed to send to our respective Governments after the fourth meeting of the Egyptian Conference yesterday.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

Inclosure in No. 1572.

Identic Telegram sent by the Representatives of the Six Powers after the Fourth Meeting of the Egyptian Conference.

Thérapia, le 30 Juin, 1882.
DANS la séance d'aujourd'hui nous avons continué la discussion sur la proposition pour l'intervention armée de la Turquie en Egypte faite par l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre. La Conférence s'est livrée à un examen préalable de la forme dans laquelle, le cas échéant, cette intervention devrait se produire, et des conditions auxquelles elle devrait être soumise. La prochaine séance est fixée pour après-demain.

No. 1573.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 30.)

(No. 183.) *Constantinople, June 30, 1882, 11.45 A.M.*
(Telegraphic.) YESTERDAY a near relative of Mr. Wrench, who has just heard of his intention to go to Egypt, informed me that he was in such a bad state of health he had reason

to believe his transference to warm climate would be fatal. I said that I could not interfere between Wrench and his duty unless I was furnished with a certificate from an eminent medical man here, stating in plain terms that if Wrench were to go to Alexandria it would probably kill him; his internal organs are in so bad a state.

No. 1574.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 30, noon.)

(No. 110.) *Paris, June 30, 1882, 10.30 A.M.*
(Telegraphic.) EGYPT: Late French Ambassador's Report to M. Gambetta of January 13.
Is your despatch No. 766 of the 27th instant to be communicated to M. de Freycinet?
Is a copy of it to be given to him?

No. 1575.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 30.)

(No. 643. Ext. 110.) *Paris, June 30, 1882.*
My Lord, I HAD yesterday the honour to receive your Lordship's despatch No. 766 of the 27th instant, commenting on the report of a conversation with your Lordship upon the affairs of Egypt, which is contained in a despatch from M. Challemeil-Lacour to M. Gambetta of the 17th January last, which appears in the new French Yellow Book.
I have this morning done myself the honour to ask your Lordship by telegraph whether you wish this despatch to be communicated to M. de Freycinet, and, if so, whether you also wish a copy of it to be given to him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 1576.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received June 30, 4 P.M.)

(No. 187.) *Constantinople, June 30, 1882, 1.30 P.M.*
(Telegraphic.) HAVING been specifically instructed that the Sultan should be jointly invited by the Powers united in Conference to send troops to Egypt, French Ambassador asked me what line we ought to take if the Sultan suddenly dispatched a force without warning or concert with the Powers. I said that if he liked I should be quite willing that the question should be submitted to our respective Governments. Accordingly we agreed upon the subjoined telegram :—
"French Ambassador and I have some reasons for thinking that it may not be impossible that the Porte may take into consideration the advisability of being beforehand with the Conference, and of sending troops to Egypt without giving us previous warning. In the event of the above supposition assuming a more definite form, what attitude are we to observe, and as members of the Conference, what action should we take?"

No. 1577.

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 30.)

(No. 520. Confidential. Ext. 187.) *Thérapia, June 30, 1882.*
My Lord, HAVING been specifically instructed that the Sultan should be jointly invited by the Powers united in Conference to send troops to Egypt, M. de Noailles asked me what line we ought to take if the Sultan suddenly dispatched a force without warning
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or concert with the Powers. I said that if he liked I should be quite willing that the question should be submitted to our respective Governments. Accordingly we agreed upon the telegram of which I have the honour to inclose a copy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

Inclosure in No. 1577.

Identic Telegram sent by M. de Noailles and the Earl of Dufferin to their Governments.

Thérapia, le 30 Juin, 1882.

NOUS avons quelques raisons de croire, M. de Noailles et moi, qu'il ne serait pas impossible que la Porte considérât l'éventualité de prendre l'initiative sur la Conférence et qu'elle songât à envoyer des troupes en Égypte sans aucun avis préalable. Pour le cas où cette supposition viendrait à prendre plus de consistance, quelle conduite devons nous tenir et, comme membres de la Conférence, que devons nous faire?

No. 1578.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received June 30, 5:30 P.M.)

(No. 287.)
(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, June 30, 1882, 3 P.M.

ZOULFICAR PASHA has been made Governor of Alexandria, the former Governor having gone on leave. The appointment has no significance, because Commander of troops is the real Governor of town.
(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 1579.

Mr. Cartwright to Earl Granville.—(Received by telegraph, June 30.)

(No. 404. Ext. 287.)
My Lord,

Alexandria, June 30, 1882.

I HAVE the honour to report that Zoulfikar Pasha, the Khedive's Master of Ceremonies, has been named Governor of Alexandria. There is not a word to be said against Zoulfikar Pasha; but the appointment has no political significance, because the real Governor of the town is the Commander of the garrison.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. C. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 1580.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 411.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 30, 1882.

YOUR telegram No. 110.
Communicate my No. 768 to M. de Freycinet, and if he should ask for it, give copy.

No. 1581.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 773. Ext. 411.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 30, 1882.

IN reply to the inquiry contained in your Excellency's telegram of this day, I have to authorize you to communicate to M. de Freycinet my despatch No. 766 of the 27th instant, and to furnish him with a copy if he should ask for it.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1582.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 316.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 30, 1882, 7:20 P.M.

YOUR No. 187 of to-day.

We are of opinion that you should join the French Ambassador in representing to the Conference that if the Sultan anticipates the request which we were prepared to make to him, we should hope that the Sultan would accompany the sending of troops by such assurances to the Powers as will secure their use being limited to the purposes agreed upon.

But even in the case of such assurances not being given, we should not feel alarm, as we should have the power of securing that the action of the troops should be so limited.

No. 1583.

Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 360. Ext. 316.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 30, 1882.

HER Majesty's Government have had under their consideration the question which, after consultation with the French Ambassador, you have submitted as to the attitude which should be observed by your Excellency and the Marquis de Noailles in the event of the Sultan sending troops to Egypt without previous notice.

Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that your Excellency and the French Ambassador should represent to the Conference that in the event of the Sultan anticipating the request which the Governments of England and France were prepared to make to His Majesty, they entertain the hope that the Sultan will, at the same time that he dispatches troops, give such assurances to the Powers as will secure their use being limited to the purposes which have been agreed upon.

Her Majesty's Government would, however, not feel any alarm even if the Sultan should give no such assurances, as they would have the means of providing that the action of his troops should be confined within the limits proposed to be assigned to them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1584.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 775.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 30, 1882.

I INCLOSE, for your Excellency's information, copy of a telegram from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople in regard to the question of troops being sent to Egypt by the Porte without previous warning being given.*

* No. 1576.

I also inclose a copy of the reply which I have addressed thereto, and which your Excellency will be good enough to communicate to the French Government.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1585.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.

E

(No. 210 A. Confidential.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 30, 1882.

THE Italian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and had some conversation with me which he said he wished to be regarded as entirely private and unofficial.

His Excellency commenced by speaking of the friendship that existed between Italy and England, and of the desire of the Italian Government to avoid all chance of future complications.

For this purpose, and feeling that any isolated action of a single Power in Egypt without the consent of Europe might lead to regrettable consequences, they were anxious that the special interests of England should be consulted and provided for in such a manner as to accord with those of Europe in general.

General Menabrea then went on to say that he supposed that the recent declarations of Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons with regard to the Suez Canal had reference only to the neutralization of the Canal. This was quite a different thing from provisions for freedom of navigation. England, his Excellency said, objected and with reason to the neutralization of the Canal, which would prevent her from sending ships of war through it in time of war. But the same objection would not apply to a simple agreement to guarantee the free navigation of the Canal at all times.

The latter was an arrangement which General Menabrea thought the Conference might discuss with advantage.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 1586.

E

Earl Granville to Sir E. Thornton.

(No. 206.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 30, 1882.

THE Russian Ambassador called upon me this morning and gave me the telegram of which I inclose a copy, stating the answer given by the Russian Government to the Turkish Circular of the 26th instant.†

I told Prince Lobanow that, in reply to the same communication, I had said to Musurus Pasha that I was unable to agree in the favourable view of the situation taken by the Porte, that the desire of Her Majesty's Government was that the Sultan should take the necessary measures for the re-establishment of order, and that we should regret the necessity of resorting to other means which would be the result of His Majesty refusing or neglecting to do so.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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* No. 1582.

† No. 1569.